





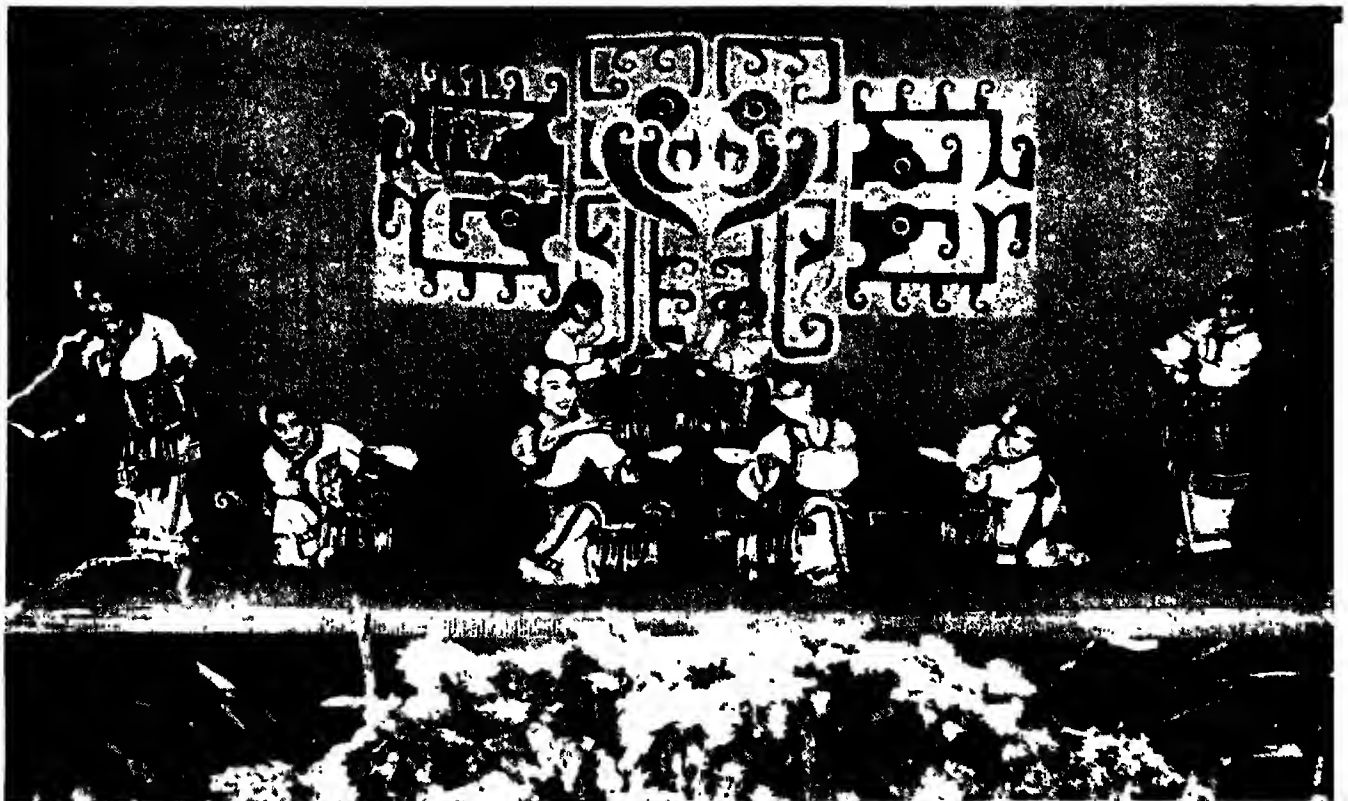








Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, President Rajendra Prasad, H. F. Marshal Tito and Vice-President Radhakrishnan at the New Delhi Station. His Excellency Marshal Tito, President of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia, arrived in New Delhi on December 17.



A dance recital by a group of the visiting Artists of the Cultural Delegation of the People's Republic of China at Delite Cinema in Delhi on December 9.



## HILL WOMEN

Prabasi Press, Calcutta By Probhatendra Sekhar Majumdar

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## NOTES

### *The New Year and the Old*

Another year of travail for the weary world is drawing to a close. It is nearly a decade since the end of World War II, and yet the evils generated by that catastrophe still afflict mankind.

The New Year carries some faint glimmer of hope. Perhaps the troubled peace of today might gain strength tomorrow and sanity return to the nations-in-arms, drawn up in two belligerent camps. The world needs peace but as yet greed and lust for power stand in the way.

But New Year means self-examination, so let us turn to our own affairs. The world will go on its way and there is little we can do to influence the shaping of the destinies of mankind, in either way, unless we march forward ourselves as a nation. Mere uttering of words of portent, however acclaimed or denounced they be, would be of little avail unless we can demonstrate to the world our capacity to back our will with strength and endurance. Mighty forces are in play in the World today and as yet we are but as flotsam in the tides.

Let us come down to facts. There has been a lot of talk about our progress, particularly with regard to the Five-Year Plans. It has been claimed, by those we have put in control of our affairs, that achievement along the lines planned has been in excess in all directions. Shortages have been eliminated and that the building-up of the structure of our economic prosperity of the future is progressing apace. All this has been moved by masses of that wonderfully elastic and elusive material, namely, Statistics. And in India of today it is deceptive as well since the basic figures are unreliable in the extreme.

We are willing to give full credit for what has been done. The rigours of scarcity, in food and clothing have been alleviated to a major extent. And if and when the entire first Five-Year Plan materialises, we might become self-sufficient in both for some time

to come. Provided, of course, if the people have the wherewith to avail themselves of that plenty.

What about the purchasing power of the common man? What about his being assured about the future? What about the health, education and the standard of living of Sri Man-in-the-street and Srimati Housewife? What about the mental, moral and physical well-being of all of those who are near and dear to them?

It is no use quoting footling statistics to prove that his and her average income today is as high as it was planned for at the end of 1956. Can they make both ends meet by that income and can they live as free and happy people should? Is medical care and hospitalization assured for even a fraction of them? Has every adult the means to procure protective and sustaining food, equivalent to 2,500 calories, every day of the year, for himself or herself and family?

The answer is, most emphatically, *No*. And what about the all-round lowering of moral values in every sphere of life? We are told that in ten years time there would be no unemployment. We would say that unless this debasing of moral values is stopped, the majority of our people would become *unemployable*.

It is barely six years since the passing of the Father of the Nation. Where stands the Congress, in the terms of truth, morality and integrity, today? It is not necessary to express in words the degradation and downfall.

It is about time our ministers and other voluble spokesmen looked up the history of India. It was not material poverty that brought on seven centuries of slavery for the Indians. Indeed, materially speaking there was hardly another nation or country so well off as was the "Fabulous Ind." when the first band of hungry and unkempt invaders crossed the mountains of the northwest. Gross perversion of moral values, almost total isolation from the rest of the world and a deliberate degradation of the vast

majority of its people through caste barriers, were the triple curses that led to the enslavement of the Indian.

A survey of moral values, as they obtain in the India of today, is urgently called for now. The First, Second and the Third Five-Year Plans will all end in futility if our nationals become totally degenerate. And there is no time to lose if we are to ward off the logical consequences.

### *Police Strike in West Bengal*

Constables of the Calcutta Armed Police force and a number of constables attached to various police stations went on hunger-strike on the 10th December for the amelioration of their various grievances. A Press Note issued by the Government of West Bengal on that day gave the removal of a corrupt constable from the post of mess manager as the cause of the hunger strike.

By the following afternoon, i.e., on December 11, the police called off their strike on the assurance given by the State Government that its decisions on the grievances relating mainly to pay, house rent allowance and food concessions would be announced before the end of April, 1955. The Military and the National Volunteer Force who had been called out on the morning of December 11 to take over the duties of the striking police, were then withdrawn as the policemen resumed their duty. All persons arrested on charges of breach of discipline were released. About 5,000 policemen—3,000 armed and 2,000 unarmed—had been affected by the strike.

Next day about 250 constables of the Howrah police went on hunger-strike demanding immediate redress of their grievances which were similar to those of the Calcutta policemen. The policemen, who carried out their normal duties, called attention to the failure of their efforts for an increase in wages and improvement in other service conditions.

The West Bengal Government in a Press Note on December 12 made it clear that the decisions regarding the Calcutta police forces would be applicable in the case of West Bengal police also. But instead of any signs of abating, the strike spread to other districts affecting larger number of men and by December 14, the number of hunger-strikers exceeded 2,500 in the five districts—24 Parganas, Hooghly, Bankura, Murshidabad and Howrah. Policemen posted at various places were replaced by the troops.

The policemen demanded, according to a report, a minimum total monthly emolument of Rs. 120 in place of the existing Rs. 57. Their other demands included free medical treatment of their families in their departmental hospitals; free education for their children and allowances for working overtime.

The Government Press Note issued on December

14, stated that the hunger-strike in Howrah had been resorted to "for reasons other than those which had been in operation in so far as the Calcutta police were concerned. It has now come to the knowledge of the Government that the whole trouble in Howrah had been started principally by four or five constables who are being prosecuted for alleged criminal acts for which they are under suspension."

The West Bengal Police Association in a resolution on the same day urged the policemen to give up the hunger-strike, which the Association had earlier condemned.

From the 15th, the situation in the various districts became fluid and in some places strikers gave up their fast and resumed their normal duty and the hunger-strike by policemen came to an end by the morning of December 19.

The most curious part of the whole incident was the apparent total ignorance of the higher authorities about the impending strike. It is a pointer towards the gross incompetence of the administration in curbing disruptive forces.

### *Censure Motion Against Speaker*

The censure motion against the Speaker of the Lok Sabha, tabled by the combined forces of the Opposition, met with a debacle as reported in the daily press of December 19, of which we append an extract below, from the *Anurita Bazar Patrika*. This move is typical of the thoughtless and reckless moves of the Opposition leaders:

"The censure motion moved against the Speaker by Shri Vijneshwar Missir in the Lok Sabha was rejected by an overwhelming voice vote after a two-hour exciting debate.

"The movers and supporters of the censure motion collapsed after a thundering reply from the Prime Minister, strongly vindicating the honour and conduct of the Speaker and severely reproaching the behaviour of the former.

"The debacle was so complete that the Communist and P.S.P. groups and their allies in the no-confidence motion did not even challenge a division when it was put to the House.

"A section of the Opposition also were against the motion, as was apparent from the speeches of Sardar Hukum Singh and Mr. Frank Anthony. Shri S. S. More, Shri A. K. Gopalan and Dr. N. B. Khare, three of the spokesmen on behalf of the supporters of the motion, failed to establish charge of partiality against the Speaker.

"The proceedings of December 4 when an adjournment motion of Shri Gurupadaswamy was disallowed by the Speaker, and on which the debate mainly turned, were quoted with great effect by Pandit Thakurdas Bhargava (Congress) against the behaviour of the Opposition and in defence of the right and conduct of the Speaker.

"The Opposition were put in a straight jacket by the limitation imposed on the scope of the debate, which was not allowed by the Deputy Speaker to ramble in a general denunciation against the Speaker. The Opposition did not come prepared to quote chapter and verse in support of their motion as they apparently did not anticipate the debate to be fixed for today.

"In view of the limitation of scope, Acharya Kripalani did not participate in the debate.

"The Prime Minister was extremely generous to the Opposition in his attitude to the debate on the motion. For instance, he did not stand on technical objections to the admissibility of the motion. He offered proportionately more time to the sponsors of the motion. He offered free voting on the issue. But he was indignant at the tabling of a no-confidence motion against the Speaker without sufficient justification, and his admonition to those who sponsored this motion could not be more harsh or severe. Stressing the seriousness and gravity of such a motion, he characterised the move as frivolous and irresponsible and as gross abuse of a right given under the rules and the Constitution. By this motion, he said, 'we have lowered the honour and dignity of the House and of the Speaker, and we have proved before the world that we are little quarrelsome men, who indulge in frivolity and who indulge in accusations without weighing what they mean.'

"Characterising the no-confidence resolution as vicious the Prime Minister observed those who signed it have done so without reading it or they lack intelligence. It is an insult to the intelligence of the House to ask it to support the motion."

The no-confidence resolution was tabled by 21 Opposition group members. The resolution reads:

"That this House, having taken into consideration the conduct of the Speaker of the House as regards giving his consent to adjournment motions, disallowed questions, etc., feels that he has ceased to maintain an impartial attitude necessary to command the confidence of all sections of the House; that in his partisan attitude he disregards the rights of members of the House and makes pronouncements and gives rulings calculated to affect and undermine such rights; that he openly espouses the version of the official spokesman on all controversial matters as against information supplied by other members of Parliament; that all these acts constitute a serious danger to the proper functioning of this House and ventilating effectively the felt grievances of the people; and therefore, resolves that he be removed from his office."

The signatories to the resolution are: Vijneshwar Missir, J. B. Kripalani, Asoka Mehta, Shankar Shantaram More, K. S. Raghavachari, Dr. N. M. Jaisooraya, Hirendra Nath Mukherjee, A. K. Gopa-

lan, T. B. Vittal Rao, M. S. Gurupadaswamy, Sedhan Chandra Gupta, Dasaratha Deo, Sarangadhar Das, Tridib Kumar Chaudhury, H. Andranath Chattopadhyaya, Dr. N. B. Khare, Amjad Ali, N. C. Chatterjee, V. G. Deshpande, K. Kelappa and Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani.

## *Hindu Marriage and Divorce*

The Rajya-Sabha passed an amendment on December 14, which is a significant move against polygamy. The news as published in the daily press, runs as follows:

The Rajya Sabha decided to-day in favour of extending to wives of polygamous Hindu marriages, solemnised before the commencement of Hindu Marriage and Divorce Bill, the right of divorce.

The Sabha, which sat continuously for eight hours today, adopted many Clauses of the Bill, all dealing with the controversial subject of nullity and divorce of a Hindu marriage. The Clauses adopted today deal with void marriage, voidable marriage, which divorce petition cannot be presented, divorced persons cannot remarry, legitimacy of children of void and voidable marriages, punishment for bigamy and contravention of other conditions of a valid Hindu marriage.

These important amendments, all moved by Mr. Chaman Lall (Congress) were carried by the Sabha, changing in material particulars and the scheme of the Bill as suggested by the Joint Select Committee. Under the first amendment, pre-act marriage would be excluded from the purview of the provision for voiding marriages. The second amendment removes the differences between pre-act and post-act voidable marriages. This amendment, while following the existing rule of Hindu law that marriages are voidable on grounds of impotency, idiocy or lunacy, and consent for marriage having been obtained through force or fraud, introduces a new provision, namely, that the marriage would also be voidable if the wife was pregnant at the time of marriage by a party other than the husband.

The third amendment of Mr. Chaman Lall provides that in the case of a marriage solemnised before the commencement of the Act, the wife can apply for divorce on the ground that the husband had married again before such commencement or that any other wife of the husband was alive at the time of solemnisation of the marriage, provided in either case the other wife is alive at the time of presentation of the divorce petition.

A fourth amendment to the divorce Clause, also moved by Mr. Chaman Lall, was a verbal one, changing the ground of "leading an adulterous life" to "living in adultery."

## *Serving the People ?*

We do not know how much credence to give to the news item printed below from a report in the *Spectator* of December 16. But should it prove true

there is hardly any language strong enough to condemn the affair. It is absolutely unthinkable that in a democratic State the personal convenience of any one man, however, highly placed, should be rated so high that the people in general could be put to so great an inconvenience as has been reported. It is high time that our rulers realized the wisdom of abandoning the arrogant habit of riding roughshod over people's sentiments and interests—a habit imbibed by the officialdom from the past imperialist regime and of late apparently transfused to some of the Ministers even. The *Spectator* reports as follows:

"Aurangabad. This is Hyderabad State and anything and everything happens. Very recently an incident took place when the railway train was detained for the Chief Minister of Hyderabad for a period of one and a half hour. On his way back to Hyderabad via Puri the Chief Minister was addressing a public meeting at Puri and so the train was detained at Puri. The public travelling by the same train became restless as further connections at Parbhani, Purna, etc., would have been missed. All the passengers from the Second class were asked to vacate the entire accommodation to enable the Chief Minister, the P.W.D. Minister, and their paraphernalia and they had to travel either by Inter or Third up to Parbhani."

### *Meeting of the Associated Chambers*

In his presidential address to the annual meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce in Calcutta on Monday (December 13) Mr. G. M. Mackinlay referred to the "too static condition" within the private sector and remarked that the general causes of it were not easy to define without entering the political arena which they as a commercial organisation tried to avoid.

"But what fundamentally worries us all—commerce and industry as a whole—", he said "is the increasingly apparent trend of Government policy towards a too rapid degree of socialisation of the State which is tending to suppress and curtail the activities of the private sector and to create an undercurrent of unreasoned and vague distrust of it."

He would not be honest with himself nor would he be reflecting the current thoughts of the business community, Mr. Mackinlay said, were he to attempt to strike a note of well-being, confidence and optimism.

The vital necessity, if the current and future Five-Year Plans are to be successfully implemented, of giving great security and encouragement to the development of the private sector of the country's commercial and industrial economy was stressed in a resolution adopted by the Associated Chambers of Commerce of India at its annual meeting in Calcutta on Monday.

The resolution on 'Taxation' stressed the need for (1) positive incentives to work, save and invest by alleviating the burden of direct and spreading the inci-

dence of indirect taxation, (2) a permanent and adequate solution of outstanding sales tax problems and (3) greater moderation and gradualness in the imposition and enhancement of excise duties.

In the resolution on 'Industry', the Association drew government's attention to the heavy burden placed upon employers by the provisions of the Industrial Disputes Act, 1947, as they now stand, governing the payment of retrenchment compensation, the Association urged the Government of India to amend the Act in such a manner as to (1) prescribe a limit to the amount payable to a workman as retrenchment compensation and (2) to provide that, on the termination of a workman's services, the employer shall be liable to pay either retrenchment compensation or retirement gratuity, whichever is appropriate, but not both.

In another resolution, the Association viewed with concern the heavy increases in shipping cost and the serious decline in port efficiency caused by widespread indiscipline amongst stevedoring labour which have followed the establishment of dock labour boards at the principal ports in India. The Association requested the Government to take urgent steps to examine the position at each port in order to introduce such measures as may be necessary to ensure that costs are kept at a reasonable level and that a satisfactory standard of work and discipline is maintained.

The Association also urged the need for a fundamental change in Government's policy towards road transport to ensure that India does not fall behind other countries in road transport development and that India's road system and the vehicles using it are commensurate with the growing needs of the agriculture and industry of the country.

### *Sri Deshmukh's Speech*

The following is the text of Sri Deshmukh's speech:

"I have listened carefully to the brief but pointed remarks made by you, and I appreciate the frank and forthright manner in which your fears or suspicions—or your "psychological troubles" as you have called them—have been expressed. We are passing through an important transition in our economic development. We are moving steadily into a new era, an era of progressive, well-ordered growth, with widening of opportunities for the people to participate in the development of the country. This reorientation is in its initial stages. There are some who think—and not without justification,—that this reorientation is proceeding too slowly. There are others who are apprehensive that in trying to go forward, sufficient attention may not be paid to the need for stability and orderliness in development. The problem is to find a golden mean, and this implies readiness on the part of all concerned to adjust themselves to the facts of experience.

"You have referred to the economic situation in the country and have listed the 'highlights' of the scene. I can hardly improve upon your description of them.

"Our economy today shows obvious signs of strength and stability, and I think there is little doubt that in this matter of developmental planning, we are set on the right road. The gains of the last three years will be evident to anyone who compares the economic situation now with what it was when the Plan was first launched. There has been a substantial increase in food production, industrial production has shown a steady, upward trend; prices have come down; inflation has been wiped out and, the balance of payments position has improved. At the same time, long term bases of development are being steadily built up through our irrigation and power projects, through improvements in the transport system and through larger investment in capital goods industries.

"There are, perhaps, a few 'shadows' in the picture, they are bound to be when one considers the large canvas on which the picture is being painted, but I doubt if it is correct to say that the shadows are more prominent than the highlights. My own assessment is that while some 'shadows' exist, the highlights provide the overtone for sober confidence. You have referred in your speech to certain anxieties which commerce and industry feel in present conditions and you have commented, with commendable forthrightness, upon some aspects of Government policy as you have understood them. I hope in a later part of my speech to deal with the more important of the individual points which you have raised.

"But before I do so, I should like to give you an assurance. The point of view which you have put forward will be duly conveyed to the appropriate quarters and you may be certain that in any final decision that Government may take in these matters, the views you represent will be given their due weight. My only regret is I venture to think, little in the ultimate aims of our economic policy on which there can be serious divergence of view among practical minded men committed to a practical programme of development and expansion. With that in view, I would ask you, if I may, to concentrate on how best we can achieve these objectives in the fast-changing social and economic conditions in this country.

"I would take the opportunity to restate the objectives of our planning and the methods we propose to employ in implementing them. We want to double per capita incomes in about a generation. We want to eliminate unemployment within, say, 10 years, and we must make a sizeable impression on the problem in the next five years.

"We want, at the same time, to move in the direction of a more even distribution of incomes, of wealth and of economic power. These are our basic aims—I believe they will find wide acceptance—and we want to achieve them through democratic means.

"There is hardly a parallel to this kind of effort elsewhere. Some countries plan for limited objectives, such as an improvement in the balance of payments and

external solvency or viability, some plans stress anti-recessionary or anticyclical budgeting; there are others which are 'total' plans, but which are sought to be carried through by authoritarian means.

"There is hardly an instance of a country of our size attempting to secure rapid development in the manner we have deliberately chosen, that is, through democratic means. If we are to find an adequate answer to our special problems, we shall have to think in new terms, along lines which are suited to our environment and our approach, and we shall have to eschew dogmas or set theories of whatever hue or colour.

"The First Five-Year Plan is now in its fourth year. It has produced some results which are satisfactory, but it has also brought to the fore new problems. The increases in production, agricultural and industrial, are the results of the effort that the country has put in, although they have been assisted by special circumstances like good monsoons and the fact that we had, to start with, considerable unused capacity in industry. A careful husbanding of our resources, coupled with the emergence of recessionary conditions in the world at large has enabled us to keep inflation in check and at the same time to move forward with basic development. But, we are still only on the threshold, and we want to step up our investment substantially and to industrialise rapidly. I need hardly dilate, in this city at any rate, on the seriousness of the problem of unemployment.

"This I consider—though, you, Sir, have not mentioned it—a major problem in our economy. The First Plan has increased employment opportunities, but we are still in a situation in which while employment is increasing, unemployment is increasing too. In other words, new jobs are not being created at a rate sufficient to absorb the annual increases in labour force. The only solution to this problem is more capital formation and a judicious choice of our investment.

"How is the rate of investment to be increased? The answer in the ultimate analysis, is larger sacrifices in the present and harder work all round. To some extent we can rely on friendly external assistance, and, judging from past trends and enlightened opinion in countries abroad, I have no doubt that if we do our part well, external resources will be available to us in reasonable measure. The task for us is to concentrate on effective mobilisation of our own resources.

"In this context, I think, some of the canons of public finance, both in the matter of taxation and of spending, need re-adaptation. The burden of taxation to which, Sir, you have made a reference has to be related to the dynamic picture which we have in mind—that of rising incomes and rising expenditures, coupled with rising productivity, both in the public and private sectors. One cannot, of course, start off by assuming conditions which one is seeking to create. There is always the problem to secure that an increasing proportion of the new incomes generated or of the new output in real terms is made available for investment.

"These aspects of the problem are under study and you will be interested in knowing that here, in Calcutta, in the Indian Institute of Statistics, a programme of studies bearing on economic growth, the implications of physical resources planning and the optimum relationships between different parts of a developing economy have been taken in hand. The results of these studies and researches will be taken into account in formulating the Second Five-Year Plan. On present expectations and estimates, the Second Plan, will have to provide for considerably larger outlays both in the public and in the private sectors, outlays which may necessitate investment of the order of 10 to 12 per cent of national income annually. This can be achieved only through larger public as well as private saving.

"For an effort on this scale, close and unstinting co-operation between the public and private sectors is necessary. This was stated in the First Plan Report and it remains the policy of Government. To secure and maximise this co-operation I would myself strongly deprecate this constant anti-thesis between the private and public sector as if these interests were separate and the two must function in opposition. I would rather stress the co-operative role of the two. The broad line of demarcation between the two has been laid down in the Industrial Policy Resolution of 1948. Government stand by the policy embodied in that resolution which gives a definite place to the private sector in the country's development.

"I suggest that nothing that has since occurred has altered that basic position; but I think, you will admit as people handling the day to day affairs of the world, that no policy can remain rigid in this dynamic world and that some shift of emphasis is bound to take place as the country's economy develops, and its needs expand and one has to take stock of the position from time to time. It is a truism that in an under-developed economy like ours, massive sums for large-scale industry are unlikely to be raised, by the private sector, rapidly enough or in a manner not involving undesirable social consequences, so that inevitably the public sector may have to take on that kind of development from its own resources. Obviously development cannot be allowed to wait till the private sector is in a position to shoulder such a burden.

"I do not see why the simple proposition that the State, in the public interest, may have to take over for development certain types of industry which may well be beyond the scope of the private sector, should be construed as involving any reflection upon the private sector or as creating anxieties for it. It is merely the realistic acceptance of a state of affairs which cannot be allowed to continue and thereby retard development. This does not of course mean that the private sector will not have ample scope for full play its resources and enterprise.

"Where the objective is to develop the economy rapidly, it is hardly correct to view any or every

extension of the public sector as so much encroachment on the private sector. Even in the case of industries reserved for the State, there is no reason why private capital or assistance from abroad should not find a place. If one looks at the problem dispassionately, I am sure it will be generally agreed that there is still great scope for private enterprise in this country. In the coming years I feel if the progress of development is maintained as it ought to, that there will be more for the private sector to do than it easily can, and it will be necessary for Government through appropriate institutions, like the Industrial Development Corporation and the Industrial Finance and Development Corporation—or in other ways—to assist the private sector.

"There is, therefore, little room for hesitancy or uncertainty which you, Sir, have referred to. There is perhaps a certain amount of adjustment—psychological adjustment if you like—called for on both sides, but about the need for a fruitful partnership between the public and the private sectors in the interest of the common goal of higher living standards all round, there can be no doubt. A great deal, I think, is to be gained by keeping constantly before our mind the objective and the co-operative and complementary roles of public and private sectors. A far-reaching process of economic and social change such as we have initiated—wisely and cautiously but not timidly, I believe—inevitably raises problems of adjustment in the transitional phase and nothing is gained by magnifying them.

"I mentioned earlier the need for a re-adaptation of canons of taxation. Among the 'shadows' which you say are over-hanging commerce and industry you have mentioned the recommendations of the Taxation Enquiry Commission. You must have seen from the papers that the report of the Commission was signed only a few days ago. It is a monumental work such as one was entitled to expect from a Commission with its distinguished Chairman and membership. The report will take some time to be studied by Government and printed for publication. Both these matters are, I need hardly assure you, receiving urgent attention. But you will realise that at this stage I am not in a position to say anything about the Commission's recommendations. I have no doubt that the Commission have viewed the problem of taxation as a whole and the needs of the various sections of the country's economy, and I am not clear why the private sector should take a pessimistic view of what the report is likely to contain.

"You have dwelt at length, Mr. President, on the Companies Bill now before a Joint Select Committee of the two Houses of Parliament. I note with satisfaction what you said about the work of the Company Law Committee and its recommendations. That we have been in no hurry to introduce far-reaching changes in the present Company Law is evidenced by the fact that it has now taken nearly five years, since the original proposals were made, to bring the Companies Bill to its

present state. I am also happy to learn that the business community appreciates the anxiety and efforts of Government to work in close collaboration with it throughout this period. If nevertheless, Government consider it necessary to deviate from some of the recommendations of the Committee, believe me, Mr. President, they will do so only if they are convinced that this is in the long-term interest of the private sector itself.

"I am sure you will agree with me that what is of basic importance in the private sector is the dynamism of private enterprise and not static adherence to traditional forms or institutions. You will recall that it was because some of these forms and institutions lacked the basic spirit of enterprise, and in some cases became the refuge of antisocial forces that Government were compelled to amend the Indian Companies Act in 1951, and assume extensive powers to regulate the constitution of Boards of Directors and the appointment and remuneration of Directors and Managing Agents.

"These powers were taken by Government with the full approval of the Company Law Committee, which was still then in session, and as far as I am aware with the general approval of the Chambers of Commerce within the membership of your Association. For over three years now, Government have exercised these powers in hundreds of cases on the recommendation of an Advisory Commission. It is my understanding that, apart from complaints of delay in some marginal cases, the manner in which these extensive powers have been used has not materially interfered with the working of companies concerned. On the contrary, Government have always attempted to meet the companies concerned as far as they could consistently with their responsibilities under the Amending Act.

"It is unfortunate that I am not at present in a position to comment on those new proposals regarding Managing Agents, to which you have referred in your speech. They are still under the consideration of the Select Committee, and I do not know in what form they will eventually emerge. But as far as I can see, they merely enlarge the scope of the discretionary authority vested in Government by the Act of 1951 in one or two directions and otherwise elaborate the powers already conferred on Government by this Act, I do not myself think that these proposals, even if they are finally accepted in their present form, will spell such grave disaster on the private sector as is now prophesied in some quarters. You are, however, entitled to demand that if Government were to be clothed with these additional powers, they should be exercised with due circumspection and due regard to the legitimate interests of all those who are likely to be affected by them.

"On this score, I would assure that it will be Government's constant endeavour to make use of their powers only when they must and only in the long-term interests of trade and industry in this country. It is

my hope that it may be possible at the appropriate stage to associate representatives of the business community and of others who are closely connected with the working of companies in the private sector with the administration of the Companies Act, so that there may be increasing awareness of each other's responsibilities and limitations.

"I listened with interest to your observation on the proposed amendment to Article 31 of the Constitution. You will appreciate my inability to deal with it except in a general way because the whole matter is still under the consideration of Government. Here again, I think one has to look at the picture as a whole and not take an alarmist view of the position just because it is proposed to make an amendment.

"In any case, there is no ground for your fear that owner's right to compensation in case of acquisition of his property by Government will be whittled down. We stand by the principle of fair compensation for the acquisition of property for public purposes.

But recent decision of the Supreme Court, I am told, equate every curtailment of property right by authority of law with the compulsory acquisition of a property right for which the law has to provide and the State has to pay compensation. I doubt if the Constitution-makers in enacting Article 31 intended to set so much store by private property. And in any case, this view of the Constitution makes it impossible to undertake necessary regulatory legislation, lest some right to property should be infringed. For instance, take the case of a life insurance concern which is being grossly mis-managed to the prejudice of thousands of policy-holders; or the case of an undertaking engaged in an essential industry or trade which is going to rack and ruin. I am sure you will agree that it should be constitutional for the State to intervene under a valid law for the sake of rectifying such situations without such intervention being necessarily regarded as acquisition by the State. There are also problems of land reform which may have to be treated as exceptions to the general rule in Article 31. These are the typical view-points from which we are considering some amendments of that Article but I do not myself believe that by and large the amendments are likely to affect private industry and enterprise except in regard to this regulatory power and so far as the normal acquisition of private property is concerned, the present policy is likely to be continued.

"I now turn to the points you made on labour relations which I shall bring to the notice of my colleague, the Labour Minister.

"You have complained about certain employers having been required to pay gratuity in addition to retrenchment compensation. I am not aware of the particular cases you had in mind. There is, however, a certain distinction between the two, gratuity being in the nature of a retirement benefit, which should be conserved for the old age of the employee, while retrenchment compensation

is an assistance to the employee to tide over the inevitable period of unemployment. Since retirement benefits have not been regulated by statute, the question whether the payment of gratuity is necessary in a particular case has to be left to be settled between the parties and, if necessary, by eventual resort to tribunals.

"You have also mentioned that conventionally accepted retiring ages are not recognised. I think the difficulty arises on account of the necessity for ensuring that retrenchment is not resorted to under the guise of retirement of a workman on reaching the age of superannuation. The proposed provision in Law already provides that if there is any existing contract of employment containing any particular stipulation regarding the retirement age, such retirement would not amount to retrenchment and there is no requirement that the stipulation should be in writing. All that is intended is to prevent employers from changing the stipulated retirement ages solely with a view to evading payment of retrenchment compensation. If the contract of employment does not already contain a stipulation in that behalf, there is nothing to prevent employers from making such a stipulation just as they would change any other contract of employment.

'You also mentioned that you called the intractable problem of bonus and modernisation. I need not say anything about the first as there are now fairly well regulated standards laid down by the Appellate Tribunal and there is no immediate proposal for legislation in this respect. On the subject of modernisation of plant and machinery, there is, I think, no disagreement between Government and Industry on the necessity of undertaking it where the circumstances make such a course unavoidable. The only difference is one of approach and emphasis. What Government desires in the interest of both the employers and the employees is that the Industry should 'expand and rationalise' rather than 'rationalise and retrench' and that capital and labour should co-operate in evolving schemes for modernisation."

### *The Man-in-Industry*

The following report about the latest British move, in the settlement of the vexed questions arising out of the relations between the Employers, Labour and the Public, might well serve as an indicator for us in India.

The *Sunday Times* (December 19), writing on the forthcoming conference which, under the presidency of the Duke of Edinburgh, is to discuss the human problems of industrial communities, says: "The meeting of leaders of industry, both managing and operative, held under the chairmanship of the Duke of Edinburgh, has left the man-in-the-street slightly puzzled. What is it all about?

"His Royal Highness and the other sponsors of the scheme might well reply that that is just what they propose to find out as it progresses. An industrial and

mechanical civilization creates many human problems—some not yet recognized, others ill-defined. We have pains and discomforts, but many of them we cannot locate or even name.

"The Commonwealth industrial welfare conference seeks to find out more about the pains and discomforts in that part of the body of mankind most directly affected—the man in industry itself. The diagnosis may itself suggest a cure, though long and difficult remedies may be needed for the deepest disorders.

"Two things, especially, about this project bear the stamp of the Duke's own mind. One is that the people engaged in it represent actual workers by hand and brain, and meet round the table as equals, friends, and co-operators facing a common task. Though the task is a unique one, the new scheme cannot fail to further that movement for unity in industry which the *Sunday Times* has repeatedly advocated, and which has made some conspicuous advances in the last few years.

"Secondly, the task is deliberately handed to the younger generation. To the conference in 1956 will be invited 280 men and women from the Commonwealth 'between the broad age limits of 25 and 45.' These men and women may not have the accumulated wisdom and experience of their elders, but the problems they are to study will take many years to solve, and it is they—the industrial leaders of the future—who will have to face them in practice. They are the new Elizabethans, embarking on voyages of discovery."

### *All-India Rural Credit Survey*

The long-awaited Report on the All-India Rural Credit Survey has been published by the Reserve Bank of India. The Survey was undertaken on the recommendation of the informal conference of co-operators, economists and administrators convened by Shri Rama Rau, Governor of the Reserve Bank, in 1951. The conduct of the Survey was entrusted by him to a small committee of Direction. The basic data relied upon are principally those collected during the survey from 1,27,343 families in 600 villages selected from 75 districts spread over different parts of India; but other material has also been extensively drawn upon in the formulation of the Committee's recommendations.

The Report points out that out of nearly 36 crores of people who inhabit India, about 30 crores, or five out of every six, live in the rural area. Some 70 per cent of the total population is either engaged in agriculture or is dependent on those so engaged. About half the national income is derived from agriculture, animal husbandry and allied activities. If the rural population is taken by itself, those who are sustained by agriculture whether as earners or dependents, and whether as producers, labourers, or others, constitute more than 80 per cent of the total; and of the remaining 20 per cent, more than two-fifths find their livelihood in rural industries. India, therefore, is essentially rural

India, and rural India is virtually the cultivator; or, if the last term may be enlarged, rural India is virtually the cultivator, the village handicraftsman and the agricultural labourer.

The first Five-Year Plan lays considerable emphasis on increased agricultural production. The emphasis is likely to be even greater in future plans. This will be rendered necessary by a fast-growing population. On one computation which takes this factor into account, the mere maintenance of the current levels of computation will necessitate a stepping up of agricultural productivity from 70 million tons in 1951 to 85 million tons in 1961 or an increase of 21 per cent. The dynamic programme of agricultural production that will be needed to achieve such an increase will not be possible without an equally dynamic programme of agricultural credit.

Large holdings in India are relatively few and are likely to be fewer as a result of the land policies which Governments have adopted in pursuit of social ends. The medium and small cultivators, who now constitute about 70 per cent of the total, will become increasingly important as the persons whose needs have to be studied and borne in mind in the formulation of policies of agricultural credit and agricultural development. Medium and small holdings now account for about 41 per cent of the agricultural produce of the country; but, as large holdings give place to the not so large, more and more will the latter be significant even in terms of their share in the total production.

At the end of the first Five-Year Plan, the total cropped area will have increased by 100 lakh acres, but only a small part of this additional cropping will be on reclaimed land. With new land left to be brought under cultivation, the increased production must for the greater part take place on holdings already cultivated; the modes of increase, in other words, must in the main be in the nature of more intensive utilization of land; they have to consist, for example, of better seed, more water, more fertilizer, better implements and better techniques of cultivation. All this will mean a considerable outlay in terms of finance and effort. Part of the cost, as in irrigation, will no doubt be borne by the State, but for the rest, most cultivators will have to be helped with credit to meet the initial and recurring expenditure needed for improvement of land and increase of production. This will be in addition to about Rs. 750 crores which the cultivator, at the present level of his productive operations, may be said to be borrowing every year by way of short, medium and long-term loans.

For the cultivator generally—whether his farming economy be small or medium or, in relative terms, even large—there is great need of enlargement of the scope of his subsidiary occupations; these may be either agro-industrial like the processing of paddy, sugarcane, cotton and groundnut, or of a mixed farming type like

dairying and the rearing of livestock in conjunction with the cultivation of land. The following percentages give an indication of the extent to which the main agencies of rural credit contribute to the total borrowings of the cultivator:

<i>Credit agency</i>	<i>Proportion in the borrowings (per cent)</i>
Government	3.3
Co-operatives	3.1
Commercial banks	0.9
Relatives	14.2
Landlords	1.5
Agriculturist moneylenders	24.9
Professional moneylenders	44.8
Traders and commission agents	5.6
Others	1.8
Total	100.0

What strikes the eye at once is the startling insignificance of co-operative credit in this picture. In quantitative terms, it is little more than 3 per cent of the total borrowings of the cultivator. That or worse is the position in many States. Nor is that all. For, what reaches the medium and small cultivator from the co-operative institutions is a mere fraction of the little that co-operatives provide. As a rule, the credit supplied by co-operatives tends to follow ownership of land; it could be related to produce, if produce were channelled through co-operatives; but co-operative marketing is itself ineffective and insignificant. The Survey passes judgment that the co-operative movement has been a failure during the fifty-year record of its functioning.

The only other type of institutional credit which is of some significance to the cultivator is that which is supplied by Government as taccavi advances. But in the opinion of the Survey, the record of taccavi is a record of "inadequacies." Government loans are not only inadequate, but like co-operative loans, are found on investigation to gravitate to the big and large landholder in preference to the medium or small farmer. As direct financiers of the agriculturist, commercial banks are utterly negligible. They supply less than one per cent of the total.

The moneylender and the trader between themselves lend more than 70 per cent of what the cultivator today borrows. The moneylender takes no account of purpose, and charges as high a rate of interest as he can. The trader lends on advances for production, but pays as low price as he can. Summing up the position, the Committee observes of agricultural credit, as is supplied by the different agencies, that it falls short of the right quantity, is not of the right type, and by the criterion of need (not overlooking the criterion of credit-worthiness) often fails to go to the right people. This is the picture of today. But what about the future? Rural credit must be directed principally towards improved productivity; it must answer the long, medium as well as short-term needs; it must be supervised; it

must be available to all who are credit-worthy and at a moderate rate of interest. In Indian conditions, it means reaching down to an enormous number of small-farmers, making advances against the credit instruments and securities they can offer, and keeping an effective control over the use to which the credit is put. The problem of future policy thus presents itself as a two-fold consideration in the context of credit: Co-operation has failed, but co-operation must succeed. According to the Committee, in the village itself no form of credit organization will be suitable except the co-operative society. The foremost objective of the policy then becomes the positive and deliberate creation of conditions in which co-operative credit will have a reasonable chance of success.

*Essence of the Solution—State Partnership:* In the opinion of the Committee, the initial help in reorganizing the co-operative credit institutions should come from the State. The manner of the help cannot be merely administrative. The State's way of help hitherto has been to over-administer and under-finance. The Committee has proposed for setting up of the National Agricultural Credit (Long-term operations) Fund under the Reserve Bank of India. The Fund should accumulate Rs. 5 crores annually besides an initial non-recurring contribution of Rs. 5 crores. Under each State Government, there shall be the State Agricultural Credit Fund and the State Co-operative Development Fund. The Reserve Bank of India should collaborate with the State Governments in drawing up plans for the co-ordination and re-organization of co-operative credit institutions on the lines recommended. For this purpose, the Reserve Bank should be statutorily empowered to make long-term loans to State Governments. The Bank should also be enabled to give long-term accommodation exceeding five years to land-mortgage banks (a) by way of direct loans and (b) by purchase of the whole or part of special development debentures of the land mortgage banks.

An important recommendation of the Committee is for the creation of one strong, integrated, State-sponsored, State-partnered commercial banking institution with an effective machinery of branches spread over the whole country. This State Bank of India should be formed by the statutory amalgamation of the Imperial Bank of India and the other State-associated banks, namely, the State Bank of Saurashtra, the Bank of Patiala, the Bank of Bikaner, the Bank of Jaipur, the Bank of Rajasthan, the Bank of Indore, the Bank of Baroda, the Bank of Mysore, the Hyderabad State and the Travancore Bank. The Committee has suggested that the composition of the share capital of the State Bank should be such that the Government of India and the Reserve Bank will together hold 52 per cent of the share capital and of the votes.

The Imperial Bank is the largest Indian joint-stock bank. After its nationalization and integration into the proposed State Bank, it should continue to perform the present commercial banking activities, otherwise a vacuum shall be created in the Indian banking world and Indian trade, commerce and industry will suffer for lack of proper banking facilities. The Bank of France, a State Bank, does all sorts of commercial banking activities and in the changed circumstances there is no objection if the new State Bank does all forms of normal commercial banking activities. The old idea that a State Bank must not compete with ordinary commercial banks in the country is an out-dated conservatism which had its origin in the old idea of *laissez faire* doctrine which now lies buried under the debris of dead ideas.

The Report will consist of three parts. What is now published is the General Report. The Survey Report and the Technical Report will follow soon. Copies of the General Report can be had from the Economic Adviser, the Reserve Bank of India, Bombay.

Along with the Rural Credit Survey Report, the Report on Rural Finance by Mr. Davis should also be considered. Mr. Davis is Consultant to the Ford Foundation and one of the best-known authorities in the field of agricultural credit and marketing. He visited India in the latter half of 1953, under the auspices of the Ford Foundation at the invitation of the Government of India, for making a study of the agricultural credit position in the country. In his report recently submitted to the Government of India, Mr. Davis observes that a satisfactorily-working all-India rural credit structure cannot be built up at one stroke. It will result from guided growth which can only come from united, strong and steadfast effort of forces commanded or supported by the Central Government and the States.

In the opinion of Mr. Davis, the Indian agriculture needs a strong, permanent central agency to determine policy and co-ordinate and direct action. He therefore suggests for the organization of an all-India Farm Credit Council at the Centre, which will evolve and guide a comprehensive and integrated policy of agricultural credit in the country. The Council, as suggested by him, should be composed of the top-level officers of the Reserve Bank of India, the Ministries of Food and Agriculture and Finance, the Planning Commission, and the agencies responsible for the National Extension Service programme and the Community Development Projects and representatives of the States, the public and financial community. He has also recommended for the setting up of a Central Agricultural Finance Corporation, because such a corporate body is best fitted to take over permanent direction of the rural credit system of India.

To him the co-operative credit movement is the best solution for the problem of rural credit, but he is constrained to admit that the movement has not lived up to the high promise with which it was spread over the country many years ago. He ascribes this failure of the movement chiefly to the weakness of the co-operative credit structure at primary level, following from the smallness of the size of the village society, insufficiency of capital and lack of means to employ trained well-paid personnel to manage it on efficient lines. The slowness of the growth of the co-operative credit system in this country is ascribed by him to the lack of two major factors, namely failure to mobilise the savings of members through, if necessary, charging even a higher rate of interest from members and failure to tap public savings invested in the bonds and debentures of credit institutions through the development of a broad investment market.

He also suggests that the possibility of developing private community institutions out of what in the past has been 'personal finance given by the moneylenders should be explored and that should be taken to ensure a broader participation in rural credit by commercial banking institutions.

### *Economic Policy*

Of late the industrial policy of the Government of India has been under fire—the leftists assailing it as receding from socialism, while the capitalists accuse the Government of much too rapid a drive towards socialism. A clarification was obviously needed and was much awaited. The Government of India's White Paper on industrial policy, Sir Chintaman Deshmukh's speech to the Associated Chambers, the industrial policy statement by the Finance Minister in the House of the People and the House of the People Resolution for Socialism should be taken jointly in realizing the real implications of the Government of India's industrial policy.

In his address to the Associated Chambers, the Finance Minister assured the private industrialists, businessmen and others that the Government of India stood by the policy embodied in its industrial resolution of 1948, which gave a definite place to the private sector in the country's development. The Finance Minister rightly cautioned his audience that no policy could remain rigid in this dynamic world: some shift of emphasis was bound to take place as the country's economy developed and its needs expanded, and one had to take stock of the position from time to time. He said that where the objective was to develop the economy rapidly, and the field for expansion was so limitless, it was hardly correct to view any or every extension of the public sector as so much encroachment on the private sector.

But in assuring the private sector, the Finance Minister seems to have given interpretations to the

industrial policy of the Government which the industrial policy of 1948 does not seem to warrant. He is reported to have stated that he did not see why the simple proposition that the State, in the public interest, might have to take over for the development of certain types of industry, which might well be beyond the scope of the private sector, should be construed as involving a reflection on the private sector. By "take over" he did not mean nationalization; he meant undertaking the establishment of new units not necessarily for permanent retention. The industrial policy of the Government of India does not clearly vouchsafe the meaning which Mr. Deshmukh has given to it in favour of the private sector. His interpretation of the word "take over" does not seem to fit in with the industrial policy declaration of the Government of India in 1948.

The Industrial Policy Resolution of 1948 lists certain industries like the manufacture of arms and ammunition, the production and control of atomic energy and the ownership and management of railway transport as being reserved exclusively for the Central Government. In the case of certain other industries also, such as coal, iron and steel, aircraft manufacture, ship-building, manufacture of telephone, telegraph, wireless apparatus and mineral oils, the State, including Central and State Governments and other public authorities, will be responsible for further development except to the extent that it regards the co-operation of private enterprise necessary for the purpose. The rest of the industrial field is to be open to private enterprise, individual as well as corporate, but the State will intervene whenever the progress of any industry under private enterprise is found to be unsatisfactory. The industrial policy then refers to existing industries and goes on to say that the State has always the right to acquire any existing industry, of course, but there is some kind of assurance that existing industries under these six heads will not be touched for at least 10 years and at the end of the 10-year period, the matter may be reconsidered.

In his speech at the Congress Parliamentary Party meeting on December 2, Pandit Nehru is reported to have stated that there is a vast field completely open to private enterprise. There is another field which is open to private enterprise subject to State control and regulations and there is another field where the State normally will take it up. Of course, he says, it is difficult to have a very rigid division between the two categories. The real outlook of this document on industrial policy is to evolve a certain pattern which is, Pandit Nehru says, a socialized pattern. The conception is a dynamic conception, not a rigid one, towards a certain objective having regard to all other factors. The Prime Minister points out that that statement still governs us and there has been no

change at all in it. It may be that in working that policy, some wider interpretation may be necessary to suit the changing conditions.

A sober and comprehensive statement on industrial policy contained in a White Paper issued on December 17, 1954, says that in the six industries (stated above) which have been the subject of controversy in the Congress Party during the last few weeks the private sector can co-operate "so long as it is clear that the controlling interest is held by the State." Despite this reservation, it adds, a large field is open both to the private and to the public sector for development. "Indeed," it concludes, "if a larger measure of industrialization is essential for raising living standards in future years, the scope available for expansion is almost unlimited."

Given the requirements of public interest, in the sense set out in the industrial policy resolution, the Government believes that there is no reason why the development of the public sector should in any way restrain or restrict the development of the private sector or *vice versa*. The Government of India points out that a large part of the industrial field continues to be open to private enterprise and initiative, and it is the Government's policy to encourage and assist such enterprise. But where the establishment of an industry is considered imperative in the interests of the development of the country's economy, it is obviously the duty of the Government, if it could raise the necessary finance, to enter the field. This is inevitable if production has to be kept expanding.

On December 21, 1954, the House of the People adopted a resolution, at the conclusion of the debate on industrial policy, that the objective of the country's economic policy should be a socialistic pattern of society, thus removing doubts on this score. Pandit Nehru's approach to the achievement of a socialistic society was peaceful, co-operative and democratic. He preferred peaceful economic progress, because, unlike other countries, India had practised this approach in relation to her problems. It is no use creating a conflict to be able to write on a clean slate. Speaking on the resolution, the Prime Minister of India stated his ideal was a socialistic society, which he defined as *casteless and classless*. He, however, does not believe that the objective could be achieved by rigidly following a doctrine. For instance, he says, by socializing a factory, a socialistic end was achieved, but it neither promoted employment nor added to the country's wealth. He saw no harm, in fact, he expected a lot of good in retaining the private sector. The most important aspect of the private sector, according to him, is the Indian peasant. At the same time, it is necessary that the public sector should expand and take the initiative in determining industrial progress.

Pandit Nehru warned against the temptation, in

an India progressing towards a *classless and casteless* society based on the socialistic pattern, at complete nationalization if this were to lead away from employment and greater production. But he admitted that nationalization of industry was bound to increase. He rejects the Communistic approach as totally impracticable in Indian conditions, although he is prepared to accept a Communistic society.

He deprecates expropriation without compensation, as that is against our Constitution and against the policy of the Government. This kind of expropriation on a big scale is done after big upheavals which upset a country's economy, politics and everything. In the House of the People, the Finance Minister declared that the Government stood by the industrial policy resolution of 1948. Nothing had happened since the enunciation of that policy which warranted a change although there might be a shift of emphasis. He stated that there was no basic incompatibility between the public and the private sector and expansion of one did not necessarily imply contraction of the other. To the leftists his reply was, "Our approach to economic problems is not doctrinaire but pragmatic." He did not agree that the investment in the private sector had not been quite good though it should have been better. Nor did he think that the public sector had been neglected by the Government.

Notwithstanding Mr. Deshmukh's defence of the private sector, its performance has been obviously poor in the Five-Year Plan. Out of the estimated annual capital formation in the private sector for Rs. 300 crores, the first two years witnessed capital formation at the rate of Rs. 26 crores a year and the third year Rs. 46 crores. The private sector is intent upon hiding their profits, rather than ploughing them back into capital formation. Moreover, the inflow of foreign capital in the petroleum industries has raised the volume of investment in the private sector in the third year of the Plan, otherwise the domestic capital formation would have been negligible.

Out of these policy statements, a flexible demarcation in industrial enterprise emerges as follows:

- (1) There is a vast field completely open to private enterprise;
- (2) There is another field which is open to private enterprise subject to State control and regulations; and
- (3) There is a third field which is to be the sole, exclusive monopoly of the State.

The mixed economy has been reaffirmed and in it there is no real conflict of interests. There is only the rosy picture of socialism, but like the star and the moon and the sun, it will be aspired after, and hardly to be realized. The private sector has been given a new lease of life and Pandit Nehru who once had no patience with those who "make private enterprise the god of society," seems now to have had patience when

he declares that the private industry must exist in the Indian economy and that it has a role to play in our economic structure. This point of view is further strengthened when he says that there can be no expropriation without compensation.

### *Economists in India's Planning*

Dr. Jnan Chandra Ghosh, Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University, said in course of the inaugural speech delivered by him at the Indian Council of Economic Affairs at Calcutta on November 15, 1954 that now that India had a planned economy, one of the main tasks facing the Indian Economists was to devise an economic plan in which there would be adequate provision for food, shelter and reasonable protection against disease for the common man. Such a task was no longer beyond realisation as it had been earlier when man's knowledge of science and technology had been relatively much too poor. The leading countries of the world, the United States in particular, provided an example of the progress that could be achieved if advantage was taken of the new knowledge of the forces of nature and harnessing them for the benefit of mankind.

India's per capita income was very low—not unnatural in an economy where 80 per cent of the people had to depend on subsistence agriculture. The greatest economic need of the hour in India, Dr. Ghosh emphasises, was to divert an increasing number from agriculture to some other gainful occupations, at the same time attending to the requirements for achieving self-sufficiency in food. According to Dr. Ghosh, provision would have to be made for securing jobs for the 15 million rural unemployed and another 15 million underemployed in addition to that for the absorption of 1.5 million new job-seekers coming to the field every year as result of population growth. Unemployment in the urban areas where about one in four educated was looking for a job would also require attention of the planners.

India's vast possession of man-power was now being wasted though in the ultimate analysis a country's wealth was the result of work done by men. Germany during the economic crisis of the nineteen-thirties and more recently China under Communist rule had provided an example what great things could be achieved even in a relatively short period by the rational and planned utilisation of human labour in its simplest form.

Continuing, Dr. Ghosh writes that it was for the Indian economists to discover how, consistent with our ideal of constitutional democracy where private and public enterprise existed side by side, "we can tackle the problem of unemployment, the problem of the speedy formation of productive and social capital and also the vital problem of continuously increasing productivity per man by using modern machine tools and modern knowledge."

India did not lack in technicians capable of undertaking construction works, notes Dr. Ghosh. To keep 15 million persons gainfully occupied in such works for 240 days in the year, according to his estimate, would require an annual expenditure of 550 crores of rupees. "Can we afford that expenditure? Again 15 million underemployed men in rural areas may be given seasonal work in brick-making, and building houses and paving village roads with such bricks. We are confident that we, as a people, shall not remain poor in future. Why should we not begin building *pucca* houses from the very beginning?"

Indian engineers had designed flat roofs which would cost only half of that of a reinforced concrete one. The production of cement could easily be trebled without great difficulty. The supply of third class coal was abundant in India and such coal could be used with advantage for brick-burning purposes. Dr. Ghosh estimates that the cost of pushing into rural areas 10 million tons of such coal every year would be around 20 crores of rupees including transport charges. It was for the Indian economists "to consider if free supply of 50 crores of rupees worth of cement and 20 crores of rupees worth of coal to rural areas would create the incentive for building *pucca* houses and *pucca* roads there on such a scale as would make seasonal unemployment a nightmare of the past. If a subsidy of 70 crores of rupees by way of free supply of coal and cement would relieve seasonal unemployment and produce houses and roads worth 350 crores, such subsidy is worth giving."

Turning to the problem of urban unemployment Dr. Ghosh says that its solution should not prove difficult. The emphasis on industrialisation proposed to be given in the second Five-Year Plan when carried into effect coupled with the development of small-scale industry could very well do away with the spectre of unemployment. In any case educated unemployment "looks paradoxical in a country where more than 75 per cent of the people are illiterate. It should not be beyond the capacity of our planning authorities to utilise the services of the educated unemployed for eradication of illiteracy and providing facilities for universal free primary education. A National Education Service Corps may be created for utilising the services of those who, among the educated, fail to secure gainful employment."

Pointing to the fact that unemployment was most acute among persons in the 18–25 age group, Dr. Ghosh writes that it might not be impossible for trusted leaders to canalise the idealism characterising the youths for purposes of mass education at a moderate cost. The trouble was that, unlike the Chinese, the people in India had not yet realized that accelerated economic progress was not possible without shedding some tears and without some tightening of the belt; and the Government had "hesitation in using its powers to enforce the principle—Waste not

in luxuries, Want not in essentials. How else one can explain the lifting of ration on sugar resulting in import of millions of tons to meet the increased demand, or the import of silk and other luxury goods? The import of these consumable luxuries is much worse than the controlled import of gold, which has been prohibited. How else can one explain factories and workshops, and power houses working much below capacity in this undeveloped country of ours? How else can one explain the reluctance to utilise existing capital assets and machine-tools of rapidly expanding industries in double or triple shifts and thus avoid, for the time being, sinking new money in capital goods? Modern technology is advancing so fast, that a machine or a process becomes obsolete in ten years; and it is wise to provide for complete depreciation of an industrial plant within eight years by working double or triple shifts," says Dr. Ghosh.

### *Appeal for Abolition of Sales Tax*

An appeal signed by leading Nurseries of Calcutta, pleading for exemption of sales tax on seeds, plants and flowers, has come to our hand. The appeal describes the difficulties of the nurserymen most of whom were small businessmen, and states the case for the removal of sales tax on those perishable goods which, it is maintained, clearly fall in the category of essential commodities; and apparently puts such a claim on a firmer foundation by pointing to the fact that in other States there had either been or was no sales tax on vegetable seeds and plants.

It was extremely anomalous, runs the appeal, "that while vegetables have been exempted from sales tax on the ground that they are perishable articles, seeds have been subjected to imposition of such sales tax. This policy is unjustifiable and does not seem to be based on sound principle as seeds are also perishable articles and have no other utility than producing more vegetables."

### *The "Mirror of Public Opinion"*

How puerile is the claim that the Press is the mirror of Public Opinion! The following extract, from the *Worldover Press* of October 29, goes to show that it is the same all over the world:

Press controls in Communist-dominated countries are nothing new to the average person, but many are unaware of the extent to which dictatorial censorship has invaded the republics of Latin America. The Inter-American Press Association, meeting at Sao Paulo, Brazil, reports that an estimated 20 per cent of the 162,000,000 inhabitants of Latin America are living under "perennial or periodic curtains of censorship and intimidation, tantamount to censorship." The Association sent cablegrams, protesting against press curbs, to the heads of state in eight countries: Venezuela, Peru, Argentina, Paraguay, Nicaragua, Bolivia, Colombia, and the Dominican Republic.

Not all press trouble comes from censorship, however. There is, for example, the strange one-sidedness brought about even under conditions of free ownership and operation. Take the case of Sweden, as reported on recently by the Swedish International Press Bureau. In that progressive country, there is the same disparity between tendencies in the press and popular political opinion that you find in the United States. Over the years in the U.S., Democrats and Republicans are about even in numbers, while the press is substantially 82 to 88 per cent Republican. The same discrepancy exists in Sweden.

Newspaper ownership in Sweden results in 78 papers standing for the Conservatives, or 22.8 per cent of all papers. Yet the Conservative vote is only 14.2 per cent. The Liberals, with 59 papers, or 49.8 per cent of the whole—almost half!—get only 24.6 per cent of the votes. And the Social Democrats, with 36 papers, or only 16.8 per cent of the whole, get 46 per cent of the votes and are the largest party. Clearly, people are not influenced by editorial opinions.

The place of the newspaper in various countries affords some very interesting comparisons. What countries, would you guess, had the most copies of daily papers bought, per 1,000 inhabitants? The United Kingdom leads off, with 611 copies per 1,000. Little Luxembourg follows with 447, while Iceland is third with 439. Norway has 396, Belgium 324, Denmark 381. The United States tags along with only 353. At the low end of the scale are Italy, with 107, Greece with 71, Portugal with 64, and Turkey—progressive now in so many other ways—with only 32.

### *The Muslim Brotherhood*

In view of the severe punishment that is being meted out to the Muslim Brotherhood of Egypt the following comment, from the *Worldover Press* of October 29, is interesting. It should be noted in passing that it was reported sometime back that Pakistan had pleaded for mercy for the members of the Brotherhood.

How often time's changes confound the prophets of doom! Egypt and Britain have signed the Suez pact. Just three years ago, Sheikh Sayid Sabek of the Muslim Brotherhood, declared: "We shall knock on the gates of Paradise with British skulls."

### *NATO Authorises Atomic Defence*

The annual Ministerial meeting of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) was held in Paris during the third week of December with Ministers from fourteen countries participating.

In a statement on the meeting of the NATO Council, the British Foreign Secretary, Sir Anthony Eden told the House of Commons on December 22 that there had been a steady increase in the efficiency of NATO forces. But still it was no time for any relaxation of their efforts.

"In order to attain this position of defensive and deterrent strength," Sir Anthony continued, "we look forward in coming years to an important contribution from the German Federal Republic. Even more significant, however, will be the effect of the new weapons with which NATO forces are now beginning to be equipped."

*Reuter*, in a dispatch from Paris on December 18, reported that the NATO Council had authorised Army Commanders to plan Atomic defence.

He referred to public interest and speculation about the report of the Military Committee on the pattern of NATO military strength over the next few years and said that though the NATO Council had approved the report as the basis for defence planning and preparations by the NATO military authorities, the approval "did not involve the delegation of the responsibility of governments to make decisions for putting plans into action in the event of hostilities."

"Responsibility in this matter rests, therefore, with the governments. It will, for obvious reasons, not be possible to publish the detailed arrangements finally arrived at."

Referring to the Western attitude to the Soviet Union, Sir Anthony Eden said that after careful examination of the "underlying purposes as well as the recent manifestation of Soviet policy," the Western Foreign Ministers "could find no reason to consider that the Soviet threat to the free world has diminished. The massive military power of the Soviet Union is still growing rapidly. Soviet policy is still aimed at confusing, dividing and weakening the West."

### *Moscow Conference of Powers*

In an effort to forestall the ratification of the Paris and London Agreements between Western powers for the remilitarization of western Germany and her inclusion in a Western European Union, the Soviet Government in a note on November 13 invited all European powers as well as the Government of the United States of America to a General European Conference to be held in Moscow on November 29. The objects of the Conference were stated to be a discussion of the need for establishing in Europe "a system of security embracing all European countries, regardless of their social and political systems."

Most of the European countries refused to attend the conference on various grounds. The Government of Finland while sympathising with the objects of the conference signified their inability to join the conference unless other European powers also were present. Consequently, only eight European countries—U.S.S.R., Poland, Czechoslovakia, Eastern Germany, Bulgaria, Hungary, Rumania, and Albania—participated in the conference with an observer from the People's Republic of China. It may be said that the conference was of the Soviets' allies.

The conference sat for four days from November 29 to December 2 and issued a Declaration after its final sitting which was unanimously approved by all the participating governments as well as by the Government of the People's Republic of China.

"The participating governments," runs the Declaration, "deem it necessary to draw the attention of all European States to the fact that implementation of the Paris agreements would lead to a serious deterioration in the situation in Europe. It would not only create new and graver obstacles to the settlement of the German question and to the reunification of Germany as a peaceable and democratic State; it would pit one part of Germany against the other and convert Western Germany into a dangerous breeding ground of war in Europe. Instead of a peaceful settlement of the German question, these agreements would give a free hand to the militarist element in Western Germany, thereby increasing the menace to the security of the European nations."

It was pointed out that the decision to rearm Germany would greatly enhance international risk and tension and was contrary to international obligations of the Western Powers. The provision for a half-a-million strong army in Western Germany in the Paris agreement was five times the strength of the army all Germany had been allowed to have under the Treaty of Versailles in 1919.

Dismissing the suggestion that the inclusion of a remilitarized Western Germany in a West European military alliance would make it possible to restrict the growth of German militarism to certain limits the Declaration pointed out that such efforts had always ended in a fiasco in the past. "One cannot ensure peace in Europe by opening the way of the re-emergence of German militarism and lulling oneself with the invention of guarantees against it, the ineffectiveness of which is only too obvious."

The decision to remilitarize Western Germany, it was pointed out, had been taken behind the back of the German people who could in no way benefit from such a move. It would curtail the democratic rights of the people of Western Germany and would make the powers of the militarists supreme. The formation of the Western military alliance including Western Germany further could not be regarded as a defensive measure as none of those countries were not being threatened by any State. The bankruptcy of the politics of dealing with the Soviet Union from a "position of strength" had been quite apparent.

The world is beholding again the not so unfamiliar military coalition of a number of European States directed against others. "If these military alliances in Europe should enlarge their land, air, and other forces, and if it should come to a resurgence of aggressive German militarism," the Declaration said, "the other European States will, inevitably be com-

pelled to take effective measures for their self-defence, to guard themselves against attack. For this it follows that all countries interested in safeguarding the peace and security of Europe must not allow the re-emergence of German militarism, must prevent intensification of the arms race, and assist in uniting the efforts of all the European countries in safeguarding the security of Europe."

The eight governments considered that for the settlement of the German question it was necessary first and foremost:

"To renounce the plan of remilitarizing Western Germany and including it in military alliances, which would remove the chief impediment to the reunification of Germany on a peaceful and democratic basis;

"To achieve agreement on the holding in 1955 of free all German elections, and the formation on the basis of these elections of a national government of an integral, democratic and peaceful Germany."

It was pointed out that the withdrawal of all occupation forces from both parts of Germany would greatly facilitate the reunification of the country and make a solution of the German problem much easier.

For the maintenance of security in Europe, the participating governments suggested the abandonment of restricted groupings of European powers which should be supplanted by a system of collective security based on the participation of all European States regardless of their social and political systems. A unified and peaceful Germany would also be a member of such a system of security. It would also be open to the United States and other Powers upon whom rested the responsibility for setting the German question, "a question of paramount importance for the peace of Europe." Such a collective system should oblige all the countries to settle all their disputes peacefully in accordance with the stipulations of the United Nations Charter.

The Declaration goes on to say:

"The parties to this conference declare that they have decided, should the Paris agreements be ratified, to adopt joint measures in the sphere of organization of their armed forces and their command, as well as other measures required for strengthening their defensive power, protecting the peaceful labours of their peoples, guaranteeing the inviolability of their frontiers and territories, and providing defence against possible aggression.

"The Parties to the conference have agreed, if the Paris agreements are ratified, to re-examine the situation with a view to taking reliable measures for the safeguarding of their security and for the maintenance of peace in Europe.

"Meanwhile the signatories would continue their efforts for a peaceful system of collective security in Europe embracing all European nations," the Declaration concludes.

The well-known Soviet political commentators, V. Berczikov and L. Sedin analyse the political significance in an article in the Soviet political weekly, *The New Times*, and write with reference to the attempts of the West to minimise the importance of the steps envisaged in the Declaration, that all the arguments of the existence of an Eastern military bloc since long before could have but one purpose—"to keep the public ignorant of the serious warning against ratification of the Paris agreements and the rearming of Western Germany sounded by the Moscow Conference."

### *Reaction to Moscow Conference*

Discussing "M. Molotov's rump conference on European security," the *Daily Telegraph* writes on November 29 that it was purely accidental that British, French and American notes declining invitations to attend the conference would be delivered about the time the conference began. The Russians had not expected any other attitude from the Western powers, "it was obvious from the outset that this conference if held at all, would be an entirely one-sided affair, devoted to threats or specious appeals to the West."

"The Communists," adds the *Telegraph*, "are doubtless about to produce a final blast of propaganda against the European agreements; but the Moscow conference will be worth watching for any indication it may give of the attitude the Russians propose to adopt after ratification."

The three chief Western powers—Britain, France and the U.S.A.—in identical notes delivered on November 29 to the Soviet Foreign Ministry by messenger—rejected the Soviet invitation for participation in an All-European Security Conference.

According to *Reuter*, France had proposed in her Note to the Soviet Union a four-power conference after ratification of the Paris agreements on Western defence. It had been stated in the Note that British, U.S., French and Soviet Foreign Ministers should meet if there were good chances of finding solutions for the problems of European security.

*Reuter* adds: "The Note also contained the following proposals:

"1. Agreement should be reached on the Austrian State Treaty;

"2. The Soviet Government should explain its attitude towards free German elections, the first indispensable step towards reunification of the country;

"3. There should be a diplomatic exchange of views on all other European questions of common interest, which could later be examined by a four-power conference, and in particular questions relating to European security; and

"4. If circumstances appeared favourable, a wider conference should be called of all European countries and other interested States to consider other aspects of European security."

## Soviet Union and Gandhiji

The *Bombay Chronicle* writes on December 10: "The leader of the Soviet Cultural Delegation in India, Mr. Kozhenvkov, has forcefully condemned the attack on Mahatma Gandhi in the Soviet *Encyclopaedia*."

"I honestly feel," he says, "that the remarks about Mahatma Gandhi in the Soviet *Encyclopaedia* are not correct. This has been so due to their ignorance and lack of knowledge about the situation in India."

"Mr. Kozhenvkov's statement follows an even more authoritative repudiation from Moscow of the authors of the attack."

"Both are to be welcomed, and it is satisfactory that the Soviet Union does not consider Mahatma Gandhi to have been a reactionary, a counter-revolutionary, and a class-conscious anti-proletarian."

## Detained Chinese Students in USA

The *Free Lance*, Calcutta's newly started evening daily, reports in its issue of December 22 that thirty-one Chinese students who had been denied exit visas to leave the United States had in a letter on December 16 asked Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld, the U. N. Secretary-General, to use his "good offices" to assist their departure from the United States.

That was the substance of a *Reuter* message from New York.

It is a bit curious that foreign nationals, against whom there was apparently no legal charge pending, should be detained against their will. This was clearly against all international practice and law. The U.S. authorities owed an explanation of their conduct.

## Churchill's Woodford Speech

Sir Winston Churchill, the British Prime Minister, caused a great stir by his dramatic announcement at Woodford on November 23 that even before the war had ended and while the Germans had been surrendering by hundreds of thousands "and our streets were crowded with cheering people, I telegraphed to Lord Montgomery directing him to be careful in collecting German arms, to stock them so that they could easily be issued again to German soldiers whom we should have to work with if the Soviet advance continued"

Sir Winston added: "I am giving you the story straightly and bluntly so you may see for yourselves how wisely you are being led."

The British Premier was apparently justifying the recent decision to rearm Western Germany and including her in the ranks of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation.

Field-Marshal Montgomery confirmed having had received the telegram in question.

A storm of criticism raged in the British Press and Parliament over the statement of the Prime Minister. In the House of Commons, on November

25, Sir Winston further disclosed in reply to a question by Mr. Sydney Silverman (Labour), that he had sent a message to (then) General Eisenhower on May 9, 1945, which read as follows:

"I have heard with some concern that the Germans are to destroy all their aircraft *in situ*. I hope that this policy will not be adopted in regard to weapons and other forms of equipment."

A later *Reuter* dispatch, dated December 1, from London, says:

"Sir Winston Churchill said today that, perhaps, he did not after all send a telegram in 1945, ordering Field-Marshal Montgomery to stack surrendered arms, in case they had to be handed back to the Nazis to stop a Russian advance."

The Prime Minister regretted his Woodford speech adding:

"I must also admit the truth of what *Manchester Guardian* said to the effect that historical events are best treated in their context. I hope I shall remember that next time."

On the same day, however, F.-M. Montgomery confirmed for the second time the receipt of such a telegram in 1945. Marshal Zhukov, wartime Soviet army chief, who had led the Soviet troops into Berlin and was now Deputy Defence Minister, in an article in the *Pravda* on December 16, discussing the revelations made by Sir Winston Churchill, accuses the British Premier of treachery at the end of the war.

"The history of international relations and the history of war," writes Marshal Zhukov, "knows few examples of such betrayal of the obligations and duties of an ally as this act of perfidy committed by Mr. Churchill and Field-Marshal Montgomery at the end of the Second World War. It is understandable, therefore, that Churchill's brazen statement has rightfully aroused indignation everywhere."

Marshal Zhukov refers to his representation to Marshal Montgomery in 1945 about the existence of German troop formations in the British zone of occupation in Germany which had been explained away by the British Field-Marshal. According to him, "the actions of the British had also been known to the American Command at that time."

## "Guiana—the Road Backwards"

Commenting on the recommendations of the Robertson Commission on the situation in British Guiana, Dr. Cheddi Jagan, deposed Prime Minister of that country, writes in an article in the *Vital* that the recommendations had caused no surprise inasmuch as the appointment of the Commission has been no more than a mere farce. The Communism, as expected, had justified all the steps taken by the British Government and had put the blame squarely on the shoulders of the leaders of the People's Progressive Party.

But Dr. Jagan points, though his party had publicly disapproved many features of the Wadding-

ton Constitution which, in line with the traditional imperialist pattern, had placed all real power in the hands of officials appointed from London, the "destruction of the constitution was caused not by our refusal to work it because of preconceived views. The fact is, we were working it. The snag came about because we were working it not according to the plans carefully laid down. The constitutional structure was not designed to accommodate six P.P.P. ministers in a policy-making Executive Council of ten. But once having got control of the Executive Council our working of the constitution could have led and was leading to only one inevitable conclusion—the exposure of the Governor and the limited constitution. It was really to forestall this exposure that the troops marched in on October, 1953 and not because of our 'disruptive and undemocratic ends'."

The Robertson Commission could not recommend the restitution of constitutional government in British Guiana so long as the popularity of the People's Progressive Party had not been crushed. But the influence of the party was as strong as ever. As a correspondent of the *London Times* puts it:

"There is little doubt what the result of another general election would be. The P.P.P. remains the only organised political body in the sugar estates and the villages. The new party, the National Democratic Party has made little impact and is almost unknown in many places."

Under such conditions the Commission had found nothing better than to suggest the banning of the Progressive Party and the disenfranchisement of some of the 'extremist' leaders; and postponement of the elections and "marking time." The Government had accepted the latter part of the recommendation only as disenfranchisement and the imposition of a ban would stir world public opinion.

The Commission had based their recommendation of "marking time" on the assumption that in any election the P.P.P. was more likely to contest than to hovecott it and after such elections would either (1) refuse to take seats or (2) with a majority, refuse to elect Ministers and thus be obstructive, or (3) elect Ministers and again provoke a constitutional crisis. Neither the Commission had set a time limit after which constitutional government would be restored.

### *Russia Backs Down in Romania*

The following report from the *Worldover Press* of October, 22, shows that Moscow is at last trying to move with the times.

Receiving only minor attention in the West, two significant moves by the Soviet Union in Romania not only carry forward the new Moscow line of greater flexibility but indicate a new desire to woo the restless satellite peoples. When Romania fell under Russian control, the U.S.S.R. organized joint Russian-Roma-

nian companies to operate the most important industries, with the Russians owning 51 per cent. This deal was never popular, and it has now been abandoned. The Romanians will get their own industries back, but they will have to pay Russia for its majority shares.

Another aspect of Russian domination has also gone by the board. Three years ago, Russia started a great drive to spread the speed-up among Romanian workers. Stakhanovites, rewarded by high pay on a piecework basis, increased steadily to some 25,000, but fellow-workers gave them the cold shoulder and the stakhanovites themselves suffered illnesses and intolerable fatigue. While the system, on paper, was at its height, it was recently called off. In the long run, these steps may win Russia friend-ship, but temporarily it will probably suffer a considerable loss in prestige.

### *Co-Existence in the Far East*

In view of the imminent visit of Dr. Hammarskjöld to Peking the following comment of the *London Observer* is very interesting:

The *Observer* (December 19), commenting on the problem of co-existence in the Far East, writes: "The proposal by the Secretary-General of the United Nations to visit the head of the Chinese Government—which his organization still refuses to recognize—and its acceptance by the Chinese Communists are unprecedented. Though Dr. Hammarskjöld's mission may still fail in its immediate purpose, it could not have been conceived unless both the United States and China were now willing to start exploring terms for co-existence in Asia."

"The tension in the Far East symbolized by the lack of diplomatic relations between these two great Powers, remains the principal cause of anxiety in the world today. True, there have been moves towards a *detente*. China has co-operated in bringing about the Geneva armistice, and neutral Asian opinion with its gentle but persistent warnings against the continued policy of violent infiltration is beginning to make its impact on Peking."

"In the United States, the decisive rejection of any idea of 'preventive war' has been followed by the new agreement with General Chiang Kai-shek, the strictly defensive terms of which mark the definite abandonment of all the fantasies that the General's troops might one day be used to invade the Chinese mainland."

"The risk, then, is no longer that a major war may break out overnight in the Far East. It is that warlike incidents may continue to be used deliberately to maintain the atmosphere of tension and to divide the Western Powers."

The *Observer* goes on: "Today the fate of Formosa has become the key to co-existence in the Far East. For there is not the slightest prospect that such co-existence can be achieved on any basis other than the *status quo*—with China under Communist, and Formosa under anti-Communist, government."

"While the Communist Powers continue to insist on the 'liberation' of Formosa, American recognition of Peking will be impossible. Quite apart from any strategic considerations, no American government could surrender millions of Chinese opponents of Communism to the tender mercies of a Communist government; and nobody who believes in the rights of man should ask them to do so.

"Conversely, the Peking Government cannot possibly surrender its claim to Formosa while the island is the seat of a rival Government of China recognized and aided by the United States. Only if the present situation, both in China and in Formosa representing the actual outcome of the Chinese revolution—is accepted as legal by both sides can peace be assured in the Far East.

"In the new mood of American opinion, we believe the time has come of serious discussion of the terms of co-existence in Asia, which, from the American viewpoint, are terms of 'recognition. The danger today is not a major war; it is the continued failure to reach a settlement."

### *Tension in Thailand*

The *Worldover Press* of October 22, gives this picture of the troubles of Thailand in facing the present critical situation:

For an area possessing all the ingredients of a first rate crisis it would be hard to beat north-eastern Thailand. With a 500-mile border along Laos, with many of the country's 3,000,000 Chinese favorable to Mao Tse-tung and a large fraction of these dominant in north-eastern industry and commerce, a deadlock has arisen over the disposition of some 40,000 refugees from the war in northern Indo-China. They are Vietnamese, for the most part, but a large majority want to return home even with the Vietminh in control while others who fled long ago have built up farms along the border and don't want to be removed. The Thai government, however, fearing an addition to Vietminh armies, refuses to send the refugees into Communist-nationalist territory of northern Vietnam, but only to southern Vietnam. Nor will it allow the refugees to stay where they are.

Meanwhile, former premier Pridi Phanomyong threatens an internal revolt from his exile's perch in Communist China, and thousands of disgruntled north eastern Thais, not communists at all are angry over a severe drop in prices for their products. They have scant confidence in the Thai government at Bangkok, which in its insensitivity to corruption and slowness in making urgent reforms, resembles nothing so much as the declining Kuomintang under Chiang Kai-shek. The Manila Pact cannot really prevent trouble, and U.S. aid, which strengthens the regime, cannot reach through it to the people and win them.

### *Poetry and Politics*

In the aftermath of Paris and Moscow Conferences, one feels that somehow we of the modern world have lost all balance, in thought and in judgement, and one looks for the reason why. Perhaps the following comment by Devere Allen in the *Worldover Press* gives the answer:

A Renaissance of Know-Nothingism, even if it seems like a contradiction in terms, is definitely in the making. The news magazines and daily papers are printing more and more letters in which the ultimate epithet is "egg-head," that most recent symbol of intellectualism. Most letters that come to this column are kind, while critical ones are often deserved. The nasty ones always have the "egg-head" approach. Some pompous dope who has spent less than ten minutes on a complex issue, and shows it, bawls you out because you have given, to an understanding of it, sweat, tears, and eyestrain.

In this foul climate of discussions, you may as well be warned. If you like, you may now stop reading and go back to playing with your blocks. For there will be in what follows a few kind words for poetry and its international significance. From the viewpoint of the Great Majority, no one could sink lower. Which may explain in part, however, why we find ourselves in such a negative phase of world politics, earthbound and uncreative in discovering solutions for international problems, and usually late with solutions when we propose them.

If you haven't noticed the decline in poetry, it may be because you couldn't care less. Here's what the Oxford University Press says in its bright but egg-headish little paper, *The Periodical*: "English readers as a body have turned their backs on new poetry with a degree of determination that is little short of unanimous." This publishing house speaks nostalgically of the late 1600's and the early years of the 20th century, when bringing out poetry was profitable because the public flocked to buy it.

It is the same in the U.S. says Louis Untermeyer, in that fine inter-American monthly, *Americas*. "Even the most chauvinistic admirer of North American culture must be happy about the state of contemporary poetry in the U.S.A. . . . In most of the countries of Europe and South America, poetry is not only understood but appreciated: what is more, it is popular." One might add that in Latin America and parts of Europe, poets are granted a social standing, and often a leadership in thought and affairs, almost inconceivable to those lands where a poet is only one thin step above a pervers. But alas, even that Chilean Nobel Prize winner, Gabriela Mistral, said the other day, "Latin American poetry is going through a stage of decadence, since no new great poets are arising and quality is falling." For poets and egg-heads, things are getting tough, all over.

You can say that this is all the fault of present-day poet, but you won't be convincing, because you don't read them, and hardly read the oldtimers—unless you're a rare exception. No, it must be feared the real trouble lies much deeper. As a brilliant Italian said, "We are living in an age of prose." By that, he meant we have turned "practical," that we over-emphasize technics and utility, that we magnify power rather than subtlety and imagination. In short, that the very qualities we need most urgently for an inspired direction of foreign policy and international relations, are the aspects of life we are repudiating all along the line.

There have been poets, it is true, who when elevated to key posts, appeared impractical to the degree of being fumbling. One such was the late Premier Azana of Republican Spain, who with a firmer hand might have averted the gathering of Fascist forces and prevented the civil war. But on the whole, a people which loves poetry and reveres poets should have the wit to see through humbugging politicians, cut across the illusions of power politics, and know dictatorships for the idiocies they are. The real world revolution will bring the poets back, and banish know-nothingism from world relation. Truth is in Pope's words:

"Vain was the chief's, the sage's pride;

They had no poet, and they died."

### A Correction

There was some inaccuracy in our comment last month (p. 425) with reference to a report in the *New York Times*, that the news of the expulsion of Dr. C. S. Lin, Editor of a Chinese daily, from Calcutta, had found no mention in the Calcutta Press. It has since come to our notice that the news of the expulsion of the Chinese editor had been reported in fair details in the *Hindusthan Standard* on 19th November.

### Suresh Chandra Deb

An eminent journalist, Suresh Chandra Deb, died on the 15th December last at the age of 72. He was an inhabitant of Sylhet. He came to Calcutta as early as 1899 and was inspired by the national activities and patriotic speeches and writings of Surendranath Banerjee and other leaders. Suresh Chandra was associated with Bipin Chandra Pal in 1905 in editing his weekly *New India* on the eve of the Swadeshi movement in Bengal. He also served the *Bande Mataram* since its start in 1906. In 1908, he again went to Sylhet and was placed in charge of the National School there. When Bipin Chandra Pal came back to Calcutta from England and began to publish the *Hindu Review*, his service was again requisitioned. During the eventful days of the Non-co-operation, Suresh Chandra helped Pandit Shyamsundar Chakravarty in editing *The Servant*. Suresh Chandra was associated with the Khadi Pratisthan of Satish Chandra Das Gupta for some time. He served a term of imprisonment during the Civil Disobedience Movement. But he was always active as a journalist.

He served the *Hindusthan Standard* and the *Nationalist* as an assistant. He was also associated with this *Review* for some years. He wrote for the *Indian Annual Register* regularly for about a decade. We mourn his loss very deeply.

### "Kiran-Dada"

Bengal has lost one of her most devoted sons in the person of Kiran Chandra Mukhopadhyaya whose death took place on the 12th December last. Kiran Chandra died at the age of 74 years after leading a long life fully dedicated to the service of his country and the uplift of his fellow nationals.

He was of the first batch of revolutionaries in Bengal and worked in conjunction with Sri Aurobindo, Swami Niralamba (Jatindranath Banerji) and Swami Prajnananda (Devabrata Basu). His complete dedication to the cause was exemplary and he was one of the most active members of the group that conducted the famous quartette of revolutionary papers, the *Bande Mataram*, the *Yugantar*, the *Sandhya* and the *Navashakti*. He was one of the closest collaborators of Upadhyaya Brahmabandhab.

It was Kiran Chandra who published the process and mechanism of the percussion bomb in *Yugantar*. He was closely associated with "Bagha" (Tiger) Jatin, the famous terrorist from 1909 to the latter's demise.

He was first imprisoned for writing the revolutionary pamphlet *Kah Panthak*. He was interned from 1915 to 1920 under the D.O.I.A. After release in 1920 he aided Pandit Shyamsundar Chakravarty in the publication of the daily *Servant*, and joined Mahatma Gandhi's Non-co-operation Movement. He established the famous "Satyasram" in the district of Khulna at Daulatpur. He was arrested again in 1924 on suspicion of revolutionary activity and released in 1928. But he was imprisoned in 1930 on suspicion of being implicated in the famous Chittagong Armoury Raid and spent eight years in confinement, mostly at Deoli.

On release in 1942, he came back to Calcutta and started reorganising the Saraswati Library. Then came the 1942 Movement and his arrest and detention for three more years. After release he tried to reorganise his lifelong endeavour for the uplift of young men by a realignment of the studious and serious elements amongst the Calcutta students. He died in harness while carrying on with this noble project of uplift.

"Kiran-dada" as he was known to young and old was a shining example of the fully dedicated and spotless nationalist. Quite naturally he was completely ignored by our gaudy and tinsel gods-that-be. Inhuman police tortures had left his body a wreck but not his spirit. He neither asked for recognition nor was he accorded it by those utterers of false credentials who have climbed to office on the steps built by others like Kiran Chandra. May his noble soul rest in peace.

# DR. RADHAKRISHNAN'S PHILOSOPHY OF VALUES

By DR. P. S. SASTRI, M.A., M.Litt., Ph.D.,

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THE first half of this century has revealed the emergence of two great Idealists who interpreted the idealistic tradition anew and restated the case on a more solid foundation. One is Bosanquet and the other is Dr. Radhakrishnan. In the systems of both these thinkers there is a keen perception of the demands of the age, an evaluation of the thought of their contemporaries, a deep sense of obligation to the great spiritualistic traditions of their respective lands and cultures, a profound awareness of the spiritualistic basis of life and thought, and an yearning to make life liveable in the light of an ideal. In these days of formalism and solipsism, academic philosophers do not feel the necessity of probing into the depths of life; and the subjectivistic tendencies of modern science have really retarded the true course of philosophy. Yet the social and political problems that have been agitating the world of man since the beginning of the century are more acute today; and the reflective and critical intellect of man cannot remain contented with the feats of logical formalism. This is at the centre of Dr. Radhakrishnan's thought.

There are certain values constitutive of human life. They are at the back of all human action. They are significant because of their teleological relation to life; and life then acquires its significance from those absolute values that are embodied in it. In the absence of such absolute values life would lose all the meaning that it has for us. They therefore not only emerge in conscious living, but make a valuable life possible. They have an objective existence, for, they are the stuff out of which human life is made. They exist in so far as they are operative and effective in human life giving rise to the various institutions; and they are also the essence of the nature of the universe. A philosophical interpretation of reality demands an answer to the problems of value. It is here that we find Prof. Radhakrishnan illuminating. His thought is permeated by the idea of the primacy of the values of the spirit; and as a result, his interest is largely in life and its problems. All the logical and the cosmological questions have only a secondary importance. In his address at the Sixth International Congress of Philosophy (1926) he said:

"We are not so much in need of a keen analysis of particular problems, as those of essence and existence, sense and perspectives, or a pragmatic insistence on methodology and on the futility of metaphysics, interesting as they all are, but philosophy in the larger sense of the term, a spiritual view of the universe broad-based on the results of sciences and aspirations of humanity."

The Greek ideas of rationalist philosophy, humanist ethics, and nationalist politics too will not do.

There is a higher ideal, the life of the Spirit, which gives rise to all other ideas and ideals. This does not mean that we have to begin with an assumption as though it were real. We start with an analysis of experience and we do accept whatever is revealed in this analysis. Even religion is not a creed or code, but an insight into reality. It is as much true and real as the findings of the scientists, in so far as both the scientific and the religious experiences point to existent facts. We cannot reject the one and accept the other. They reveal the complementary aspects of the same reality. But one of these experiences goes to the very heart of the universe and brings back to us that living reality which we yearn for. The true religion, then, is a rational way of living. Thus he observes:

"If ever the spirit is to be at home in this world and not merely a prisoner or fugitive, secular foundation must be laid deep and preserved worthily. Religion must express itself in reasonable thought, fruitful action, and right social institutions."

Such a foundation would render religion a living thing and not a dogma; for, to be spiritual is not the same as rejecting the value of reason. It is a going beyond reason where alone reason is perfect in that it becomes creative thinking. It is in this sense that philosophy and religion become the two aspects of a single movement.

Prof. Radhakrishnan considers values to be the clues to Reality. It is the striving towards the realisation of the values of truth, beauty and love that distinguishes the spiritual being called Man from the biological. Physical and economic necessities and conflicts do not condition human existence, for the human endeavour all the ages has been towards the enduring realisation of those values that vaguely seem to reveal the value and the destiny of the individual. Man by virtue of his self-consciousness reveals his superiority over the forces of nature. And yet man is not a total stranger in this world. He is, as Pringle-Pattison and a countless number of thinkers have taught us, organic to the universe. This organic connection is made known to us in the conception of values, for values are not the fictions of an individual mind.

"Religion, by insisting on the organic connection between the world of nature and the world of values, delivers us from isolation and transiency."

This vital relationship exists in *rerum natura* and the religious consciousness reveals it to us. It is a consciousness that overcomes the discursive activities of the intellect by presenting us with that which

includes reason, affections, and will. In such a mood when the whole of the individual self is active, the spiritual is apprehended in the natural; for the experience of the values not only touches the inmost being of man but takes him to that stage of existence where time, space and motion are reduced to nothing. In any experience we are conscious of a peculiar unity, a unity that draws us more and more into the depths of the universe; and an understanding of the real nature of the unity presented in such experiences takes us into the inner nature of the universe. This inner nature constitutes the very meaning of our experience. In other words, we have knowledge on the one hand and experience on the other. This experience precedes knowledge and extends beyond it. Knowledge is only that aspect of experience which becomes conscious of itself. It is in this experience which includes our knowledge and transcends it that we have to discover the springs of life; and precisely for this reason, the ontological being is intuited as trans-social whence arises the significance of the social institutions and activities. As long as we admit the necessity of the social institutions, so long we cannot escape from the conclusion that these institutions embody a striving towards the supreme values of life. These values must be enduring if they are to satisfy the human individual. That is, they cannot be mere accidents, the creations of a human mind.

They reveal "an order of being which is more than merely human, a spiritual reality which is the source of the significance of what happens in the temporal process."

That this is implicit in the contemporary systems of thought, Dr. Radhakrishnan has been able to present in his *Reign of Religion* and in his *Idealist View of Life*.

The religious affirmation of God as a fact is no doubt a profound interpretation of existence; but it comes with a certainty that seems to be absent in our empirical affirmations because religion "is something inward and personal which unifies all values and organises all experiences."<sup>2</sup> It is an actual experience, and the sense of actuality is implicit in the experience of the values of the spirit. This fact is ignored in the contemporary trends since they are either purely analytic or completely abstract. Behaviourism, for example, explains man by leaving out his humanity, and his humanity consists of his apprehension of values. The other schools of psychology resolve concrete experiences into their components and they forget that values can be found only in the whole. Pragmatism, humanism, and the space-time idealism accept that the values are ultimate and yet they refuse to recognise their objective status. And it is only an idealist that accepts that

the universe has a meaning, a value, that the highest value is inseparable from the truly real, that our minds are a part of the universe embodying a value, and that it is impossible to conceive of a universe of beings that do not strive after a perfection of the spirit. It is here that Prof. Radhakrishnan brings the fruitful doctrine of the supplementation of the creative intuition by the reason of man.

The universe has a meaning and it is always a meaning apprehended by a conscious being. This meaning is not a property residing in the mind, nor in the object alone. Yet it must somehow exist in the object if I am to apprehend it. In this apprehension I am not a passive spectator receiving the ideas, but I consciously enter into the content of the given and reconstruct it for myself. In other words I make it intelligible. But this is a very difficult task since all language is 'matter-moulded,' and meaning comprehends the objects and goes beyond them. My linguistic expression can at best arrive at a nearest approach to the meaning which is fully revealed in the act of experience. Language, experience, reality are the three aspects of my experience; and our contemporary systems accept only one or two of these and even then treat them as if they have no real relation to one another. But as Prof. Radhakrishnan rightly points out, they are all intimately bound up, and they can be understood only when we focus our attention on the experience proper. To begin with, all our mental processes appear as a unity within our individual consciousness. This unity is characterised by a certain awareness. There is the functioning of reason, of conscious adaptation, in the life of the sentient organism. We go higher up in this comprehension when we analyse our dreams and discover the possibility of the disembodied existences, and the impossibility of imaging our own personal cessation of consciousness. And as we slowly begin realising that the apprehension of meaning presupposes a conscious mind, we are compelled to accept that the self has a value, or better, is a value of the highest kind. The experiences of ecstasy that we have in the aesthetic, social and religious spheres make us realise that the value we realise, owes its being to that transcending of the limits of individual existence that we find here. In ecstasy we have a feeling of revelation, an awareness of a revealed intuitive knowledge. This knowledge has a certitude that we are compelled to hold to the reality of the spiritual. Such a reality answers to our religious, moral and social needs in the highest sense. The spirit or the soul, then, is not a principle of explanation, but a definite fact, an existence. Thus we are told:

"Thought, when it thinks itself out to the end, becomes religion by being lived and tested by the supreme test of life."

2. *Ibid.*, p. 69.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 88.

4. *Indian Philosophy*. II, p. 771.

When the self is thus logically and ontologically established to be the supreme value, what shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul? The self must needs be won constantly, for this value can be realised only when we know how to live on earth.

Value then turns out to be one and one alone. It is all-inclusive and coherent in itself. God is that aspect of the Absolute apprehended by the religious consciousness, as it is that aspect of beauty revealed in the aesthetic. Yet we have to explain the diversity of cultures; and here Prof. Radhakrishnan brings in the dialectic of the Spirit.

"The varied cultures are but dialects of a single speech of the soul. The differences are due to accents, historical circumstances, and stages of development. If we are to find a solution for the differences which divide races and nations today, it must be through the recognition of the essential oneness of the modern world, spiritually and socially, economically and politically."

This is the secret strength of Dr. Radhakrishnan's Idealism. It is based on a dialectic which is no longer as static as that of Hegel, and which is not so purely materialistic as that of Marx. It accepts the process of change, of movement accepted by Croce, Bergson, Alexander and Whitehead with one difference, viz., that it involves a definite and concrete and realisable *nisus* to the ideal. This *nisus* is regulated by the theory of value. We have seen that Value is the clue to reality. It is the form in and through which Reality is manifested to us. And value in its turn is the content of the manifestation seeking an adequate form. In other words, we are always directly apprehending the symbols in our daily existence; and symbolism can be excluded from our higher experiences only when our higher experiences can afford to perish. These symbols are unified into a harmonious whole by an act of the mind, while the harmony is the experienced reality for the spirit. That which we analyse intellectually is the synthetic whole of experience. It is a whole experienced in and as the self-consciousness whence arises the profound equation of the apparently finite self with the Absolute. It is the nature of one's own self that is revealed in the larger environment and this "offers the only justification for a life of truth-seeking and good-realising." From this Dr. Radhakrishnan proceeds to argue that self-knowledge is inseparable from self-existence, and that this alone is the true and direct knowledge that we have. No further proof is needed for the reality of the self, since it is the basis of all proof. And the distinction between the subject and the object is only a logical one, not a real ontological one. The destiny of the finite self is in the direction of the realisation of this oneness or unity.

The values constitute the many pathways to reality; and the religious includes the cognitive, the aesthetic and the ethical sides of our life.

"Our instinct for truth, our moral sense, and artistic craving are all organically bound up."

As long as we fail to realise the organic whole, so long do we fail in understanding ourselves and reality. Hence arises the significance of the religious consciousness which is a synthetic realisation of life. From this it is easy to follow Dr. Radhakrishnan's theory of the primacy of the spiritual value. The spirit which is intensely revealed and definitely affirmed in the religious consciousness is prior to the symbols that constitute the empirical universe of appearances.

"The truth we discern, the beauty we feel and the good we strive after is the God we apprehend as believers."

And God is to be interpreted as light, love and life.

A true philosophy originates in life and comes back to life after going through the several schools; and the true philosophers have been responsible for a socio-spiritual reformation of mankind. This is achieved by an enquiry into the nature of Reality either from the standpoint of the self, or from that of the objects. Both these points of view converge, as we have seen, in the concept of Value. The subjective interest of the mind cannot be dissociated from its tendency to arrive at a synthetic vision. But the synthetic vision can be complete only in a state of self-transcendence which alone has absolute validity. In order to realise this state of existence the finite self must die to its finitude; and that it does lose this nature is evident from an analysis of those experiences which involve values of the spirit. These are the essentially human values and they constitute the content of human consciousness. The world which embodies these values is then beginningless and endless; it is its real and fundamental nature to be ever at unrest. And the real, we know is beyond contradiction; and yet the forms in which it is manifested to us are to a certain extent self-contradictory. However we judge something valuable and this implies the recognition of a fact, not the creation of a fact. Valuation is thus prior to our judging. That is, valuation is implicit in the consciousness of an individual. As Green said:

"All other values are relative to values for, of, or in a person."

Values depend upon the integration of the world of objects into the conscious self. The self then is to be rightly treated as an organised whole and in this aspect it represents the synthesis of the subject and the object which are inseparable.

5. *Eastern Religions and Western Thought*, p. 350.

6. See *An Idealist View of Life*, p. 109.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 201.

8. See *Indian Philosophy*, I, p. 39.

"When we raise the question about the unifying agency in selfhood we are raising the more general question of the principle of unity in all existents, physical and biological included. Their unity is of the same character as the unity of selfhood, though less complex and less personal, but in principle it is the same."

This principle takes us back to the integration of the environment and to the awareness of the universal working in man.

This awareness leads to the struggle to realise a harmony between the individual and his world; and harmony seems to embody the conscious presence of the values sought. It also implies that the fragmentariness of man is overcome only in the whole. So "he strives after values, frames ideals and struggles to build up a world of unity and harmony." This struggle begets the various institutions which are taken to embody the trans-social ideal; and the purpose of the whole thus gets embodied in the life of the individual. It is in the difference of the degree of the embodiment that one differs from the other. In this way two elements of uniqueness and universality develop together till the former is merged in the latter. And yet the uniqueness of the whole is not lost, for the values we strive for are organic to existence. When we abstract states of consciousness from the objective world, they become meaningless and valueless. The value belongs to a state of consciousness not in itself but in its real organic unity with and within the whole. Nor can we value these states of consciousness apart from the individual to whom they belong. All value, as Bosanquet said, is in individuality. Finite individuals apart from the universe can have no value at all. If I am conscious of my unity with myself, I cannot deny my unity with others; and the unit of value is always the whole.

Connection with the past and the creation of the future are the two characteristics of the whole which is the unit of value. These two characteristics are respectively known as *karma* and Freedom in the system of Dr. Radhakrishnan. *Karma* is a principle of continuity having the retrospective and the prospective aspects. These two aspects reveal the principle of the self-determination of the Whole by the Whole as such.

"Faith in *karma* induces in us the mood of true justice or charity which is the essence of spirituality."

It does not land us in a deterministic universe, but it only prevents us from overemphasising the place and the importance of indeterminism. It focusses our attention on the nature of the human soul which represents an order of reality more complex than that of the physical or biological universe, and more

specific than any. We come to realise its organic unity with the universe and its fragmentariness, to overcome which it moves on perpetually. And in this movement it is directed naturally enough to the realisation of that Value which only the Whole called Reality can and does embody. And the development of the individual is a process from consciousness through self-consciousness to spiritual consciousness. The first stage of the process fosters only a psychological unity, while the second yields a logical unity of the individual with the environment. The consummation of the process results in the spiritual unity wherein we have the awareness of the reality and nature of the self as being a subject which is identical with an object. This awareness is foundational in a larger sense whence are we able to say that the universal Spirit is embodied in the finite world of individuals and things. This gives rise to the dissatisfaction of the finite centre of self-consciousness with every form of finitude; and the reality of universal spirit is then the plainest and simplest implication of our ordinary life.

"At the human level," says Dr. Radhakrishnan, "the secret tendency of man's nature to be a superman is found at work. The destiny of man is to manifest this secret aspiration. While for the self-conscious individual, religion is only faith in values, for the spiritual being it is vital contact with reality which is the source of all values."<sup>9</sup>

We begin our life in a given or "assumed" framework of values and we endeavour to realise that Value which is the source of all other values; and this is assuredly a spiritual Value that we strive after. This spiritual Value is comprehensive and all-inclusive and also individual in the true philosophic sense of the term. And it is the knowledge of such a Value that brings us closest to reality. Here do we find the close and intimate connection between knowledge and reality.

Summarising the positive characteristics of the world, Dr. Radhakrishnan informs us that the world is an ordered whole, that every existent is an organisation with a specific mode of relatedness, that the organisms tend towards greater interactive union with their surroundings or environment, that nature is in a continuous flux, that the varied changes are meaningful, and that the highest kind of experience that we have is all-inclusive and productive of personalities possessing such experience. Such an experience is the end of the cosmic process. The process then embodies certain values relative to the process and to the nature of the persons; and it is directed towards the experience of the supreme value called the all-inclusive spiritual reality, which alone is the reality in and of the cosmic process. This reality is taken to be God by the religious conscious-

9. *An Idealist View of Life*, pp. 271-272. Cf. *Eastern Religions and Western Thought*, p. 46.

10. *An Idealist View of Life*, p. 302.

ness and Dr. Radhakrishnan interprets this concept in terms of love.

God, he observes "is the Absolute from the human end. When we limit down the Absolute to its relation with the actual possibility, the Absolute appears as supreme Wisdom, Love and Goodness." And it is the "internal transcendence of God to the true process" that "gives meaning to the distinctions of value, and makes struggle and effort real."<sup>11</sup>

This self-transcendence is a character of finitude as such, when we do find that the values that appear to be relative to the finite self have their nusus in the Absolute Spirit. And when we admit the reality of love, we are forced to accept the principle of self-transcendence. Love is the best thing in the world; but one cannot have it for nothing, for human life is a continuous tension between the limited effort of the individual and the supreme purpose of the universe. This tension appears as an unresolved discord and the individual must needs seek for harmony. Any case of harmony is an act of integration, an act of growing impersonality.

"The test of authentic spiritual insight is an increased integration of the personal life, quickened sensibility, heightened power, and universal tenderness."<sup>12</sup>

In and through this integration of personality the finite self acquires its real impersonal, or better, super-personal nature whence it becomes the medium of the spiritual power. It becomes the "I, yet not I" of the mystic consciousness. And everything seems to have a value only because of the spirit in it. As the Maitri Upanishad points out the knower is like a smokeless fire burning aglow. This is the supreme value. And the other values through the realisation of which the spirit advances, are intrinsic values characteristic of the experience as such. All the values that we have in the finite world are in a sense non-competitive for they can be shared without diminution of the supreme value which is embodied in them.

Values are facts in the world and are constitutive of the individual and his objects. Value is not a mere object of feeling nor is it a mere subjective fiction; for what experience insists vehemently can not be rejected complacently. Of course, it is not man that is the subject-matter of valuation. It is man as experiencing. And man in the act of experiencing affirms his consciousness and is gradually transforming it into an all-inclusive reality. As such the only value, the end-in-itself, is the whole or reality. The parts of the whole are not really parts but certain identities that sum up the spirit of the whole in them in virtue of their self-transcendence.

Each finite centre is a whole striving towards the consciousness of itself in terms of the spirit. That is, these centres of experience cannot be regarded as the means. Consequently we are led to the identification of value with being as such. But there is another feature of selfhood which we have to accept; and that is their fragmentariness, however much we may reject it as being ultimately unreal. It is a fragmentariness that takes us to the world of becoming at the same time when it makes us accept only the world of being. This brings us to the idea of the self appearing both as a means and an end.

Each entity is at once a means and an end for it entails the casual sequence. The cause we know ceases to be a cause when it achieves its end, when it is complete or perfect; and yet since it is identical with the effect, it is a means to its effect, it is a means to itself. It is a continuing entity. This twofold process is implicit in the supreme value called the self. It has a continuity and the various stages of this continuity constitute the many transformations that have come over it in its march. And the end too continues unchanged. Each entity is a means to itself for it is a continuing entity and it is also a means to the other ends that involve the cessation of its particular process. That is, every entity is and is not final. In other words, each is an intrinsic value and also an instrumental value. It is both at the same time as long as it is moving in the world of becoming. It is a means to many ends and is also many ends-in-itself. We identify values with the ends; the ends that are in the actual process become human values; and the final end which is no longer a means is the universal value. Since each entity is a means to many ends, it is many intrinsic values and instrumental values in one. These are unified and harmonised by the supreme end or value that is present in the whole process as the goal of the process. The temporarily terminating values are aspects of the ontological value which they seek to become. But when an end or value comes into conflict with other ends we have the disvalues; and the emergence of the disvalues is inherent in the very act of temporal termination. Hence the world of man as long as it is subject to the mutations of time, it has to encounter the disvalues. This is the source of the doctrine that values need to be vigilantly preserved, that value implies a struggle towards a harmony of the spirit. This struggle is inescapable for all values move in and beyond time, for they constitute the meeting point of the temporal with the supra-temporal.

There seems to be some such theory as outlined above at the very basis of Dr. Radhakrishnan's Idealistic Spiritualism. Such a basis renders it more realistic and acceptable. Into the dialectic of the Spirit he has successfully brought the philosophy of

11. *Ibid.*, pp. 312-313.

12. *Eastern Religions and Western Thought*, p. 98. See also

organism, welding it into a unity with the objective Absolutism of Samkara. Yet it is not a mere repetition of the old doctrine which does not seem to take full cognisance of the world of empirical facts. His insistence on the idea of the organic connection between man and his universe, and his valid emphasis on the reality and value of the immediate experience, make his Idealism a growing concern with a clear and definite *nisus*. It is an idealism that is both spiritual and human at once. Its basis is in values which are facts of immediate experience. The immediacy of values is related to the ideals in their referential character. They are united or harmonised at the point of realization, at the point when the ideal is revealed in immediate experience; and the striving self is then fulfilled in the concrete richness

of a reality which is seen and felt as identical with itself. This is the point where thought becomes aware of itself and passes into self-consciousness which is the real value. In other words, the philosophy of value tends to emphasise the reality and significance of the self as the reality that exists. It is an all-inclusive and coherent reality that can be visualised conceptually as the Universal Self-Conscious Person. It is not a person in the ordinary sense of the term; for it is that true Individual whose aspects are the finite centres of experience. This true Individual is the Value; and "we have to turn to religious experience for the living substance of our knowledge of" the supreme Value, "and all that dialectic and philosophy do is to clarify our intuitions."\*

\* *An Idealist View of Life*, pp. 173-174

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## SOME ASPECTS OF OUR CONSTITUTION

### (III) Fundamental Rights : Right to Equality

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#### I

IN my preceding article<sup>1</sup> in this series I dealt with some preliminary points in connexion with our Fundamental Rights. I shall now begin the consideration of some of our specific Fundamental Rights.

As will appear from Part III of our Constitution our Fundamental Rights have been divided into seven categories. They are as follows: (1) "Right to Equality," (2) "Right to Freedom," (3) "Right against Exploitation," (4) "Right to Freedom of Religion," (5) "Cultural and Educational Rights," (6) "Right to Property," and (7) "Right to Constitutional Remedies." In this article I propose to deal with some aspects of the first category of the Fundamental Rights, namely, the Right to Equality as guaranteed by the Constitution. And this leads us on to the consideration, in the first place, of Article 14 of the Constitution.

#### II

Now Article 14 of the Constitution has laid down:

"The State shall not deny to any person equality before the law or the equal protection of the laws within the territory of India."

And, under Article 12 of the Constitution, the term "State," here,

"includes the Government and Parliament of India and the Government and the Legislature of each of the (constituent) States (of India) and all local or other authorities within the territory of India or under the control of the Government of India."

As Fazl Ali and Mukherjee JJ. and some other Judges of our Supreme Court have rightly pointed out,<sup>2</sup> Article 14 of our Constitution corresponds to "the equal protection" clause in Section I of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States of America, which declares that no State shall "deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws." Before, therefore, we deal with the implications of Article 14, it may be desirable to know what "the equal protection" clause in the American Constitution really means. And, as a matter of fact, we find that the American interpretation of this Clause has greatly influenced some important judicial decisions in our country.<sup>3</sup> This will be evident as we proceed further.

Now dealing with the "meaning and effect of the guaranty of the equal protection of the laws" Professor Willis<sup>4</sup> has stated that "the guaranty . . . means the protection of equal laws."

"It forbids," he continues, "class legislation, but does not forbid classification which rests upon reasonable grounds of distinction. It does not prohibit legislation, which is limited either in the objects to which it is directed or by the territory within which it is to operate. It merely requires that all persons subjected to such legislation shall

3. See *Chiranjit Lal Chawdhuri v. The Union of India and Others* (1950) and *The State of West Bengal v. Anwar Ali Sarkar* (1952) in *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1950, Vol. I, Parts IX and X, December, 1950, and 1952, Vol. III, Part III, March, 1952, respectively.

4. See *Ibid.*

5. See his *Constitutional Law of the United States*, 1936, pp. 579-80.

1. Published in *The Modern Review* for November, 1954.

2. For a further elucidation of this point see my article in *The Modern Review* for November, 1954, pp. 376-77.

be treated alike under like circumstances and conditions both in the privileges conferred and in the liabilities imposed.<sup>6</sup> The inhibition of the amendment . . . was designed to prevent any person or class of persons from being singled out as a special subject for discriminating and hostile legislation.<sup>7</sup> It does not take from the states the power to classify either in the adoption of police laws, or tax laws, or eminent domain laws, but permits to them the exercise of a wide scope of discretion, and nullifies what they do only when it is without any reasonable basis. Mathematical nicety and perfect equality are not required. Similarity, not identity of treatment, is enough. If any state of facts can reasonably be conceived to sustain a classification, the existence of that state of facts must be assumed. One who assails a classification must carry the burden of showing that it does not rest upon any reasonable basis . . . Many different classifications of persons have been upheld as constitutional. A law applying only to one person or one class of persons is constitutional if there is sufficient basis or reason for it.<sup>8</sup>

Further,<sup>9</sup>

"The guaranty protects both civil rights and political rights. At first it seemed to be assumed that the protection of the guaranty extended only to civil rights, but more recent cases have extended the protection of the guaranty to political rights." The right of voting must be regarded as a political right. Yet discrimination against negroes in the matter of voting has been nullified under the equality clause.<sup>10</sup>

Professor Willis has also stated<sup>11</sup> that, although "the original purpose" of the (equal protection) clause was the protection of the negroes,<sup>12</sup> yet "the language of the amendment was so general" that "it was not long before the Supreme Court extended its protection to other persons." Thus, "it was held applicable to prevent discrimination against Chinamen. The protection of the guaranty has also been extended to other aliens so as to prevent discrimination against them in favour of citizens."<sup>13</sup> Moreover,<sup>14</sup> although according to the language of "the guaranty of the equal protection of the laws," protection is to be "given to persons," yet the Supreme Court of the United States has extended this protection to private corporations within the jurisdiction of a State since corporations are also persons. Municipal Corporations, however, are not protected by

the guaranty on the ground that "the purpose of the guaranty in the Fourteenth Amendment was to protect private persons and not departments or agencies of the state," and that "the state ought to be able to protect itself against itself."<sup>15</sup> And this protection is against<sup>16</sup> the actions of "all the agencies and instrumentalities of a state. It applies to municipal corporations, boards, commissions, state universities, and other agencies of the state—whose acts are therefore the acts of the state." Further, it "applies especially to the action of state legislatures . . . it also applies to the judiciary and to the actions of the executive branch of the government."

Professor Willis has added,<sup>17</sup> however:

"This constitutional guaranty (of the equal protection of the laws) protects individuals against only state action. It does not protect individuals against the conduct of other individuals. Likewise it does not protect individuals against the action of the federal government. The language used in the guaranty is 'no state'. The only possible way individuals could be protected against this kind of action by the federal government would be by extending the protection of the due process clause<sup>18</sup> of the Fifth Amendment to include equal protection of the law. The Supreme Court has not made its position on this point clear, but it has intimated that due process of law does include equal protection of the law. It has declared that arbitrary action is forbidden by the due process clause . . . While the Supreme Court has not yet declared federal legislation lacking in due process because of the denial of the equal protection of the laws, it has intimated that classification may be so grossly unreasonable as to violate the due process clause. From this it would be reasonable to assume that individuals are guaranteed the equal protection of the laws against the federal government under the due process clause of the Fifth Amendment, but they are not, of course, guaranteed this protection in the Fourteenth Amendment."

This view of Professor Willis is practically endorsed by Professor Willoughby who has observed<sup>19</sup> that the (equal protection) "provision of the Fourteenth Amendment guarantees to individuals" and to corporations that they shall not by State law be excluded from the enjoyment of privileges which other persons and corporations *similarly circumstanced* enjoy, or that they may not have imposed upon them burdens which others *similarly circumstanced*<sup>20</sup> are free from." But Professor Willoughby has also stated:<sup>21</sup>

"No similar express provision is directed to the Federal Government by the Fifth Amendment which

6. Prof. Willis refers here to two American judicial decisions. See *ibid.*, p. 579n.

7. Prof. Willis refers here to an American judicial decision. *Ibid.*, 579n.

8. See *ibid.*, p. 580.

9. Prof. Willoughby, however, thinks otherwise. According to him, "the requirement as to equal protection of the law does not operate to prevent the States from restricting the enjoyment of political privileges to such classes of their citizens as they may see fit." See his *Constitutional Law of the United States*, 2nd Ed., 1929, Vol. III, p. 1933.

Prof. Willoughby's book had been published in 1929. Prof. Willis's book was published in 1936. Perhaps this accounts for the difference in their points of view.

10. See Willis, *op. cit.*, pp. 573-74.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 574.

12. *Ibid.*, pp. 574-76.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 574.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 573.

15. *Ibid.*, pp. 572-73.

16. The relevant clause in the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States runs as follows:

"No person shall be . . . deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law."

17. See Willoughby, *The Constitutional Law of the United States*, 2nd Ed., 1929, Vol. III, p. 1931.

18. The words in this quotation are mine.

19. See Willoughby, *op. cit.*, p. 1923.

contents itself with prohibition relating to due process of law. However . . . this due process clause has been given an interpretation which brings within its scope many forms of arbitrary or unreasonable discriminatory action which might be brought, and, when the States have been concerned, have been brought within the prohibition of denial of equal protection of the laws. Indeed, to such an extent has this been true, that it is still difficult to say precisely in what specific respects the prohibition of the denial of equal protection of the laws operates to impose restraints not already covered by the prohibition<sup>20</sup> with regard to the depriving of persons of life, liberty or property without due process of law."

Professor Willoughby also agrees<sup>21</sup> with the view that a reasonable classification by law is "not a denial of equal protection," and that "the requirement of equal protection of the law applies to all persons *similarly situated or circumstanced*."<sup>22</sup> Where, therefore, "there are rational grounds for so doing, persons or their properties may be grouped into classes to each of which specific legal rights or liabilities may be attached." And this "legislative discretionary right applies to the exercise of all of the powers of the States,—to their taxing and police powers as well as to their other powers."<sup>23</sup>

Thus, for example, he says,<sup>24</sup> "the practice of certain professions may be limited to persons of the male sex, or to those of a certain age, or to those possessing other qualifications that may reasonably be held to indicate a fitness for the profession." Thus, again, the refusal, as it was held in *Graves v. Minnesota*,<sup>25</sup> "to grant a license to practice dentistry to persons not possessing a diploma from a dental college of good standing was not unconstitutional as making an unreasonable classification between those possessing such a diploma and those without it."<sup>26</sup> "Clearly," said the court in this case,<sup>27</sup> "the fact that an applicant for a license holds a diploma from a reputable dental college has a direct and substantial relation to his qualification to practice dentistry."

Further, Professor Willoughby has shown<sup>28</sup> that in *Missouri v. Lewis*<sup>29</sup> the Supreme Court laid down in 1879 "the important principle . . . that the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment does not prevent the application by a State of different laws and different systems of judicature to its various local subdivisions." The Court held in this case:

"There is nothing in the Constitution to prevent any State from adopting any system of laws or judicature it sees fit for all or any part of its territory . . . The Fourteenth Amendment does not profess

to secure to all persons in the United States the benefit of the same laws and the same remedies . . . Diversities which are allowable in different States are allowable in different parts of the same State."

What Professors Willis and Willoughby have said with regard to legally permissible classification under the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States is also endorsed by Judge Cooley and Judge Story. Thus we find in Cooley<sup>30</sup> that "a State may classify the objects of legislation so long as its attempted classification is not clearly arbitrary and unreasonable." And Story<sup>31</sup> has said that, although the equal protection clause "is a formal declaration of the great principle . . . that all are equal before the law," yet this principle "must needs be applied with some reserve and caution." "There may be discriminations," he has observed,<sup>32</sup> "between classes of persons where reasons exist which make them necessary or advisable," although "there can be none based upon grounds purely arbitrary."

"The law, for instance," he continues, "may, with manifest propriety, establish the age of majority, and declare that such as have not reached it shall be incapable of entering into contracts; but no one would undertake to defend upon constitutional grounds an enactment that, of the persons reaching that age, those possessing certain physical characteristics, in no way affecting their capacity or fitness for general business or impairing their usefulness as citizens should remain in a condition of permanent disability. Such an enactment would assail the very foundations of a government whose fundamental idea is the equality of all its citizens."

Finally, we find in the judgment<sup>33</sup> of the United States Supreme Court in *Barbier v. Connolly* (1885), delivered by Mr. Justice Field:

The Fourteenth Amendment, in declaring that no State 'shall deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws,' undoubtedly intended not only that there should be no arbitrary deprivation of life or liberty, or arbitrary spoliation of property, but that equal protection and security should be given to all *under like circumstances* in the enjoyment of their personal and civil rights; that all persons should be equally entitled to pursue their happiness and acquire and enjoy property; that they should have like access to the courts of the country for the protection of their persons and property, the prevention and redress of wrongs, and the enforcement of contracts; that no impediment should be interposed to the pursuits of any one except as applied to the same pursuits by others *under like circumstances*; that no greater

20. Under the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

21. Willoughby, *op. cit.*, p. 1937.

22. The italics are mine.

23. Willoughby, *op. cit.*, p. 1937.

24. *Ibid.*, p. 1937.

25. 272 U.S. 425—See *ibid.*, p. 1937n.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 1937.

27. *Ibid.*

28. See Willoughby, *op. cit.*, pp. 1941-42.

29. 1879, 101 U.S. 22.—See *ibid.*, p. 1941n.

30. See Cooley, *A Treatise on the Constitutional Limitations*, 7th Ed., 1903, p. 15n; also pp. 562-64.

31. See his *Commentaries on the Constitution of the United States*, 5th Ed., Vol. II, 1891, pp. 705-707.

32. See *ibid.*

33. 113 U.S. 27. See Fenn, *The Development of the Constitution*, 1948, pp. 210-11; also Dodd, *Cases and Materials on Constitutional Law*, 1949, pp. 889-90; also Willoughby, *op. cit.*, pp. 1929-30.

burdens should be laid upon one than are laid upon others in the same calling and condition, and that in the administration of criminal justice no different or higher punishment should be imposed upon one than such as is prescribed to all for like offences . . . . Class legislation, discriminating against some and favouring others, is prohibited, but legislation which, in carrying out a public purpose, is limited in its application, if within the sphere of its operation it affects alike all persons similarly situated, is not within the amendment"<sup>34</sup> (and therefore not invalid).

Thus, progressive income and inheritance taxes are held to be constitutional.

"The reason," says Professor Willis,<sup>35</sup> "for progressive taxation in the case of inheritance taxes and income taxes is the ability of those receiving or giving to pay. A progressively increasing tax on property as the amount of property held by a single owner increases might be upheld for the same reason. A large estate can better afford to pay a heavier percentage tax than can a smaller one."

The "equality clause" of the Fourteenth Amendment does not, therefore, always require uniformity of treatment.<sup>36</sup> But, "if what is called a tax, is not really a tax, but confiscation in the guise of taxation, the Supreme Court might declare the (relevant) law unconstitutional."<sup>37</sup>

It may, however, be mentioned here that the question of the reasonableness of any basis of classification permissible under equal protection clause in the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, is eminently a matter for judicial investigation. The determination of this question by the Legislature or by the Executive is not final or conclusive.

## III

I have shown above the interpretation which has been put upon the equal protection clause in the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. Let us now see the interpretation which has been put upon Article 14 of our Constitution by the Supreme Court of India. As will appear from the relevant *Supreme Court Reports*,<sup>38</sup> the "meaning and scope" of Article 14 have been elaborately explained in three judgments of the Supreme Court, namely, in its judgments in *Chiranjit Lal Chowdhuri v. The Union of India and Others* (dated 4th December, 1950), *The State of Bombay and Another v. F. N. Balsara* (dated 25th May, 1951), and *The State of West Bengal v. Anwar Ali Sarkar* (dated 11th January, 1952). One noticeable thing in these judgments is that, although there was a difference of views among the Judges concerned in regard to some other points in two of these judgments, there was practically no difference of

views among the Judges in these three cases so far as the interpretation of Article 14 was concerned. The reason seems to be that their views were, as would appear from a careful perusal of the judgments, profoundly influenced by the American interpretation of the equal protection clause in the Fourteenth Amendment referred to before.

Thus, we find, in the first place, that in *Chiranjit Lal Chowdhuri v. The Union of India and Others*, the Supreme Court held:<sup>39</sup>

"The guarantee against the denial of equal protection of the laws does not mean that identically the same rules of law should be made applicable to all persons within the territory of India in spite of differences of circumstances and conditions. It means only that there should be no discrimination between one person and another if as regards the subject-matter of the legislation their position is the same."

And if we refer in this case to some individual judgments, we find Fazl Ali J. first referring to the views of Professor Willis, as quoted by us before, on "the meaning and effect of the guaranty of the equal protection of the laws" in the United States, and then observing:<sup>40</sup>

"There can be no doubt that article 14 provides one of the most valuable and important guarantees in the Constitution which should not be allowed to be whittled down, and, while accepting the statement of Professor Willis as a correct exposition of the principles underlying this guarantee, I wish to lay particular emphasis on the principle enunciated by him that any classification which is arbitrary and which is made without any basis is no classification and a proper classification must always rest upon some difference and must bear a reasonable and just relation to the things in respect of which it is proposed."

He has also stated<sup>41</sup> "that a law may be constitutional even though it relates to a single individual, in those cases where on account of some special circumstances or reasons applicable to him and not applicable to others, that single individual may be treated as a class by himself;" and "that it is the accepted doctrine of the American Courts, which I consider to be well-founded on principle, that the presumption is always in favour of the constitutionality of an enactment, and the burden is upon him who attacks it to show that there has been a clear transgression of the constitutional principles."

And Mukherjee J. has said:<sup>42</sup>

"Article 14 of the Constitution . . . . corresponds to the equal protection clause in the Fourteenth Amendment of the American Constitution . . . . We think we can cull a few general principles from some of the pronouncements of the American Judges which might appear to us to be consonant with reason and help us in determining the true meaning and scope

34. The italics in this quotation are mine.

35. Willis, *op. cit.*, p. 597.

36. *Ibid.*, p. 588.

37. *Ibid.*, p. 598.

38. *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1950, Vol. I, Parts IX and X, December 1950; 1951, Vol. II, Part VII, July, 1951; and 1952; Vol. III, Part III, March, 1952.

39. See *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1950, Vol. I, Parts IX and X, December, 1950, p. 873.

40. *Ibid.*, pp. 877-78.

41. *Ibid.*, pp. 878-79.

42. See *Ibid.*, pp. 910-12.

of Article 14 of our Constitution . . . . It must be admitted that the guarantee against the denial of equal protection of the laws does not mean that identically the same rules of law should be made applicable to all persons within the territory of India in spite of differences of circumstances and conditions. As has been said by the Supreme Court of America, 'equal protection of laws is a pledge of the protection of equal laws', and this means 'subjection to equal laws applying alike to all in the same situation.' In other words, there should be no discrimination between one person and another if as regards the subject-matter of the legislation their position is the same . . . . There can certainly be a law applying to one person or to one group of persons and it cannot be held to be unconstitutional if it is not discriminatory in its character. It would be bad law 'if it arbitrarily selects one individual or a class of individuals, one corporation or a class of corporations, and visits a penalty upon them, which is not imposed upon others guilty of like delinquency.' The legislature undoubtedly has a wide field of choice in determining and classifying the subject of its laws, and if the law deals alike with all of a certain class, it is normally not obnoxious to the charge of denial of equal protection; but the classification should never be arbitrary. It must always rest upon some real and substantial distinction bearing a reasonable and just relation to the things in respect to which the classification is made; and classification made without any substantial basis should be regarded as invalid."

Further :<sup>43</sup>

"It must be conceded that the Legislature has a wide discretion in determining the subject-matter of its laws. It is an accepted doctrine of the American Courts and which seems to me to be well founded on principle, that the presumption is in favour of the constitutionality of an enactment and the burden is upon him who attacks it to show that there has been a transgression of constitutional principles."

Justice Mukherjea also agrees<sup>44</sup> with the American view in analogous cases that

"The fundamental rights guaranteed by the Constitution are available not merely to individual citizens but to corporate bodies as well except where the language of the provision or the nature of the right compels the inference that they are applicable only to natural persons."

"This follows," he says, "logically from the rule of law that a corporation has a distinct legal personality of its own with rights and capacities, duties and obligations separate from those of its individual members."

Kania C. J. agreed "with the line of reasoning and the conclusion of Mr. Justice Mukherjea" in the case under reference.

Although Patanjali Sastri and Das JJ. differed in this case from Kania C. J. and Fazl Ali and Mukherjea JJ. in some respects, they agreed with them so far as the meaning and scope of Article 14 were concerned. Thus we find Patanjali Sastri J. saying :<sup>45</sup>

"It is undeniable that equal protection of the laws cannot mean that all laws must be quite general

in their character and application. A legislature empowered to make laws on a wide range of subjects must of necessity have the power of making special laws to attain particular objects and must, for that purpose, possess large powers of distinguishing and classifying the persons or things to be brought under the operation of such laws, provided the basis of such classification has a just and reasonable relation to the object which the legislature has in view. While, for instance, a classification in a law regulating labour in mines or factories may be based on age or sex, it may not be based on the colour of one's skin. It is also true that the class of persons to whom a law is made applicable may be large or small."

And Das J. has observed :<sup>46</sup>

"Equal protection of the laws', as observed by Day J. in *Southern Railway Company v. Greene*,<sup>47</sup> means subjection to equal laws, applying alike to all in the same situation.' The inhibition of the article that the State shall not deny to any person equality before the law or the equal protection of the laws was designed to protect all persons against legislative discrimination amongst equals and to prevent any person or class of persons from being singled out 'as a special subject for discriminating and hostile legislation. It does not, however, mean that every law must have universal application, for all persons are not, by nature, attainment or circumstances, in the same position. The varying needs of different classes of persons often require separate treatment and it is, therefore, established by judicial decisions that the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment of the American Constitution does not take away from the State the power to classify persons for legislative purposes. This classification may be on different bases. It may be geographical or according to objects or occupations or the like. If law deals equally with all of a certain well-defined class, it is not obnoxious and it is not open to the charge of a denial of equal protection on the ground that it has no application to other persons, for the class for whom the law has been made is different from other persons and, therefore, there is no discrimination amongst equals. It is plain that every classification is in some degree likely to produce some inequality, but mere production of inequality is not by itself enough. The inequality produced, in order to encounter the challenge of the Constitution, must be 'actually and palpably unreasonable and arbitrary.'<sup>48</sup> Quite conceivably there may be a law relating to a single individual if it is made apparent that, on account of some special reasons applicable only to him and inapplicable to anyone else, that single individual is a class by himself."

Secondly, while delivering the judgement of the Supreme Court in *The State of Bombay and Another v. F. N. Balsara*, Fazl Ali J. summarised the principles laid down by the Court in the case of *Chiranjit Lal Chowdhury v. The Union of Indian and Other*, in connexion

46. See *ibid.*, pp. 931-33.

47. 216 U.S. 400 (1910).

48. Mr. Justice Das quotes another extract here from the judgment of Day J. in *Southern Railway Company v. Greene* (1910), 216 U.S. 400.

43. See *ibid.*, p. 913.

44. See *ibid.*, p. 898.

45. See *ibid.*, p. 890.

with the question of the meaning and scope of Article 14. The principles were as follows :—

“(1) The presumption is always in favour of the constitutionality of an enactment, since it must be assumed that the legislature understands and correctly appreciates the needs of its own people, that its laws are directed to problems made manifest by experience and its discriminations are based on adequate grounds.

“(2) The presumption may be rebutted in certain cases by showing that on the face of the statute, there is no classification at all and no difference peculiar to any individual or class and not applicable to any other individual or class, and yet the law hits only a particular individual or class.

“(3) The principle of equality does not mean that every law must have universal application for all persons who are not by nature, attainment or circumstances in the same position, and the varying needs of different classes of persons often require separate treatment.

“(4) The principle (of equality) does not take away from the State the power of classifying persons for legitimate purposes.

“(5) Every classification is in some degree likely to produce some inequality, and mere production of inequality is not enough.

“(6) If a law deals equally with members of a well-defined class, it is not obnoxious and it is not open to the charge of denial of equal protection on the ground that it has no application to other persons.

“(7) While reasonable classification is permissible, such classification must be based upon some real and substantial distinction bearing a reasonable and just relation to the object sought to be attained, and the classification cannot be made arbitrarily and without any substantial basis.”

Patanjali Sastri, Mukherjee, Das, and Bose JJ. appear to have agreed with Fazl Ali J. in his views about Article 14 as they fully agreed with him in his conclusions in the case under reference.

Finally, we find that, in *The State of West Bengal v. Anwar Ali Sarkar*, essentially the same view was taken of Article 14 by the Judges concerned, as we have seen in connexion with the other two cases referred to above. We need not, therefore, state here the views of these Judges in detail. We may, however, sum them up as follows :—

(a) “Article 14 is designed to protect all persons placed in similar circumstances against legislative discrimination, and if the legislature takes care to reasonably classify persons for legislative purposes and if it deals equally with all persons belonging to a well-defined class, it is not open to the charge of denial of equal protection on the ground that the law does not apply to other persons.”

(b) Laws must “operate alike on all persons under like circumstances.”

(c) “Equality of right is a principle of republicanism and Article 14 enunciates this equality principle in the administration of justice . . .

the same rule must exist for all in similar circumstances. This principle, however, does not mean that every law must have universal application for all persons who are not by nature, attainment or circumstance, in the same position.”

(d) “The protection afforded by the article (i.e. Article 14) is not a mere eye-wash but it is a real one and unless a just cause for discrimination on the basis of a reasonable classification is put forth as a defence, the statute (in question) has to be declared unconstitutional.”

(e) Article 14 “only means that all persons similarly circumstanced shall be treated alike both in privileges conferred and liabilities imposed.”

Further the Supreme Court laid down in this case :—

“A rule of procedure laid down by law comes as much within the purview of Article 14 of the Constitution as any rule of substantive law and it is necessary that all litigants, who are similarly situated, are able to avail themselves of the same procedural rights for relief and for defence with like protection and without discrimination.”

The Supreme Court also held in this case that the operation of Article 14 would not be excluded merely because it was proved that in enacting a law the legislature had no intention to discriminate, although discrimination was the necessary consequence of the law.

## IV

We have shown above the extent to which Article 14 is a protection against any unfair and unreasonable legislative discrimination. But is it also a protection against any unfair and discriminative application of a law which is itself constitutionally valid? As early as 1886 the Supreme Court of the United States laid down, in *Yick Wo v. Hopkins*, the following general principle<sup>51</sup> on this question :

“Though the law itself be fair on its face and impartial in appearance, yet if it is applied and administered by public authority with an evil eye and an unequal hand, so as practically to make unjust and illegal discriminations between persons in similar circumstances, material to their rights the denial of equal justice is still within the prohibition of the Constitution.”

And we also find in Professor Willoughby :—

“While no constitutional objection may be made to any law of the State it has been held that its officials may exercise their public authority in such a discriminatory or arbitrary manner as to bring them within the scope of the prohibitions of the Fourteenth Amendment. This it will be remembered, was one of the grounds upon which in *Yick Wo V. Hopkins* (118 U.S. 356) it was held that due process of law had been denied. In *Tarrance v. Florida* (188 U.S. 519) the administration of a State law and not the law itself was challenged and the court said : ‘Such an actual discrimination is as potential in creating a denial of equality of rights as a discrimination made by law’”

49. *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1951, Vol. II, Part VII, July, 1951, pp. 794-799.

50. See *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1952, Vol. III, Part III; 1952, pp. 304-307, 324, 312, 316 and 320.

51. See *Ibid.*, p. 285 and p. 322.

52. 118 U.S. 356 (1886). See Dowling, *Cases on Constitutional Law*, 4th Ed., 1950, p. 1168n; also Willoughby, *op. cit.*, pp. 1931.

53. See Willoughby, *op. cit.*, p. 1932.

It is clear from the above that in the United States an unfair and "discriminatory" application or administration of even a valid law comes within the inhibition of the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. As will appear from what follows, the same principle obtains in India to-day as a consequence of Article 14 and the judicial interpretation put thereon.

Thus we find Mukherjee J. stating<sup>54</sup> in the course of his judgment in *The State of West Bengal v. Anwar Ali Sarkar* :

"It appears to be an accepted doctrine of American courts that the purpose of the equal protection clause is to secure every person within the States against arbitrary discrimination, whether occasioned by the express terms of the statute or by their improper application through duly constituted agents. This was clearly laid down in *Sunday Lake Iron Company v. Wakefield*<sup>55</sup>. In this case the complaint was against a taxing officer, who are alleged to have assessed the plaintiff's properties at their full value while all other persons in the country were assessed at not more than one-third of the worth of their properties. It was held that the equal protection clause could be availed of against the taxing officer : but if he was found to have acted *bona fide* and the discrimination was the result of a mere error of judgment on his part the action would fail. The position therefore, is that when the statute is not itself discriminatory and the charge of violation of equal protection is only against the official who is entrusted with the duty of carrying it into operation, the equal protection clause could be availed of in such cases : but the officer would have a good defence if he could prove *bona fides*."

Secondly, Chandrasekhara Aiyar J. stated<sup>56</sup> in the same case :

"Discrimination may not appear in the statute itself but may be evident in the administration of the law. If an uncontrolled or unguided power is conferred without any reasonable and proper standards or limits being laid down in the enactment, the statute itself may be challenged and not merely the particular administrative act."

He then quoted Professor Weaver (*Constitutional Law*, p. 404) to say<sup>57</sup> :

"Discrimination may exist in the administration of the laws and it is the purpose of the equal protection clause to secure all the inhabitants of the state from intentional and arbitrary discrimination arising in their improper or prejudiced execution, as well as by the express terms of the law itself. The validity or invalidity of a statute often depends on how it is construed and applied. It may be valid when given a particular application and invalid when given another."

He also quoted Professor Willoughby in support of his contention.<sup>58</sup>

Thirdly, we find in the judgment of Fazl Ali J. in the same case :<sup>59</sup>

"As a general rule, if the Act is fair and good, the public authority who has to administer it will be protected. To this general rule, however, there is an exception, which comes into play when there is evidence of *mala fides* in the application of the Act."

The implication of this statement is that in case of *mala fides* in the application of a law, the application may be challenged under Article 14.

Fourthly, Das J. also said<sup>60</sup> in the course of his judgment in the same case :

"The Court will strike down, not the law which is good, but the abuse or misuse or the unconstitutional administration of the law creating or resulting in unconstitutional discrimination."

Fifthly, even Patanjali Sastri C. J., who otherwise differed from the majority of the Judges in this case, held :<sup>61</sup>

"As the prohibition under the article (i.e., Article 14) is directed against the State which is defined<sup>62</sup> in Article 12 (of the Constitution) as including not only the legislatures but also the Governments in the country Article 14 secures all persons within the territories of India against arbitrary laws as well as arbitrary application of laws<sup>63</sup>. . . . even executive orders or notifications must not infringe Article 14. This trilogy of articles (i.e., Articles 12, 13 and 14 of the Constitution) . . . ensures non-discrimination in State action both in the legislative and the administrative spheres (sic) in the democratic republic of India. . . . To sustain a law as not being discriminatory is not, however, to leave the party affected by a discriminatory application of the law without a remedy for as we have seen state action on the administrative side can also be challenged as a denial of equal protection and unconstitutional."

Finally, we find that, while delivering the judgment of the Supreme Court on April 9, 1951, in *The State of Madras v. Srimathi Champakam Dorairajam* and *The State of Madras v. C. R. Srinivasan* Das J. had stated :<sup>64</sup>

"The chapter of Fundamental Rights is sacrosanct and not liable to be abridged by any Legislative or Executive Act or order, except to the extent provided in the appropriate article in Part III."

It is clear from the above that a discriminatory or *mala fide* application of a valid piece of law also is not permitted by Article 14. Of course, this discriminatory or *mala fide* application has to be established before a Court of Law. The burden of proof is upon the person who alleges discrimination. There may be a difficulty here. For instance, if a person alleges that there has been discrimination against him in the matter of the application of a law, the Government official concerned

54. See *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1952 Vol. III, Part III, March, 1952, pp. 330-31.

55. 247 U.S. 350. See *ibid.*, p. 331n.

56. See *ibid.*, p. 335. The italics in the quotation are mine.

57. See *ibid.*, p. 335.

58. *Ibid.*, pp. 356-57. Professor Willoughby's view has already been quoted by us.

59. *Ibid.*, p. 311.

60. *Ibid.*, p. 344.

61. *Ibid.*, pp. 204 and 304.

62. See the earlier part of this article.

63. The italics are mine.

64. See *The Supreme Court Reports*, May 1951, Vol. II, Part V.

will say that he has exercised the power vested in him by the law "in good faith within the limitations imposed by the law and for the achievement of the objects the enactment had in view." Then "the person who alleges that he has been discriminated against will have to establish *mala fides* in the sense that the step was taken intentionally for the purpose of injuring him; in other words, it was a hostile act directed against him." Thus, when a law is valid and, therefore, not open to challenge, the validity of any notification or order, etc., issued under it, may, when impugned, have to be considered independently. This appears to be the view<sup>65</sup> of Justice Chandrasekhara Aiyar and also in effect, of Justice Fazl Ali, in *The State of West Bengal v. Anwar Ali Sarkar*. Thus, a mere allegation of discrimination *mala fides*, or hostile intention in the matter of the application of valid law is not enough. This has to be established by legal proof. But this is unavoidable in the interest of justice

### V

It will be evident from what has been shown above that Article 14 of our Constitution is a great protection against any form of unfair and unreasonable discrimination, whether legislative or administrative. Its benefit extends to all persons, resident aliens as well as Indian citizens, except of course in respect of such matters with regard to which our Constitution, or any law duly made thereunder, has conferred upon the Indian citizens any special rights and privileges, or imposed upon them any special duties or obligations. In *Truax v. Raich* the Supreme Court of the United States declared<sup>66</sup> in 1915: "The description—'any person within its jurisdiction' (in the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment)—, as it has frequently been held, includes aliens. 'These provisions',<sup>67</sup> said the court in *Yick Wo v. Hopkins*, 118 U.S. 356, 369, 'are universal in their application, to all persons within the territorial jurisdiction, without regard to any differences of race, of colour, or of nationality; and the equal protection of the laws is a pledge of the protection of

equal laws'." As we have seen before, Professor Willis has taken the same view about the applicability of the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment in the United States. So far as the meaning and scope of Article 14 are concerned, our law is *largely*<sup>68</sup> analogous to the corresponding law in the United States. The expression "any person" in Article 14, therefore, is significant.

In respect of one important point, however, there is a difference between the law in India and that in the United States. In view of the definition of the word "State" in Article 12 of our Constitution, as shown in the earlier part of this paper, Article 14 applies to the conduct of the "the Government and Parliament of India and the Government and the Legislature of each of the States and all local or other authorities within the territory of India or under the control of the Government of India"<sup>69</sup>. The equal protection clause in the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States however, applies only to the conduct of the constituent States of the American Union, although, as we have seen before the due process clause in the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution which applies to the conduct of the Federal Government, has practically met the requirements of the equal protection clause in the Fourteenth Amendment so far as that conduct is concerned.

In conclusion I should like to state that in this article I have dealt with only one aspect—although a very important aspect—of our Fundamental Right to Equality. In my next article I propose to deal with some other aspects of this Right together with, if space permits a few other matters relating to our Fundamental Rights.

68. Largely, because the corresponding American law seems to be much wider in its scope, particularly in respect of "the freedom of speech and of the press" as provided for in the First Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. "It has been suggested," says Prof. Willis, "that the guaranty of freedom of speech and of the press does not extend to aliens, but this suggestion is clearly wrong. Of course, this guaranty cannot be invoked to keep aliens from exclusion or deportation by the federal government; but after admission to this country resident aliens are entitled to the guaranty, as much as anyone else, against both the States and the Federal Government, because they are entitled to the protection of the due process and of the equality clause." See Willis, *op. cit.*, p. 490. Article 19 of our Constitution, however, is meant only for Indian citizens.

69. Also see in this connexion *The Modern Review* for November, 1951, pp. 376-77.

65. See *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1952, Vol. III, Part III, March, 1952, p. 356 and p. 311.

66. 239 U.S. 33, 36 (1915). See Dowling, *Cases on Constitutional Law*, 4th Ed., 1950, pp. 1167-68.

67. Reference here is to the "due process" provision in the Fifth and the Fourteenth Amendment, and to the "equal protection" provision in the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.—See *ibid.*



# RISE AND FULFILMENT OF NATIONALISM IN INDONESIA

## Second Phase : Fulfilment (1942-1945)

By PROF. SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKHERJI, M.A.

### II

JAPAN attacked and occupied Southern Sumatra on February 14, 1942. When they landed on Java on March 1, the Dutch Commander-in-Chief of the Allied Forces surrendered in the name of all the Allied Forces in Java, though Major-General Sitwell's army of 8,000 British and American troops wanted to continue the fight and the fact was not unknown to the Dutch. When the Indonesians came to know the whole story, they felt themselves betrayed in their hour of peril and concluded that the Dutch were a cowardly nation. The circumstances of the Dutch surrender confirmed the Indonesian suspicion that they (the Dutch) were eager to make a deal with Japan like that of Vichy France with Germany. Such a deal would leave the Dutch in charge of the Indonesian administration; but under Japan's control.

Dutch prestige sank low in Indonesian estimate. Not a few Indonesians were convinced that given the necessary equipments, they would have fought as well as, if not better than, the Dutch. The Japanese began in Indonesia with almost everything in their favour. They were enthusiastically received. Popular feeling regarded them as liberators. The feeling was strengthened by the withdrawal of the Dutch ban on the display of the Indonesian national flag and the singing of the Indonesian national anthem "Indonesia Raya".

Within six months of their arrival the Japanese interned practically all the Dutch and a large number of Eurasians in Indonesia and also a number of Indonesian Christians. The resultant vacuum in the country's administrative and technical structure had to be filled up mostly by Indonesians. The socio-economic status of Indonesians appointed in the places of Europeans and Eurasians rose. Japan in fact, had an acute shortage of military government personnel. She therefore made virtue of a necessity and gained not a little thereby. Japan's policy of Indonesianisation explains to a great extent her initial popularity in Indonesia.

Japan perhaps did not anticipate any serious opposition from the nationalist leaders. She seems to have been under the illusion that she could harness the resources of Indonesia to her colossal war machinery without having to make concessions to Indonesian nationalism. She was disillusioned before long. Indonesia discovered within a short time that her economic welfare was being subordinated to the invader's. The Japanese drained the country of food-stuffs, oil and quinine. Badly needed consumer goods, such as, textiles and machine parts were not coming

in. Japanese control over the school curriculum and initial Japanese efforts to replace Dutch with Japanese as the official language and also as the medium of instruction in the secondary and higher schools did not contribute to the popularity of the 'liberators' from Nippon. The rudeness and brutality of the Japanese created strong antagonism. A number of minor rebellions against the Japanese took place even before the end of 1942.

The invader's realisation that he must have the support of nationalist Indonesia led to a reversal of his policy. Soekarno, a detainee at the time of the Japanese occupation of Indonesia had been released shortly after the occupation. He contacted Hatta and Sjahrir in Java. These latter were already in touch with an underground movement being organised by Sjarifuddin, among others. It was decided that the national struggle was to be carried on both above ground and underground. Soekarno and Hatta were to work above ground through the Japanese Sjahrir, commissioned to organise an underground resistance movement, was to maintain close touch with them. Soekarno and Hatta were to press for political concessions from the Japanese. Hatta was further assigned the twin tasks of securing funds for the underground movement and of facilitating the travels of its members from place to place. He did his duty well and was able to keep in touch with the principal Indonesian underground organisations throughout the Japanese occupation.

Japan promised self-government to Indonesia in the near future and allowed the creation of an all-inclusive nationalist organisation, the Poesat Tenaga Rakyat (Centre of People's Power) or Poetera on March 9, 1943. The Poetera incorporated all nationalist associations—political and otherwise—of Java and Madura. Soekarno and Hatta were its Chairman and Vice-Chairman respectively. The Poetera was hailed as a genuinely nationalist organisation leading Indonesia to self-government. The creation of a Central Advisory Board as an ancillary to the Poetera confirmed the belief that it was so. Again, Soekarno was the Chairman. This and similar local boards were supposed to be consulted by the Japanese authorities before drawing up any important measure about Indonesia.

The Poetera was regarded by a majority of its leaders and active members as an instrument in the long-term struggle for independence. It did much to arouse Indonesian nationalism and to further the cause of independence. It strengthened Japan's war efforts.

at the same time. It was also responsible for the creation of organisations, particularly among the Indonesian youth, many of whose members were indoctrinated "with a positive respect for force and an emotional anti-Westernism." Many, however, became pro-Allied and anti-Japanese in the long run.

The Poetera encouraged contact between nationalist leaders and the masses. By far the most important of its achievements was an accentuation of the nationalist sentiments and of the national will to freedom. Soekarno's speeches broadcast over the Indonesian archipelago played an important role. According to his instructions from the Japanese bosses, he would attack the allies, praise the Japanese and call upon his countrymen to help Japan's war efforts. A scrutiny of the speeches however reveals the soundness of Soekarno's contention that "75 per cent of their content was pure nationalism." They were "moreover, full of subtleties and double talk which generally passed over the heads of Japanese monitors but were meaningful to the population, especially those of Javanese culture. Such talk made it easy for the peasant to equate 'anti-imperialism' with 'anti-Japanese'."—*Nationalism and Revolution in Indonesia* by G. M. T. Kahin, p. 108.

The Japanese set up a large number of puppet organisations under the ægis of the Poetera. The object was to further their war efforts. The Peta, the most important of them, was a Japanese trained military organisation to defend Indonesia against Allied invasion. It was officered by Indonesians and numbered about one hundred and twenty thousand men under arms at its peak strength in the middle of 1945. The Peta was destined to become in the long run the backbone of the Indonesian Republic's army.

Thanks to the shrewd manœuvring and persistent efforts of Soekarno and others by the middle of 1944 the average Peta member was consciously and strongly nationalist, anti-Japanese, anti-Dutch but not, generally speaking, anti-Allied. Soekarno and the other nationalist leaders, permitted by the Japanese to address the different Peta units, inflamed them not against the Allies alone, but against imperialism in general. The undergrounds supplemented their work. Before long the members of the Peta came to equate Japan's activities with imperialism.

The Japanese realised by the end of 1943 that the Poetera was doing more harm than good to them, that it was doing more for Indonesian nationalism than for Japanese war efforts. Not a few of the supporters of the Poetera were only more anti-Japanese than anti-Allied. It was therefore dissolved by the Japanese military command.

A new organisation under the name of People's Loyalty Organisation, better known by its Japanese name, Djawa Hokokai, was set up on March 1, 1944. The Japanese sponsors of the Hokokai, warned by their experience of the Poetera, took care to "neutralize and

limit the force of the nationalists" by throwing open the membership of the former to all communities. Soekarno was the Chairman, but only in name. The Hokokai was much more closely supervised and controlled than the Poetera and was under the direct control of the Japanese Commander-in-Chief. A Hokokai branch was maintained compulsorily in every village. But the organisation had neither the prestige nor the popular backing enjoyed by the Poetera. Soekarno and the other Indonesian leaders of the Hokokai were suspected to be prisoners of the Japanese. Things might not be as bad. Yet it is a fact that they had little scope to further the cause of nationalism.

Japan next sought to rally the Indonesians on the basis of religion. A vigorous propaganda campaign was launched to arouse resistance to the Allies on the basis of the defence of Islam against infidels who sought to enslave the Muslim population of Indonesia. An Islamic body composed of all the existing organisations of a non-political nature was ushered into existence under Japanese patronage towards the end of 1943. But Japan's tactlessness had antagonised the Muslims. The latter resented being forced to bow towards Tokyo rather than Mecca and the exaltation of the Mikado on a religious plane. They also began to emphasize national independence above all else "and this was more frequently accompanied by anti-Japanese than anti-Allied overtones."

Influential underground organisations had been from the very beginning working for national emancipation. The one headed by Anir Sjarifuddin had been established a few weeks before the Japanese landed. It owed its existence in part to the initiative and monetary help of Netherlands Indies Government. This was the most important underground organisation at first. The members of the illegal PKI (the Communist Party) were the most numerous among its supporters. The Japanese very nearly crushed it shortly after their arrival. Anir Sjarifuddin was arrested with a number of his collaborators early in 1943. His death sentence\* was commuted to one of life imprisonment through the intervention of Soekarno. The Japanese were indeed more afraid of Sjarifuddin's predominantly Communist-led underground than any other of its kind.

The underground which became more powerful than others in the long run was that headed by Soetan Sjahrir. It had a network of branches at Diakarta (Batavia), Cheribon, Garut, Semarang and Surabaya. It drew its principal supporters from among the educated youth of these cities. A third underground movement was the Student Union which played a vital role in disseminating anti-Japanese revolutionary sentiment. A smaller nucleus of underground headed by Sukarni maintained close contact with Sjahrir's Study Group. A large number of study clubs of young

\* Sjarifuddin and several others were sentenced to death in February, 1944.

intellectuals and students were active in spreading anti-Japanese nationalist ideas and in collecting information which they passed on to the larger organisations mentioned above.

The infiltration of the Peta and the Japanese-sponsored youth organisation was the principal objective of all the undergrounds. Sjahrir and most of the underground leaders believed that Indonesia's case for independence would be stronger and have greater influence with the Allies if there was a powerful uprising against the Japanese at the time of Allied landings on Indonesia. The undergrounds, by the way, had considerable success in infiltrating and indoctrinating the various Peta units.

The Youth Organisation, an organisation of educated young men from about 20 to 30, was set up by the Japanese in the middle of 1944 to control effectively the hostile educated youth and to keep them from active participation in anti-Japanese underground activities. Many of the known and suspected underground workers and leaders were forced to accept responsible positions in this organisation. Japan thus sought to kill two birds with one stone. For one thing, these workers and leaders would be more easily watched and as such more effectively controlled. For another, their leading positions in the Youth Organisation would create an impression that they supported the Japanese cause.

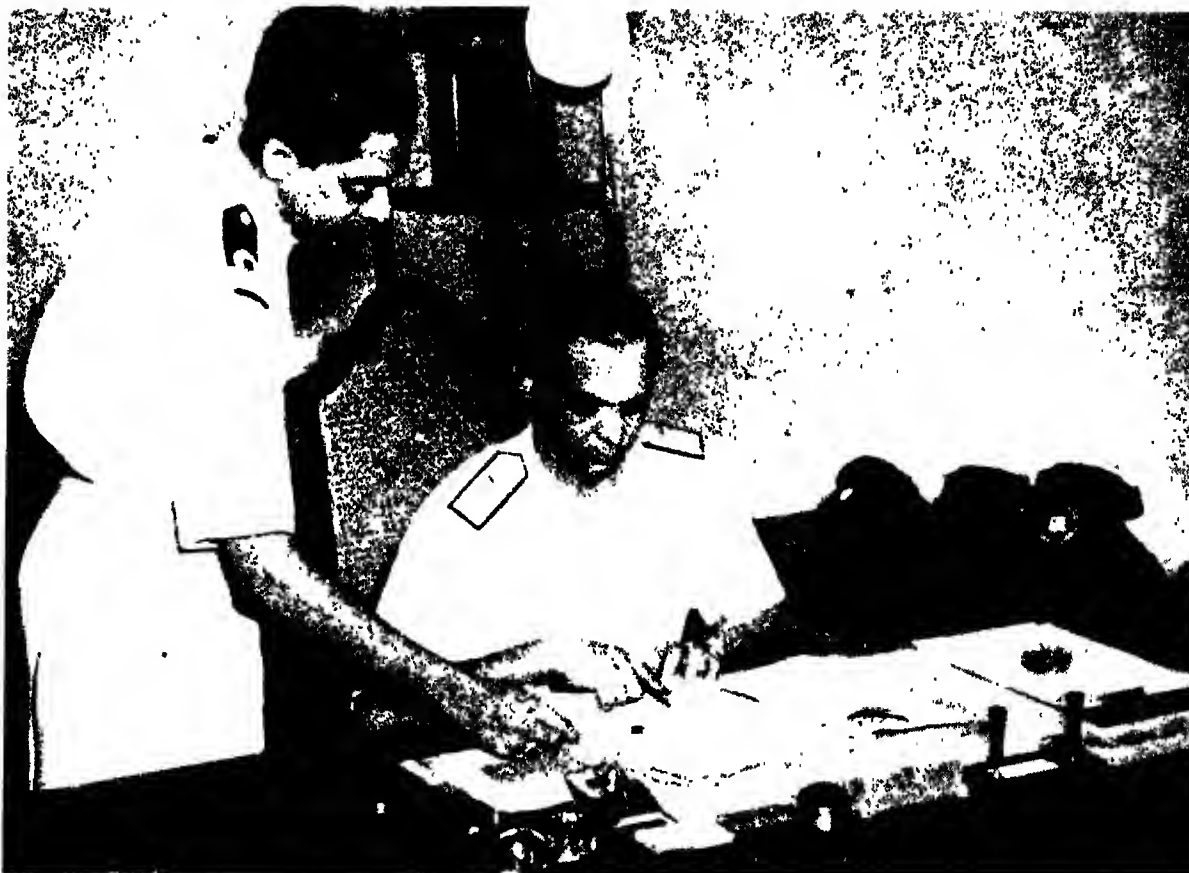
Premier Koiso of Japan announced in 1944 that Indonesia would be given independence "in the very near future." The announcement was immediately followed by a remarkable change in Japan's policy in Indonesia. Control over the Hokokai was relaxed. Soekarno, Hatta and other leaders were allowed much greater opportunities to contact the masses and much greater freedom of speech as well.

Vice-Admiral Mayeda, the Japanese naval chief in Java and in charge of naval intelligence for Indonesia, established the 'Asrama Indonesia Merdeka' (Dormitory for Free Indonesia) at Djakarta in October 1944. The 'Asrama,' a school for semi-educated youths between 18 and 20, had a branch near Surabaya. Non-Communist nationalist leaders were requested by the Japanese to give talks to the students on Nationalism, Economics, Politics, Sociology and Marxism. Sjahrir, Hatta and others agreed. Given complete freedom of speech, they made open propaganda for Indonesian independence. According to Sjahrir himself, they even attacked the army-controlled Japanese administration. Mayeda and his staff began to emphasize the study of Communism before long. The 'Asrama' students were taught that Indonesia's fight for independence was in reality a struggle against capitalist imperialism, that social justice for the world as a whole, not just Indonesia alone, was to be the objective. These schools ran a two-month course till the end of July 1945, and turned out several hundred graduates.

The Japanese military authorities in Java set up the Investigating Committee for the preparation of Independence on March 1, 1945. Soekarno, Hatta and other important nationalist leaders were members of this committee of sixty-two which included representatives of all the principal, social and ethnic groups of Java and Madura. It reached basic agreements on all constitutional and economic questions. A more or less similar committee was set up by the Japanese military administration on Sumatra on July 25, 1945.

Soekarno's speech before the Investigation Committee for the preparation of Independence on June 1, 1945, marks an important step forward to the maturity and crystallization of Indonesian nationalism. He outlined in this memorable speech the five basic principles—the *Pantja Sila*—that should guide new Indonesia and serve as its philosophical foundation. These five principles are—nationalism, inter-nationalism or humanitarianism, representative government, social prosperity or social justice and a belief in One God. Soekarno concluded by an impassioned appeal in a militant tone—"And particularly in this time of war, have faith, cultivate in your hearts the conviction that free Indonesia cannot come if the people of Indonesia do not dare to take a risk, do not dare to dive for pearls into the depths of the ocean. If the people of Indonesia are not united, and not determined to live or die for freedom, the freedom of Indonesia will never be the possession of the Indonesian people, never until the end of time! Freedom can only be achieved and owned by a people whose soul is aflame with the determination of *merdeka* (freedom)—freedom or death!" The speech, bordering on the revolutionary, incensed the Japanese. But they thought discretion to be the better part of valour and took no steps against Soekarno.

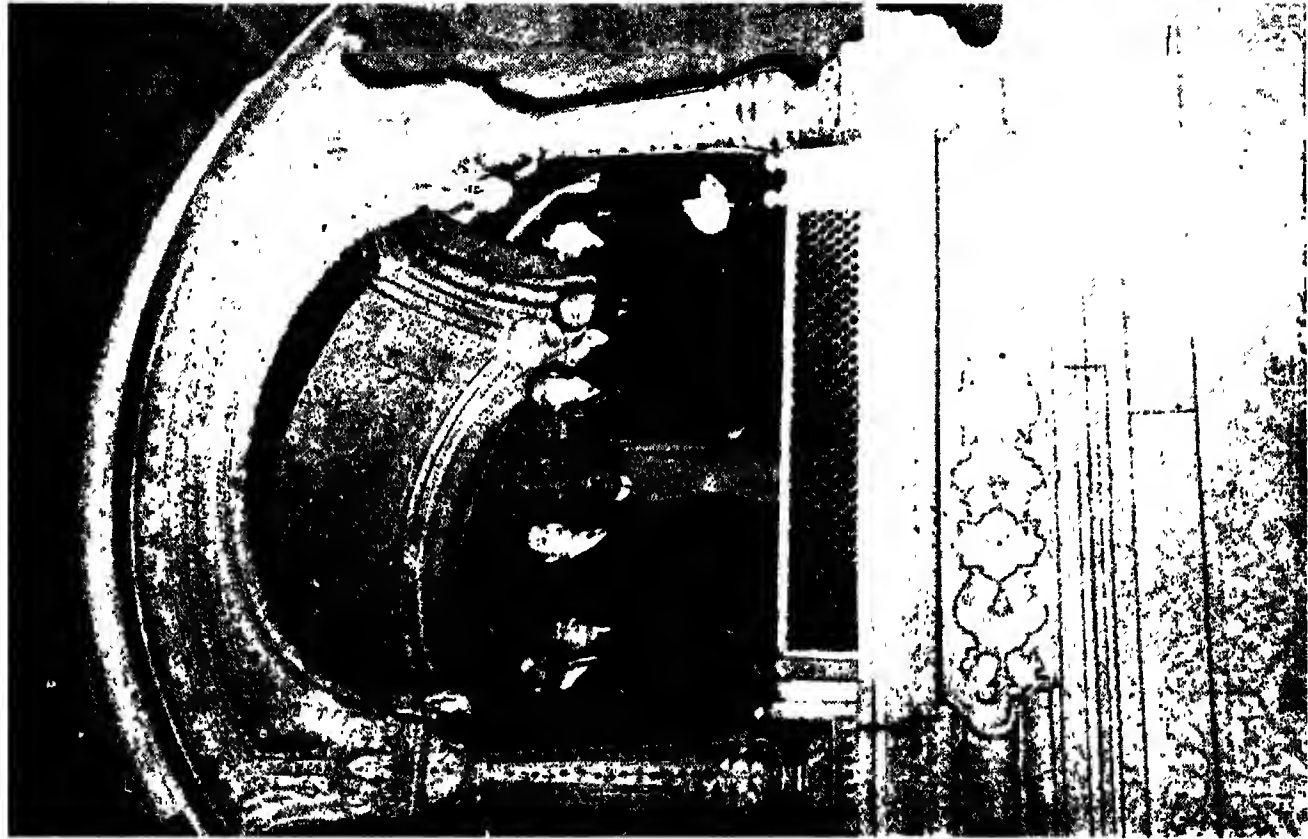
The Japanese gave permission on August 7, 1945, for the establishment of an organisation known as the Indonesian Independence Preparatory Committee. The committee was to make preparations for the transfer of governmental authority from the Japanese armed forces to its own hands. Soekarno was the Chairman and Hatta, his Vice. The members were drawn from all parts of Indonesia on a basis of representation roughly proportional to population. Soekarno, Hatta and another member of the committee, K. R. T. Radjiman, were summoned to Dallat in Viet-Nam on August 8 by General Terauchi, Japan's Supreme Commander for South-East Asia. He promised to them on the 11th that independence would be granted to Indonesia on the 24th. A constitutional assembly was to be convened on the 19th. Soekarno, Hatta and Radjiman found on their return that the undergrounds were against any independence that was a gift from the Japanese. The latter had made up their minds to wrest unconditional independence by force. Moreover, the former discovered a few days



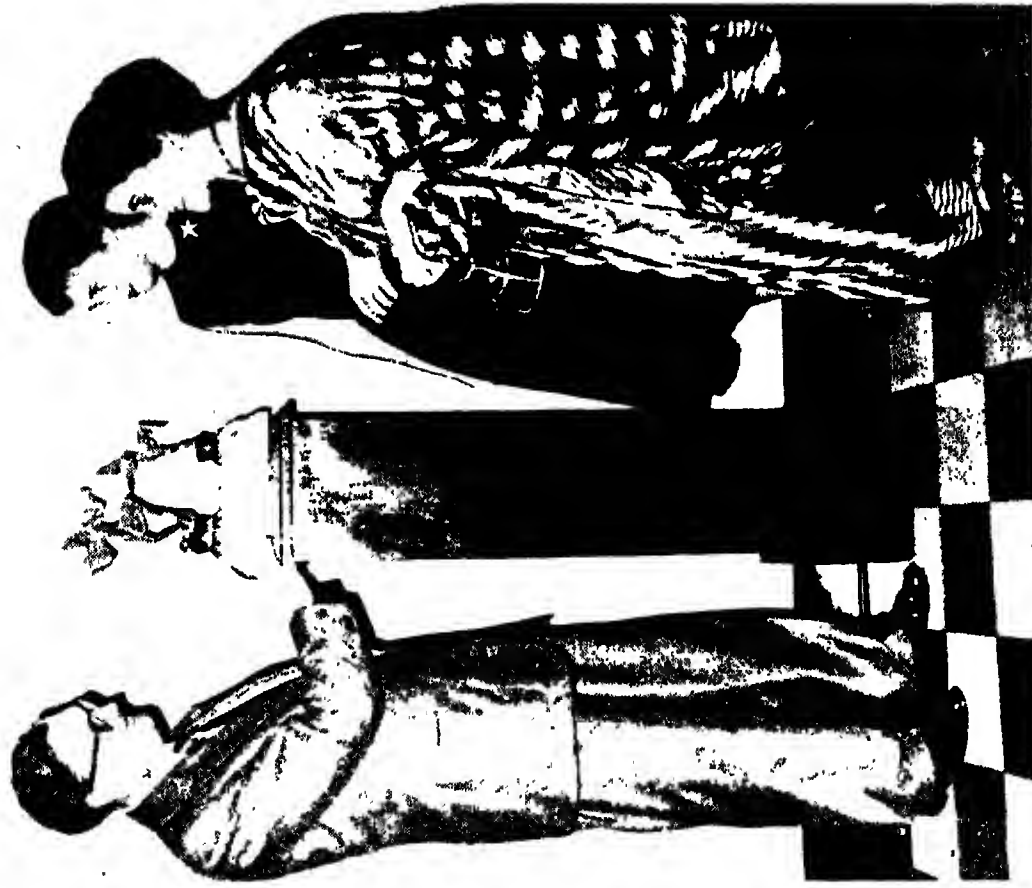
Commodore R. D. Katari, acting as Naval C-in-C in the rank of Rear-Admiral



The youngest boy rate, Campbell, with Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru on the bridge of the Flagship



Members of the Cultural Delegation of the Peoples Republic of China visited the historic Red Fort, Delhi, on December 12



Benjamin Shiva and P. S. Pillai, an English author and poet from India, was the author of presentation of the recent exhibition of art treasures from Asian countries sponsored by the Oriental Club at Mary Washington College of the University of Virginia

after their return to Indonesia that Japan had already surrendered to the Allies and was obliged to maintain the political *status quo* everywhere in her 'transient empire'. Nationalist revolution was therefore inevitable.

Japanese occupation had considerably strengthened Indonesia's political consciousness and had made her urge for freedom irresistible.

"The harshness of the Japanese rule much harsher and much more direct than the Dutch, had aroused a consciousness of common suffering and humiliation and a common resentment against the Japanese that enormously strengthened the already existing national consciousness of Indonesians."—*Nationalism and Revolution in Indonesia* by G. M. T. Kaum, p. 128.

Spanduddin rightly points out:

"During the three and a half years of Japanese occupation, the foundations of rural society were shaken and undermined by forced regulations, kidnapping from homes for conscription as labourers abroad or as soldiers, compulsory surrender of harvested crops, compulsory planting of designated crops, all imposed with unlimited arbitrariness."—*Once Striped* by Ann Spanduddin p. 11.

Japan's policy alienated the Indonesian peasantry. The series of local agrarian outbreaks, particularly during the last year of the Japanese occupation, was a sign of the times of the growing political consciousness, of the rising temper of the peasantry. Indoctrination by the undergrounds plus the cleverness of the nationalist leaders in the Poetera and the Hokokai in general and of Soekarno and Hatta in particular transformed the peasantry's political awakening and the grievances behind it into a national consciousness and ardent desire for freedom unknown to it before. The transformation was due more to the speeches of Soekarno than to anything else.

The Japanese propaganda meant to develop the popular support for their war effort only made the political awakening more complete. Japan's campaign to persuade the Indonesians to equate their national interests with those of Japan miscarried. Indonesia looked to the U.S.A. and not to Japan as her champion and liberator. The ceaseless anti-Allied Japanese propaganda narrowed and intensified the nationalist sentiments of the teen-agers—those between 15 and 20 years of age—specially those with little education, who constituted the majority in the above group. Many developed a chauvinism with a strong, fanatical anti-Western bias, which, more often than not, was sheer hatred of the West and not infrequently manifested in antipathy against Eurasians and Indies Chinese. The relatively educated youth, specially the college and secondary school students were alienated by the policy of forcing the Japanese language on them and the harsh and autocratic administration of the schools. Many left schools in protest. Others were forced to follow suit. A number remained in

schools only to hide their anti-Japanese underground activities.

A large proportion of the students were separated from their homes. If they did not accept scholarships from the Japanese authorities, they had to shift for themselves. Such aid was, however, abominable to most of them. They had, therefore, to find out employments. To support themselves was a new experience for most of them. Getting jobs was no difficulty however. The imprisonment of the European population had created a severe shortage of relatively educated government and commercial workers. The opportunity and ability to support themselves was a novel experience to an overwhelming majority of the erstwhile student population. It gave them, above everything else a degree of self-confidence unknown hitherto.

Students who left school—voluntarily or otherwise—took to a serious study of the Social Sciences, a study denied to them before. Many read the writings of Western political thinkers for the first time. Those who had a superficial acquaintance with the political literature of the West, read the same with thoroughness. With the abolition of the Poetera many of its student supporters got in touch with one or more of the undergrounds if they had not already done so. Their political education was furthered and given finishing touches to in the undergrounds particularly in that of Spabur. The deep anti-Imperialist and pro-Communist imprint left upon the ex-students of the 'Asrama Indonesia Merdeka' should also be remembered.

The Malaya or the Indonesian language (Bahasa Indonesia) was popularised by the Japanese occupation authorities. It had become the official language and also the medium of instruction above the third grade.

"Because the Japanese were determined to enlist the energies of the entire Indonesian population in the war effort, they penetrated into the villages in the remotest backwaters of islands, using the Indonesian language as they went.

"Thus the language flourished and imbued the people with a feeling new to most of them. As more and more of them learned to speak it freely, they became aware of a common bond. The Indonesian language became a symbol of national unity in opposition to the efforts of the Japanese, ultimately to implant their own language and culture. By the time therefore of the Japanese surrender, the position of the Indonesian language had improved enormously both in strength and prestige *vis-a-vis* not only Dutch, but also the various regional languages of the archipelago which had no opportunity to develop during the occupations."—"The Indonesian Language—By-Product of Nationalism"—Article by Takdir Alisjabana in the *Pacific Affairs*, December, 1949.

Indonesians were appointed to most of the vacancies caused by the removal of the European incum-

bents from administrative and technical jobs. They carried on the work all right, maybe, not equally efficiently in all cases. This exploded the myth of inherent Dutch superiority. When it was further noticed that Indonesians in their new positions gave a better account of themselves than many a Japanese in similar positions the average Indonesian was tremendously impressed. His self-confidence and sense of self-respect were restored. The morbus of inferiority complex was exorcised. The Indonesian raised his head high for the first time in many centuries.

Indonesians who had gained personally by the removal of Europeans from administrative and technical positions, were naturally interested in maintaining the *status quo*. The return of Dutch rule would mean reversion or demotion to former positions. Independence, on the other hand was to bring still higher promotion. Indeed, the Indonesians had already begun to resent the monopoly of the highest positions by the Japanese.

Indonesia was in ferment. Japanese policy in the archipelago had culminated in a mighty social revolution. Many of the members of the old indigenous aristocracy, who had held relatively high positions under the Dutch, were given higher positions by the Japanese, which were beyond their fondest hopes and boldest dreams under the Dutch rule. Little wonder, they were dead against the return of the Dutch. Their ambitions were whetted ambitions which would not be appeased before they could order their lives in their own way.

Long before the actual surrender of the Japanese the air had been thick with rumours which were not without foundations. The Indonesian undergrounds became more active than before. Sjahrir, who had received radio reports about Japanese peace feelers urged Hatta on August 10, 1945, that he and Soekarno should proclaim Indonesian independence. Hatta was assured of the support of the undergrounds and of

many of the Peta units. The request was repeated four days later on August 14. Neither Soekarno nor Hatta believed as yet that the Japanese would surrender. They feared that Sjahrir's suggestion, if acted upon, would lead to a useless blood bath. Sjahrir, however, believed that Soekarno's unwillingness would be overcome and began to make preparations for a revolution on the 15th. Soekarno remained firm in his attitude. He and Hatta still hoped to avoid bloodshed. An isolated revolution at Cirebon led by Dr. Sudarsono on the 15th was promptly put down by the Japanese. The Student Union underground kidnapped Soekarno and Hatta at 4 A.M. on the 16th and removed them to the Peta garrison at Rengasdengklok. Here Soekarno and Hatta were finally convinced that Japan had already laid down arms. On his return to Djakarta late in the night on the 16th, Hatta contacted a top-ranking Japanese official, who told him that under the terms of the instrument of surrender the Japanese were "merely agents of the Allies" and that they would not snaffle if Indonesia declared independence. Hatta realised that a bloodless revolution was impossible and that the course suggested by the undergrounds was the only means of attaining independence. Sjahrir then met Soekarno in detention and got from him a promise to declare independence.

On the 17th morning Soekarno read out the declaration of independence to a small group that had collected before his residence at Djakarta. Indonesia had reached the cherished goal at long last.

Indonesia was proclaimed a Republic. A new nation was born "by just a turn in the course of world history." The infant Republic had to wait for four years, four years of troubles and travails, of sufferings and sacrifices for internal stability and international recognition.\*

\* The writer is indebted for much valuable information to Mr. Suwaiso, an Indonesian student of the Khalsa College, Amritsar. Mr. Suwaiso fought for his country's freedom and belonged to the XVIIIth Brigade of the Indonesian National Army.

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## ECONOMY OF THE BULLOCK-CART

By B. K. PODDAR

India is passing through the phase of conflict of the machine and manual labour in a degree not hitherto experienced in this hoary land. Man vs. machine is an age-old problem but in certain matters where machine brings about mass unemployment, the question of its introduction is a hotly debatable point. To take decision either way in a hurry is undesirable and each case has to be judged on its own merits. The ultimate object is to increase national wealth by the totality of factors involved in each industry including employment, economic use of the raw materials, considerable enhancement in the value of the products, utility of waste, widening of the market and growing number of consumers.

Besides the broad economic points that are involved in cases where the effects of the use of machinery are almost readily discernible, there are two spheres where human and animal labour have been in close alliance for centuries and gradual penetration of machine in these fields are bound to affect Indian, particularly rural economy, very adversely. Agricultural methods and a large bulk of the country's transport are from time immemorial mainly dependent on man and cattle and they have helped each other in living perhaps in comparative ease and contentment and also above want. Besides agriculture and transport, the milch cattle have, by providing man with the most balanced diet from his infancy till death, held an

outstanding position in India. The value of milk alone is Rs. 410 crores per annum of which cow and buffalo milk contributes more than 98% of the total. The annual contribution of the livestock in the shape of tractive power, manure and animal products is in the neighbourhood of Rs. 2500 crores and is over 15% of the national wealth of India.

It is regretted that domestic animals are not cared for now-a-days to the extent they deserve; rather they are suffering from negligence. The era of veneration for the cows is perhaps over. Even in such a happy state of affairs the element of selfish gain of getting more than what was bestowed upon the animal was never overlooked for the simple reason that for the common man a purely altruistic act without any expectation of a larger or even an equal return is uncommon. These animals wrested an honoured place in proportion to the services they had rendered to the economic order of human society. It is necessary to find out the reason for the loss of warmth of feeling and respect for the cow and it will be found out that it is due to decline in the proportionate benefits to the keeper during the last twenty-five years or so. These two factors have been turning in a vicious circle and the general rut started without anybody almost knowing much about it.

The cattle wealth of India lies not in its quality, but quantity. The yield of milk per animal is much below what it is in most of the civilised countries particularly of the West. The male is weak and its draughtability is very poor. To draw the plough and the cart are the two main tasks they are made to perform; and their productive capacity is exceedingly poor.

If these regions are invaded by machine, the tractor and the motor lorry, with the corresponding loss of usefulness of the animal, it is bound to be treated with further neglect; and the people engaged in earning their livelihood through the services of these animals will lose their bread and occupation.

It is no doubt a curse that the output of the milch cattle and draught animals is much below what their number warrants. The duty of the individual and the State is to improve the quality of both by all means. But to throw them out of service is to violently disturb the present economic structure with germs of utter confusion for the future. The contribution of the animals of traction particularly bullocks in the service of India is immense. The capital invested in road transport is Rs. 1,200 crores out of which the bullock carts account for about Rs. 670 crores. While railways with an investment of Rs. 838 crores carry 9.5 crore tons of goods, the bullock carts, numbering about 84 lakhs, carry more than 10 crore tons of goods over difficult pathways where motor transport is a complete failure. There are 70 lakhs of people who earn their livelihood as drivers, wheelwrights and assistants. During the farming season, about seven months in a year, the number of bullocks

gainfully engaged is to the tune of 170 lakhs while nearly 50 lakhs labour throughout the whole year. The number of persons living on agriculture and agricultural income is 25 crores of which about 8 crores actually work in the field and farm with the help of the cattle.

Present-day human society cannot do away with milch cattle; efforts will have to be directed both for increasing their number and developing the qualities. The problem will accentuate for the bullocks with the increase of mechanised transport and agriculture. The proportion of birth of he and she-calves is equal and only a few of the bull calves will be required on attaining maturity for breeding purposes and the rest will be found absolutely superfluous to the society. With further progress in the method of artificial insemination, a large portion of the bulls will be deemed fit only for the slaughter house. To the majority of the Indian population beef is untouchable and export may find use for just a small portion of what will remain after consumption within the country.

A rapid progress in mechanisation from the totality of its effects will be detrimental to the economic interest of India. There must be a limit put to its expansion even if complete mechanisation of agriculture and transport on some future date is possible. In a country where the population is insufficient for fully working all the sources of production of raw materials and finished goods it is expedient to take the help of machine. The case is otherwise in a country like China and India teeming with idle hands and suffering from want of employment. A search for profitable alternative employment should proceed hand in hand with the expansion of machine and it is better to allow both to live in peace so long as the cherished goal is not reached. The principle of protecting and helping indigenous small-sized industries suffering from the onslaught of mills and factories has been accepted and the money realised as cess on cotton, oil, match and even *biri* factories is diverted to help the weaker counterpart of the respective industries which have in their employ a large number of workers. In the case of transport, there must be a sector reserved for the bullock carts for profitable work for both man and animal. About tractors, the result is doubtful and it will take long years before cattle go out of the picture altogether. Still there should be a close watch before the problem assumes serious proportions. Improvement in the cart wheel, spokes, axles and rims, shape of the cart and also of the ploughshares is earnestly desired by everybody and if intelligent brains are at work it may be that animal and man will be able to successfully compete with machine which requires a few men to keep it working efficiently. Indian economy has its own peculiarities and it would be a folly to throw away outright the experience of ages and the system which has so far eminently suited to the needs of the people.

# NUTRITION IN INDIA

By PROF. C. B. MAMORIA, M.A. (Geog.), M.Com.

It is no exaggeration to say that the food problem in India is to a great extent the 'Problem of Nutrition.' Although no definite data exist to show the extent to which Indians do not afford a nutritive diet it is a well-known fact that due to heavy pressure of population on land, the lack of subsidiary occupations, the inadequate production of 'Protective Foods,' the inadequacy of transport system, the retardation of economic development for various cogent reasons, the lack of education and the food habits which custom and religion have fixed in the people, they have to remain content with a diet far below the essential required for health. Sir John Boyd Orr, the British authority on food, very rightly remarks:

"Permanent under-feeding and periodic starvation is a rule in India. In normal times about 30 per cent of the population do not get 'enough' to eat, while a much longer section of the population have to be satisfied almost invariably with ill-balanced diet containing a preponderance of cereals, sugar, root vegetable and insufficient 'protective foods' of higher nutritive value. Intake of milk,<sup>1</sup> pulses, meat, fish, eggs, green leafy vegetables and fruits is generally insufficient which leads to ill health, disease and high mortality in India among the vulnerable groups including the infant children, pregnant and nursing mothers, factory workers and school boys."

The seriousness of the nutrition problem has been looming large before the economists, politicians and social workers for some time past. Recent surveys and experimental research conducted in various parts of the country particularly at the Nutrition Research Laboratories, Coonoor and the Food Technological Research Institute, Mysore, have given us a good knowledge of the dietary inadequacies, and medical investigations have revealed many of the deleterious physical consequences.

A diet survey of several families and institutions in Calcutta was made by Dr. Wilson, Bashir Ahmad and Mullick in 1936. It included ten middle class Bengali Hindu families, a male hostel and two orphanages. The survey showed that all the diets analysed fell below the Western standard. They were all-round deficit diets. The deficiency was most marked in

certain directions, viz., animal protein, animal fat, dairy products and calcium. These deficiencies were most marked in children's institutions. The doctors observed:

"Assuming that the Western standard is not rigidly applicable in India and this is probable in the case of fat, the degree of divergence between the figures collected here and the accepted standard is too great to be dismissed as falling within the range of what constitutes a good diet or what the human species can adapt itself to."

They arrived at the following conclusions:

(i) The diets analysed in this survey are poor in total and animal protein, total and animal fat, calcium and to a lesser extent phosphorus;

(a) The minimum cost in Calcutta at current price today of a diet which approaches to within a reasonable degree the Western standard, is somewhere in the region of annas 4 4 to 5 6 per man value per day. Under present conditions this is beyond the means of most.<sup>2</sup>

They recommended the increased use of milk products and *ala* in the rice-eating districts.

Similarly, Dr. Akiyod and Krishnan undertook diet surveys in South Indian Villages in 1936. They investigated into the diet of 44 families including 274 persons over a period of 20 days. They divided the families into four groups and they found that the calory intake in Groups I and II was definitely insufficient, and in Group III though the mean approached the standard requirement, it concealed under-nutrition in a considerable proportion of families. They found, therefore, that one-third to one-half of the group of 44 families studied did not consume enough food during the period of investigation. The intake of protein and fat of animal of calcium origin was low. They observed,

"It is difficult to say how far the families studied were typical of South Indian peasants in general. It is clear that if Group I, which may without exaggeration be described as half-starved, is representative of a large group, the problem of under- and mal-nutrition in South India is more serious than has yet been realised."<sup>3</sup>

Another survey in the Kangra Valley by the then Punjab Government and the Board of Economic Enquiry, Punjab, revealed that

"The average daily diet of cultivators consisted of cereals. Pulses occupied secondary place in the diet. Vegetables were not conspicuous and the quantity of green vegetables consumed was very small. In the diet of 24 families no green leaf vegetable was included. Only 14 families ate some fruit. The amount of fat consumed was also extremely small and animal fat almost negligible. In 24 out of 60 families no butter, ghee or animal fat was consumed. Meat was almost absent from

1. In India, the consumption of milk is only 5.45 ozs. per day (1948) as against 11.8 ozs. in Argentina, 14 ozs. in New Zealand; 18.7 ozs. in Canada, 15.8 ozs. in Denmark, 14.8 ozs. in Ireland; 22.8 ozs. in Sweden and Switzerland; 14.2 ozs. in U.K.; 17 ozs. in U.S.A. and 7.7 ozs. in France. Not only is this all, milk consumption is not uniform in all the Provinces in India. It varies from 1.23 ozs. in Assam; 2 ozs. in M.P.; 2.64 ozs. in Orissa; 2.77 ozs. in W. Bengal; 3.02 ozs. in Bombay; 3.26 ozs. in V.P.; 3.64 ozs. in Hyderabad; 3.97 ozs. in Pepsu; 4.18 ozs. in Madras; 4.33 ozs. in Mysore; 4.37 ozs. in Bihar; 4.54 ozs. in Kashmir; 5.53 ozs. in Delhi; 7.16 ozs. in U.P.; 7.14 ozs. in M.B.; 15.72 ozs. in Rajasthan; 16.89 ozs. in F. Punjab and 19.78 ozs. in Saurashtra. Vide A.I.C.C. Economic Review, Vol. V, No. 2 (1953), p. 18 and Vol. V, No. 3 (1953), p. 11.

2. *Indian Journal of Medical Research*, Vol. XXIV, 1936-37, pp. 171-2.

3. *Ibid*, p. 667, et seq.

the diet. Approximately 50 per cent of the individuals suffered from malnutrition in some degree.<sup>4</sup> Dr. Lorenzo found that in U. P. the diet consumed by the agriculturists was considerably deficient in necessary proteins and fats.<sup>5</sup>

Another survey connected with the state of nutrition of school children in S. India carried out by Drs. Aykroyd and Raggopal revealed that in S. India,

"The diet of school children is so inadequate in quality judged by generally accepted standards that diet deficiency must far outweigh other factors as a cause of malnutrition. Out of 1900 school children in South Indian towns, who were subject to investigation, 14.7 per cent carried symptoms of food deficiency disease. 6.4 per cent showed phrynodema, 9.2 per cent angular stomatitis and 3.8 per cent Bitol's spots."<sup>6</sup>

Dr. Murrack gives us the following tables showing the chemical composition of Indian diets and also the percentages of children with evidence of vitamin deficiency.<sup>7</sup>

*Calories, Proteins, Fat and Calcium in Indian diets per man value per day*

Regions	Calories	Protein	Animal Protein	Fat	Calcium
S. India (Trichopoly)	2399	62.7	—	26.9	0.31
Assam Coolies	2181	58.8	2.7	12.0	0.173
Nilgiris Tea Plantation	2140	43	—	18.0	0.19
Travancore Tea Plantation	2380	32	—	21.0	0.46
Paharia Tea Plantation	1368	37.3	0	3.5	0.16

*POOR INDIAN DIETARIES (1937-42)*

(In ozs. per consumption unit)

Food Stuff	Kishan	Madras	Mysore	Baroda	M. P.	Bengal	Orissa	Bihar	U. P.	Punjab	Assam	Hyderabad
Rice	25.6	14	2.4	8.1	26.4	23.7	24.6	20.1	6.8	..	19	0.9
Wheat	1.3	..	..	..	0.2	..	..	..	17.0	22.4	..	2.0
Millet	..	6	24.9	11.3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	22.1
Pulses	0.6	1.4	2.1	4.0	1.1	1.4	0.9	0.6	2.1	2.7	1.0	1.7
Leafy vegetables	5.2	0.3	1.3	..	1.5	0.8	0.3	2.0	1.6	3.3	0.2	0.2
Non-leafy vegetables	1.5	3.4	0.9	2.6	3.1	9.2	7.7	0.5	2.3	..	3.4	0.8
Fruits	..	..	..	..	0.1	0.6	..	..	..	..	..	0.6
Oils & Ghee	0.9	0.5	0.1	0.7	0.2	0.6	0.1	0.1	0.5	0.4	0.3	0.6
Milk	2.2	..	1.9	2.3	0.2	3.1	..	0.1	6.4	2.4	0.5	2.1
Ment, fish & eggs	0.2	0.2	..	..	0.1	1.8	0.6	0.1	..	0.7	0.2	0.3
Sugar & jaggery	0.5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	0.2	..	..	0.6

*MIDDLE CLASS DIETARIES*

(In ozs. per consumption unit)

Food Stuff	Bengal	Bihar	Bombay	Gujarat	Madras	Punjab
						Hindus Muslims
Rice	10.2	..	8.2	3.6	13.3	1.5 4.1
Wheat	3.1	18.0	3.2	5.6	..	10.9 11.6
Millet	..	..	0.2	0.8	..	.. 0.7
Other cereals	..	..	..	..	0.8	4.5 ..
Pulses	1.5	4.1	1.1	1.8	1.3	1.8 1.2
Leafy vegetables	0.7	1.2	1.8	..	0.6	4.0 3.0
Non-leafy vegetables	11.6	5.9	3.2	7.0	3.9	4.5 3.0
Fruits	3.3	0.6	..	..	..	0.7 ..
Oils & Ghee	2.2	1.8	2.9	2.6	1.3	1.3 1.4
Milk	11.0	4.1	7.6	10.6	..	10.5 7.0
Ment, fish & eggs	5.6	3.7	4.1	..	..	0.6 2.2
Sugar and jaggery	..	0.6	1.9	1.8	..	1.8 1.1

4. Quoted in *Developing Village Indian*, 1946, pp. 149-50.

5. A. M. Lorenzo: *Agricultural Labour Conditions in North India*, p. 101.

#### Santals Tea

Plantation	2178	76.0	1.7	13.9	0.47
Calcutta well-to-do	2787	94.0	47.7	86.5	0.79
Hindu—					
(Urban Punjab)	2319	69.8	9.9	49.2	0.77
(Rural Punjab)	2720	81.4	8.5	53.1	0.81
Sikh (Urban)	2776	87.9	16.0	59.2	1.00
Sikh (Rural)	2904	89.4	13.0	58.6	0.99

*Per cent of Children with evidence of Vitamin*

*Deficiency*

	Bitol's spots	Angular Stomatitis	Phryno-dema	Xerophthalmia
Mayanur (S. India)	3.8	6.6	0.3	—
Coonoor (S. India)	2.1	8.7	8.6	—
Calcut (S. India)	8.2	10.1	0.5	—
Assam coolie boys	2.4	Very few	Very few	15.0
Calcutta well-to-do boys	0	0	0	0
Santal boys	—	1.5	6.8	3.1
Paharia boys (Punjab)	—	0	27.8	2.8

A large number of surveys was devoted to the study of diets of the poor people from the rural areas; a few dealt with low income groups in towns and still others with the diets of the middle class people. The groups of population dealt with cover agriculturists, agricultural labourers, Harijans and backward classes, aboriginal tribes, factory workers, clerks, petty tribesmen, tradesmen and middle class families of persons engaged in numerous walks of life. In the following tables are given the results of a few sample surveys conducted on how people live in villages in different provinces and on middle class people in similar areas.<sup>8</sup>

6. *L. M. Journal*, Vol. XXIV, p. 119.

7. Murrack: *Food and Planning* (1942).

8. V. N. Patwardhan: *Nutrition in India* (1952), pp. 140-141.

A glance at the above tables shows that the middle class diet is relatively better in that it is balanced to a certain extent whereas no such balance exists in the poor man's diet. In the middle class diet, there is a large proportion of fat, milk, flesh-food and sugar. All of them are costly items in the diet and this explains why they are not included in the poor man's dietary.

Food energy is required for maintaining basal metabolism, i.e., the functions of the body when lying *still* and *warm*, and for supplementing waste in specific dynamic action. The basal metabolic requirements of calories will of course differ in individual cases according to their size as will be clear from the following table:

BODY SURFACE AND BASAL METABOLIC REQUIREMENTS				
	Height cm.	Weight kg.	Surface area sq. m.	B.M. plus specific dynamic action
Public school youths	180	71	1.88	1,870
Conventional mean man	171	60	1.77	1,770
Average industrial worker	169	61	1.69	1,694

Investigations carried out in India indicate that the B.M.R. for all workers range from 34.3 to 36.7 cal./m<sup>2</sup>/hr. for males and 30.9 to 35.1 for adult females.<sup>9</sup> This shows that the B.M.R. for an Indian is less than the corresponding rate for people in Europe. The cause of this lower rate may be due to climate, the very low proportion of protein consumption, or race or it may also be due to chronic under-feeding and universal malnutrition. In a warm climate like India, an appreciably low metabolism is accompanied by a low level of protein consumption.<sup>10</sup> Thus the calories which the Indian working man's diet yields hardly reach the level of those of the diet of the European working man. Mukherjee found that the Bengali Metabolism was on the average 9 per cent below the Western standard,<sup>11</sup> while Banerjee's investigation show that the B.M. of the peasants in U.P. is 7 per cent below the English or the American standard. Similarly, Krishnan and Varad's investigations in S. India showed that the B.M. of men was 12 per cent and of women 16 per cent below the Western standard. A description of the poor Indian dietaries cannot be complete without reference to calories intake and fat and protein contents of their diets.<sup>12</sup> 139 diet surveys were made in different parts

of India during 1937-42 (two of which were made in 1931) which included 3,250 families comprising over 14,000 persons of low income groups, mainly of cultivators, agricultural labourers and agriculturists as well as petty tradesmen and industrial labourers.

**Calories<sup>13</sup>:** The average calorie intake amounted to 2,560 calories per consumption unit per day. In 92 surveys, the calorie intake was between 2,000-3,000 calories and in 28 surveys it was between 3,000-4,300 calories while 17 surveys have recorded intakes of 1,100-1,500.<sup>14</sup> The lowest intake has been recorded in surveys in Travancore and the highest in the Punjab. It may be mentioned that between 70-80 per cent calories, and in some instances more are derived from cereals and pulses.

**Proteins** The figures for protein intake were available in 132 surveys. These yield an average value of 73 gm. per consumption unit per day. In 98 of these surveys, the protein intake has been recorded between 51 and 100 gm. In 17 surveys, it has varied from 20 to 50 gm. The bulk of the protein in Indian

An allowance of 2,400 calories net per day is considered adequate to meet the requirements of such an individual.

(b) The following supplements for muscular activity should be added to the basic requirements in (a)

Light work Upto 75 calories per hour of work.

Moderate work Upto 75-150 calories per hour of work

Hard work: Upto 150-300 calories per hour of work.

Very hard work Upto 300 calories and upwards per hour of work.

#### 13. Caloric Chart:

	255	calories per oz.
Ghee or cooking oils	120	"
Groundnut in shell	110	"
Sugar	100	"
Cereals and pulses	60	"
Condiments	50	"
Dry fruits	20	"
Milk	13	"
Fruits	50	"
Goat meat	16	"
Potatoes	6	"
Vegetables		"

14. The average value of 2,560 is low, but not very low when considered that it includes men and women of all ages engaged in different states of physical activity and children of varying ages. Aykroyd's estimate for an average Indian is 2500-2600 calories per day. He concludes that those who perform heavy manual work probably require about 2800-3000 calories per day, and if the agriculturist is to work very strenuously on his holding, he must have a correspondingly high calorie intake. Dr. Baljit Singh holds that 2800 calories per average man daily should be the necessary minimum. According to him, the total number of calories available for actual consumption is estimated to be about 22 per cent below the minimum requirements for good health. B. Singh *Population and Food Planning in India* (1947), p. 101.

It may be pointed out that the amount of energy used by different individuals is found to be proportional to the surface area of their bodies; and since men are bigger than women they require more calories than women and boys more than girls, (a) during the period of adolescence and youth more food is needed in proportion to the size of the body than when a man is full-grown, (ii) more calories are needed in cold than in hot climate and more in winter than in summer and (iii) more food energy is needed in Northern India and wheat zones and less in South India and rice zones.

9. V. N. Patwardhan *Nutrition in India*, pp. 122-123.

10. Table appended.

11. H. N. Mukherjee *Cal. Medical Journal*, Vol. XX, p. 425.

12. Quantitative requirements are usually estimated in terms of the heat unit calories. A calorie is the unit of heat necessary to raise one kilogram of water by one degree centigrade. An expert Commission of the League of Nations (1930) has drawn up the following statement about Energy requirements:

(a) An adult (male or female) living an ordinary even life in a temperate climate and not engaged in manual work is taken as the basis on which the needs of the other age-groups are reckoned.

diets is derived from cereals, pulses and other vegetable sources. About 40 surveys make a mention of animal protein in the diet food of animal origin. Thus the intake of animal protein is very much lower as the diets contain extremely small quantities of milk and milk products and flesh food. It has been estimated that their proportion should be at least one-fifth and higher if possible particularly during growth pregnancy and lactation.

**Fat** The figures for fat intake were available in 127 surveys which shows an amount of 22.5 gm. per consumption unit per day.<sup>15</sup> Most of the fat is derived from vegetable oils, milk, milk products—ghee or butter.

The chief source of energy in the body is the carbohydrates in a diet which is mostly vegetarian as in India; in it there is an excess rather than a deficiency of these. There are certain inorganic mineral substances which must also be supplied in the diet in the form of calcium and phosphorus (and also iron), but Indian diets are very deficient in all these substances. In addition different vitamins in adequate quantity should also be supplied by the food. But all of them are not available in requisite proportions and hence there is to be found a mild chronic deficiency existing among the population.

Thus it will be observed that "the inadequacy of calories, lack of proper balance and lack of uniformity" seem to be the three great alarming drawbacks of the Indian diets and these defects are rooted in the poverty and ignorance of the people, in the social and religious prejudices against the acceptance of cheap animal food like fish, eggs and meat. A close analysis of the peasant and working class dietary in different parts of India shows that the diet is usually lacking in calories and is not too well-balanced and apt to be bulky as the following table would reveal:<sup>16</sup>

	Protein (gms.)	Fat (gms.)	Carbohydrates (gms.)	Total calories
Punjab cultivator	120.0	70.0	560	3,440
" jail diet	113.4	26.8	612.8	2,880
" cultivator (Barry)	104.0	14.13	514.3	2,708
" (K. Singh)	110.2	54.9	769.8	4,014
U. P. farm land	99.9	23.9	487.3	2,310
U. P. mill worker	90.0	45.0	530	2,800
Bihar coal miner	64.1	20.3	505.5	2,599
Bengali jute worker	66.0	41.0	526	2,752
Bengal jail diet	93.3	39.4	603.3	3,508
Bombay mill women	57.0	38.0	413	2,234
Madras farm land	58.32	2.7	536.8	2,222

The main defects in the Indian dietaries may be put as follows:<sup>17</sup>

15. According to McCarrison, 80 gms. of fat is required for the boy while Dr. Aykroyd holds that 40 to 50 gms. per adult daily shall be required.

16. R. K. Mukerjee: *Food Planning for Four Hundred Millions* (1938), pp. 78-80.

17. C. B. Mamoria: *Dietaries in Rural India* (June, 1951), pp. 236-37.

(i) The fault of the Indian diet lies in its ill-balanced composition, e.g., in the Punjab, U.P., Rajasthan and Madhya Bharat, the unchanging combination is of wheat, jowar, bajra or maize, atta and dal; whereas in Bihar, Orissa and Bengal, it is rice and vegetables or dal; in Madras it is rice and tamarind juice curry and in Bengal it is rice, curry and fish. In each case more than three-fourths of the total quantity of food consumed by all the agricultural classes consists of these two only.

(ii) One of the greatest difficulties in India is to secure a sufficient amount of vitamin A, because the food-stuffs which contain most of this vitamin like eggs, cod-fish or fish-oil and leafy vegetables are not consumed by a majority of the rural population.

(iii) The bulk of our population is vegetarian. Meat, liver, eggs are rarely consumed by our people. Inadequate use of these articles lead people to suffer from scurvy, anaemia, rickets, thin bones, poor appetite and bad digestion.

(iv) The calories and proteins obtained from the diet per person per day in India is very low in comparison with other countries as would be gathered from the figures given below (1950-51).<sup>18</sup>

Country	Calories (No. per day)	Total protein (gms. per day)	Animal protein (gms. per day)
Canada	3,240	95	57
U.S.A.	3,210	92	61
Denmark	3,130	97	57
France	2,790	91	41
Germany	2,810	76	38
Sweden	3,240	95	60
Italy	2,400	76	20
Switzerland	3,250	97	51
U. K.	3,100	88	46
Ceylon	2,060	48	12
China	2,120	65	5
India	1,570	42	6
Japan	2,100	53	10
Pakistan	2,160	58	11
Egypt	2,100	68	14
Australia	3,290	98	66
New Zealand	3,470	104	70

#### INCIDENCE OF MALNUTRITION

Food deficiencies may cause well-recognised deficiency diseases which do not invariably cause actual death or infirmity but are certain to lead to general ill-health, to increase greatly the susceptibility to many other diseases of infectious origin (tuberculosis, influenza, pneumonia, leprosy) and to impair the efficiency and well-being of the masses. It also lessens the strength and incentive and effective intelligence which are necessary if people are to remedy their situation. Sir McCarrison has shown by a patient study how the statura and physique of the rice-eating population of Bengal and Madras are far below those of the Northern people who live on wheat, milk, fruits and meat. The faulty diet has a very great effect on body-building. A badly fed

18. F.A.O.: *State of Food and Agriculture*, 1952.

child is often small for its age and then, its 'weight for height' will be below the average. It will fall sick easily whereas a well-fed human being has a glossy skin and a glow of health. Infants, growing children, expectant and nursing mothers are those who are most affected by deficiency diseases. They are often lean with sunken eyes and cheeks and occasionally having marked symptoms of anaemia.

(i) Malnutrition causes an increase in death rate in two ways. In the first place, it gives rise to certain deficiency diseases and secondly it lowers the resistance power of our people to infection. It has been found out that in S. India, where milled rice is the staple article of diet, nearly all the pregnant women are in a state of avitaminosis B. As a result, the incidence of premature births is three times as great as it is in the North of India where wheat is the staple diet,<sup>19</sup> and in consequence the infant mortality rate also is many times greater in Madras or Bengal than in the Punjab or U.P. Similarly, T.B. is twice as prevalent in S. India as in the Punjab.

(ii) Investigations carried out in agricultural regions or ecological areas indicate that fecundity is reduced as a result of deterioration of the food position in the face of an acute pressure of population. During famines and wars, sterility in women and failure of menstrual functions have been recorded as evidences of mal-nutrition. Mal-nutrition by leading to specific deficiency in essential food-stuffs, such as calcium and vitamins, has a direct effect in the reduction of fecundity. No doubt, the consumption of wheat (which contains vitamin B) is considerably reduced during a famine or a year of scarcity, while milk and milk products as well as some fresh vegetables (all of which are rich in vitamin E, that has also been considered to have favourable effect on reproduction) are entirely eliminated from the diet. The general law of physiological vigour indirectly affects menstruation which leads to an increase of abortion and contributes to diminished fecundity.<sup>20</sup>

(iii) The food shortage in India is so acute that in normal years where there are no apparent deaths due to famine or actual starvation one-fourth of the children born die before the age of one year, only half surviving up to the age of 20 years. Longevity is very much restricted and the average expectation of life at birth is as low as 26.91 for males and 26.56 for females. Among the survivors the standard of health is very low while infirmities and deficiency diseases are quite common.

(iv) Not only that, under-feeding causes a retardation of development, especially of young children, as well as symptoms of disease in fully developed adults. Dr. McCay observed some years back:

"As we pass from the north-west region of the Punjab (P) down to the Gangetic plain to the coast of Bengal, there is a gradual fall in stature, body weight, stamina and efficiency of the people. In accordance with this decline in mainly characteristics it is of utmost significance that there is an accompanying gradual fall in the nutritive value of dietaries and more specially in the average level of protein metabolism attained by the people of the Punjab, U.P., Bihar and Bengal."

Similarly, McCarrison supports the above nutritional generalisation. He makes a study of the races of India and their diets and observes:

"Nothing could be more striking than the contrast between the manly, stalwart and resolute races of North—the Pathans, Bahunas, Sikhs, Punjabis, Jats, Gujars, Rajputs and Marathas, and poorly developed toneless and supine peoples of the east and south—Bengalis, Biharis, Madhasis, Kanarese and Travancorians."

This remark shows that mal-nutrition increases from the wheat-eating areas of North, West U.P. and the East Punjab plains to the rice-eating areas in Bengal, coastal lands and Madras, so does the incidence of certain diseases as beriberi, pellagra lesions, cataracts, dropsy, rickets and xerophthalmia.

Thus it may be noted that fertility, resistance to disease, height, weight, general endurance, learning capacity and many of the qualities of personality are strongly influenced by the diet in the sense that proper environment in relationship to the matters of diet and hygiene promotes the development of superior individuals, if we regard greater height, greater weight, resistance to infection, and better learning ability as evidence of superiority.

In determining how far the absence of certain specific food factors lead to diseases, one of the difficulties is that it is seldom possible to observe in man the effect of one food deficiency in isolation. Food deficiencies are usually multiple and the interpretation of their effects is usually complicated by the presence of various infections. Some symptoms, particularly those of a general nature occurring in the earlier stages of a deficiency disease may not only be characteristic of the lack of a particular food factor, but they may well be the result of disease processes unrelated or only indirectly related to the dietary. For this reason, the correct interpretation of the facts is a matter of much difficulty. Nevertheless, a considerable number of specific diseases are now generally recognised and it may be pointed out that faulty and unbalanced diets are as much responsible for disease and mortality as deficient or inadequate diets.

<sup>19</sup> R. K. Mukherjee: *Food Planning for Four Hundred Millions*.

<sup>20</sup> Spackman has estimated the abortion rate for the general population in India at 10 per cent of the total pregnancies. Reckoning the live births in India at 14 million per annum and adding 1 m. per annum and adding 1 m. for still births, the total pregnancies would be sixteen and a half m. and total abortion sixteen and a half lakhs per annum.—(Quoted in *N. P. Report on Population*, p. 64).

For normal growth and development, it is essential that the right kind of food should be taken. Food must supply energy for the body. Protein fat and carbohydrates are sometimes known as 'energy-yielding food factors,' since they are burnt or oxidized in the body to provide energy for the body. The protein and fat should not be derived from any one particular source—cereals or pulses—as is the case in most parts of U.P., Bihar, Rajasthan and Chota Nagpur, where the whole population depends on coarse cereals or rice taken with *dals*. There must always be a proportion of *atta* to milk, vegetables, *dals*, animal fat and meat or fish. This proportionate mixture is necessary not only to give mineral salts and vitamins in abundance but also to supply enough cellulose for the proper action of the bowels. It should, therefore, be noted that a properly constituted diet should not only contain energy-yielding foods like cereals—rice, wheat, barley, millets, maize, jowar, bajra and oats, fat and sugar, but also protective foods which protect the body against disfunction and disease and provide strength, give health, protect infant and early mortality and give longevity, such as proteins—animal

proteins like milk, milk products, fish, eggs, meat, and vegetable proteins like pulses, peas, beans, lentils and nuts, mineral salts and vitamins, which are available from green and leafy vegetables, root vegetables, and fruits. Infants and growing children need relatively more animal food and vitamins than animals. Similarly, expectant and nursing mothers have also their special requirements.

In order that the diet be wholesome and well-balanced to suit any regional conditions in different parts of India, not less than one-third of protein, and one-half of fat should be derived from animal sources or milk products, vegetables in purely vegetarian diets. In both cases the quantity of vegetables should be more than four times as great by weight as the amount of non-cereal food-stuffs. When it is necessary to increase the energy value of the diet, so as to provide for hard labour and unusual activity, the amount of starch and sugar should be increased.

The following table prepared by the Nutrition Advisory Committee of the Indian Research Fund Association in 1944 gives the daily dietary allowances in terms of essential nutrients:<sup>21</sup>

DAILY REQUIREMENTS OF CALORIES AND SOME ESSENTIAL NUTRIENTS								
Person	Nature of work	Net calories	Proteins (g)	Fat (g)	Calcium (g)	Iron (mg)	Vitamin A (I.U.)	Vitamin D (D.V.)
Men (55 kg or 120 lbs.)	(1) Light or sedentary work	2400	82	Higher consumption of fats in winter than in summer.	1.0	20 to 30	3000 to 4000	
	(2) Moderate work	3000	82		"	"	"	
	(3) Very hard work	3600	82		"	"	"	
Women (45 kg or 100 lbs.)	(1) Light or sedentary work	2100	67		"	"	"	
	(2) Moderate work	2500	67		"	"	"	
	(3) Very hard work	3000	67		"	"	"	
	(4) Pregnancy	2100	101		1.5	"	"	400 to 800
	(5) Lactation	2700	112		2.0	"	"	
Children	Under 1 year	100/kg.	3.5/kg.	1.0	10 to 30	3000 to 4000	"	
	1 to 3 years	900	3.5/kg.	to	"	"	"	
	3 to 5 years	1200	3.5/kg.	1.5	"	"	"	
	5 to 7 years	1400	3.0/kg.	"	"	"	"	
	7 to 9 years	1700	2.5/kg.	"	"	"	"	
	9 to 12 years	2000	2.0/kg.	"	"	"	"	
Adolescents	12 to 15 years	2400	"	"	"	"	"	
	15 to 21 years	2400	"	"	"	"	"	

The information given in the above table can be interpreted in terms of common food-stuff consumption per head per day thus: Cereals 14 ozs., pulses 3 ozs., green leafy vegetables 4 ozs., root vegetables 3 ozs., green leafy vegetables 4 ozs., root vegetables jaggery 2 ozs., vegetable oil and ghee 2 ozs., fish and meat 3 ozs. and egg 1 oz.

Drs. Patwardhan and Ranganathan enable us to compare a typical 'ill-balanced' Indian diet with a well-balanced diet:

#### COMPOSITION OF AN ILL-BALANCED AND AN IMPROVED DIET

(Ozs per consumption unit per day)

Food	Ill-balanced diet	Improved diet
Cereals	15 Ozs.	14 Ozs.
Pulses	1.0 "	3 "
Milk	1.0 "	4 "
Leafy vegetables	0.75 "	8 "
Root vegetables	1.0 "	6 "
Oil and fat	0.50 "	2 "
Sugar and jaggery		2 "

<sup>21</sup> Quoted by V. N. Patwardhan and S. Ranganathan in "Nutritive Value of Indian Foods and the Planning of Satisfactory Diets."—*Health Bulletin*, No. 23, Fourth Edition, 1951, p. 15.

The following table gives the approximate chemical composition of the above two diets.<sup>22</sup>

	Ill-balanced diet	Improved diet
Protein	38 gms.	73 gms.
Fat	19 "	73 "
Carbohydrates	357 "	445 "
Calcium	0.16 "	1.5 "
Phosphorus	0.69 "	1.4 "
Iron	9.0 mg.	60 mg.
Vitamin A (I.U.)	500 "	5000 "
Vitamin B <sub>1</sub>	0.5 "	1.5 "
Vitamin C	15.0 "	100.0 "
Calories	1750 "	2795 "

<sup>22</sup> V. N. Patwardhan *Op. Cit.*, p. 18.

It will be noted that the more well-balanced diet, containing less of cereals and more of everything else, is infinitely more satisfactory in quality. In the opinion of an American nutrition expert, a balanced diet should consist of as follows:

1. One-fifth for vegetables and fruits.
2. One-fifth for milk, butter milk, butter and ghee.
3. One-fifth for meat, fish and eggs.
4. One-fifth for cereals.
5. One-fifth for fat, sugar, spices and extras.

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### PRABHAT NEOGY A Study in Sensibility

By N. L. KHANOLKAR, M.A.  
*The Scindia School, Gwalior Fort*

It is not easy to say whether, as an artist, Prabhat Neogy is an escapist or a lover of life at its quickest and its sensitive interpreter.

which Bengal witnessed in the nineteen thirties. Life was then an adventure, a facing of hard-ship, an evangelical fervour, a dream to shake the people of India out of the



"Simenah"—Sprinkling water



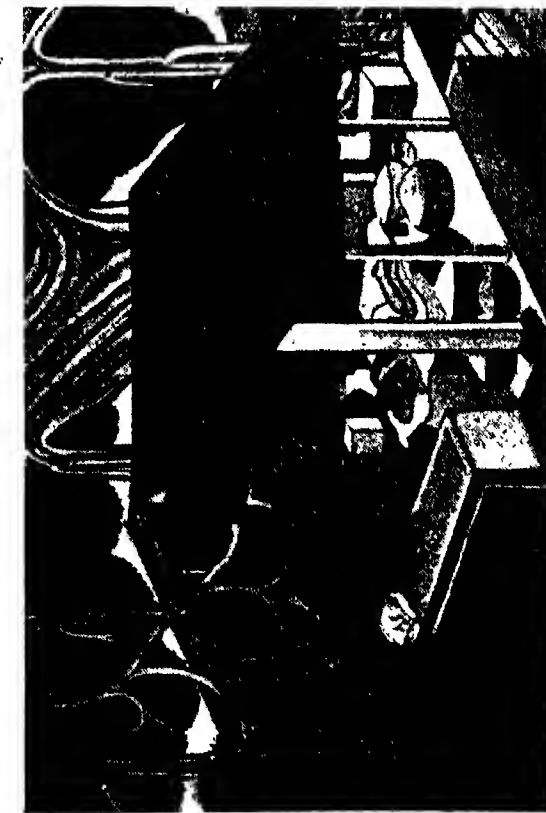
Leisure

In his apprenticeship days, Prabhat belonged to that influence and inspiration group of artists who, working under the of Abanindranath Tagore and Gaganendranath, rode the waves of the artistic and cultural renaissance

sordid and the baroque. In that context, he was one of those who were in the thick of the battle, painting, arguing, reaching out towards form through experiments, yet belonging truly to tradition.



A river sketch



The village shop



At B. Ward Band

It was a privilege to have your first attempts criticised by the vigilant and outspoken Dr. Abanindranath Tagore. Neogy lived with a group of artists in the Oriental Art Society in Calcutta for a considerable period, and he mentions the name of the famous *Vaishnava* artist Shri Kshitindranath Mazumdar (one of his instructors) with affection and admiration.

It is nearly 20 years since Prabhat Neogy and I have walked under the same cork trees and sat in the shadow of the same mediaeval temples. Occasionally, Prabhat reminisces over the old days, how he starved and shivered, saw plays in the Jorasanko house, read Havell and marvelled over Cezanne and Van Gogh. He was a part of a group then, which regarded creative work with faith. He had knocked about the vast country, Banaras, Madras, Nainital, Kashmir, and has come to anchor in the Gwalior Fort as a schoolmaster and art-teacher. Here, he has grown roots in water and wood and stone, having discovered something which satisfies a deep need.

In 1939, Dr. Gregg M. Sinclair, President of the Hawaii University, Honolulu, offered him a chance to travel, at which Prabhat jumped. He held a one-man show of his pictures at the Academy of Art in Honolulu, painted a mural in the Waiwani House (his host) and another in the Sydney University (on his way back) and met artists from China, Japan and Europe. This trip has added a precious ring to his experience. The temptation to stay on in the West,

to take it easy, was great, but the pull back to the country of banana leaves, red earth and *amramanjari* was greater. His creed is that though a holiday abroad brings richness and zest to the mind, a creative artist can do good work only in his own environment. To live permanently away from your own soil is not only to be forlorn but also to be barren.

As a schoolmaster too, Prabhat has made his mark. His sunshine temperament, his love of laughter and his mild ways have influenced many boys, and there are some old boys, who, having drawn and painted under his inspiration have kept up their interest, and are drawn back to him always. In the field of amateur dramatics, too, Prabhat's improvisations and brown paper setting (ordinary packing paper cut and pasted upon black cloth conveys a wonderful effect) have given much pleasure.

Although fond of the good things of life, of music, and congenial company, Prabhat has a retiring disposition. Publicity is an empty phrase for him. He does not believe in labels, either. He is aware that the understanding and interpretation of beauty is a discipline which calls for hard work. Prabhat is not very prolific, too, which is all to the good, because it behoves the artist to be fallow also. His sense of pattern, of composition is unerring, and his favourite colours are earth brown, moss green and Indian red. "It is enough for me," he says "if I am sincere to myself and true to the grain of nature. The rest follows."

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## TEN DAYS IN RAJASTHAN

By Dr. L. MUKHERJEE, M.A., B.L.D., Ph.D.,  
Lucknow University

PERHAPS with a man forced to lead a sedentary city life a desire to go out and visit places of interest, especially a place like Rajasthan steeped in glory that was once Ind, is natural. The consideration of expense, and inconvenience and the question of available time do often curb that desire, for one feels that the expense may be too great, the area being waterless desert, where one may not find convenient places to stay, may be discouraging or the journey may take a long time to cover and one may not be able to bear the strain and come back without seeing much. But many of us can snatch a short holiday of about ten days or so in order to undertake a journey like the one we did, and it may not be difficult to lay by a sum of a hundred and fifty or a hundred and sixty rupees in which a journey like the one we performed can be undertaken, provided one does not go in for expensive hotels or has no hesitation to cover the railway journey in an inter class. The same journey if performed in a third class may reduce the expense to Rs. 120 or less, and if performed in a second will increase to Rs. 200 or more. As both the persons who performed the journey were

above forty, it will prove that the strain involved, even in a hot season should not deter one to venture.

The immediate reason for our undertaking this tour was the total eclipse of the sun which was visible from only two places of India, Phalodi and Jasalmere, on the 30th June. This rare phenomenon which occurred after 56 years, may not occur again within the lifetime of most of us, and we were therefore eager not to miss this chance of a lifetime. As it was within the summer holidays, we desired to cover incidentally as many places of interest in Rajasthan as we could. At the beginning I found many to accompany me, but gradually one by one they dropped, fearing the rigours or strain or possibly the fact that expenses would far exceed the budget. Ultimately the party was limited to only two of us, myself and Professor N. N. Mukherjee of the Lucknow Civil Engineering College, whose twenty years of life as a surveyor has not dulled the keen enthusiasm for history that still resides within him, though mostly in a dormant form.

We started on the 26th June when the through

carriages and many trains to Agra side were cancelled owing to rush expected at Kurukshetra. We therefore took the N. E. Railway Agra Express leaving Lucknow at 6 P.M. and arriving at Agra by 10.45 A.M. Mr R. S. Shukla, an ex-student of my companion, forced us to accept his hospitality. As Agra was not a new place for either of us we merely visited two places, the Taj and Itmad-ud-daula, the mausoleum of Nurjahan's father, and left for Jaipur by the 7 P.M. train. Most of the sectional carriages provided by Western Railway, in the through train are quite comfortable and some of the new third class coaches can bear its own claim if compared with some of the rickety second class carriages which we find in most of our branch lines in the Northern Railway. We were however less lucky, for we could not get a seat in a Jaipur carriage and had to sit in one of the through carriages going straight to Ahmedabad which was not so comfortable. Any way we reached Jaipur at 3.30 A.M. The Panchayat Raj Dharamsala which was near was ready to receive us even at that rather unusual hour. Though not so comfortable as the Dharamsala of Jodhpur yet we found this Dharamsala not quite uncomfortable at any rate it was much better than many we see in U.P. An airy room was provided for a nominal rental of annas three per day plus an anna for each chairpot that we used. Water was provided in our bath room at an anna per bucket. Fairly clean and wholesome meals are available in the Dharamsala itself at a rupee each.

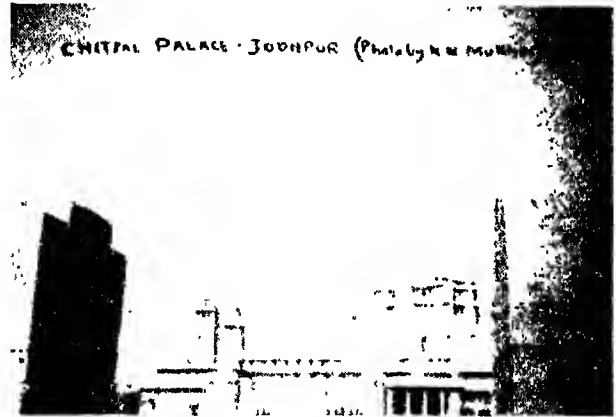
RAMNIWAS MUSEUM - JAIPUR (Photo by N. N. Montagu)



Ramniwas Museum, Jaipur

Taking our tea, we went out to visit this beautifully planned city of Raja Jai Singh. The princely ruler of Kachwa Rajputs claims their descent from Kush, one of the sons of Ramchandra. The branch originally settled in Rohtas near Dehri on Son in Bihar; why they migrated to Gwalior in the 3rd century A.D. is still a mystery. The hill fortress of Amber which overlooks the present city of Jaipur seems to have been constructed by Dhola Raj in 967 A.D. as a defensive measure. Finally in or about 1150 A.D. the fort became the capital. When Allauddin stormed Ranthambhore in 1300 A.D. the Rajah of Jaipur retreated to the interior but soon re-occupied his old fort after making an alliance with the Pathan ruler. Baharimal was the ruler of Amber from

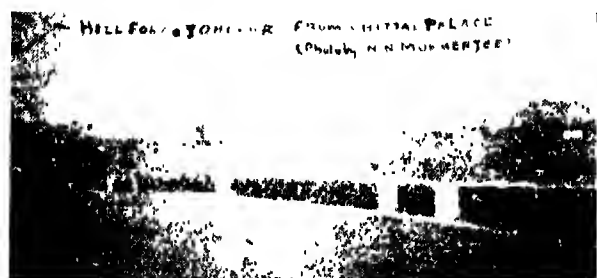
1548-74, he paid homage to Humayun and later to Akbar, to the latter he gave his daughter in marriage. His son Bhagwandas, who was made the governor of the Punjab, likewise gave his daughter in marriage with Akbar's eldest son Salim, better known as Jahangir. He ruled for 16 years and was succeeded by Mansingh, one of Akbar's ablest generals who ruled from 1590 to 1614. Because of marriage alliance the rulers of Jaipur were



Chittal Palace, Jodhpur

looked down by the Shisodias of Mewar and legends say that it was Mansingh who instigated Akbar to attack Rana Pratap in 1557. The next stalwart ruler of Jaipur seems to be Jai Singh I, commonly known as Mirza Jai Singh who served both Shahjahan and Aurangzeb ably. He was instrumental in Sivia's coming to Moghul court, it is however commonly held that the suspicious emperor got him poisoned in 1667. The next two rulers were less efficient and then we find the name of Jai Singh II, who was given the honorific title Swaraj Singh as he was supposed to be 25 per cent more talented than even the most talented of all persons of his day. Amidst the revolution and destruction of the Moghul empire and the Marhatta raids, Jai Singh's rule of forty-four years (1699 to 1743) kept Amber house clear of all intrigues and made it prosperous. Being a contemporary of Walpole he did for Amber what Walpole did for England. But our Indian Walpole had his talents in other directions also. He was an excellent architect. So long the capital was a hill fortress 3 miles away from the present city, situated on a spur 350 feet high it had little chance for expansion, so a new capital was constructed in 1728, with a town area of 3 square miles, enclosed within seven gates, each of which differs from the other in architecture. Of these, Nar gate leads to the station. The main street from East to West is 111 feet wide and crosses at right angles another equally wide main street at Isther Lat. There are other less important streets 55 feet wide cutting these two and a number of lanes which are 27 feet wide. All the houses overlooking the streets are built of red sandstone giving the city a picturesque appearance. The royal palace situated in the centre is seven-storied high with

a *Dewani khas*. The present Rajasthan Government levies a charge of five rupees per visitor to see this which is exorbitant considering the fact that at Agra, Delhi or Udaipur such things can be seen cheaply. Near the palace is the *Bawan Cutchery* or the old secretariat while many offices of the present secretariat are housed in the famous *Hawa Mahal*, a six storied high structure built by Madho Singh in the 18th century. Present Assembly holds its sitting in the town hall.



Hill Fort, Jodhpur

Jai Singh was not only an architect but an astronomer. He built five observatories, at Jaipur, Delhi, Muttra, Banaras and Ujjain. Of these Jaipur observatory is the biggest and the best kept. This masonry structure, built at a time when modern precision instruments were unknown, with its azimuth circles, altitude pillars and sun dials, is surely worth a visit. The new town planned by Mirza Ismail, a late Dewan, contains the famous Ron Niwas Park having the zoo and the museum. The only attraction at the zoo is a male goat which seems to have mammary glands which is certainly a freak of nature. The museum is a beautiful structure situated between two portions of the zoo. Close by one finds the Maharaja's College which is a degree college up to M.A. and Maharani's college which is one of the best Girls' Public Schools in India.

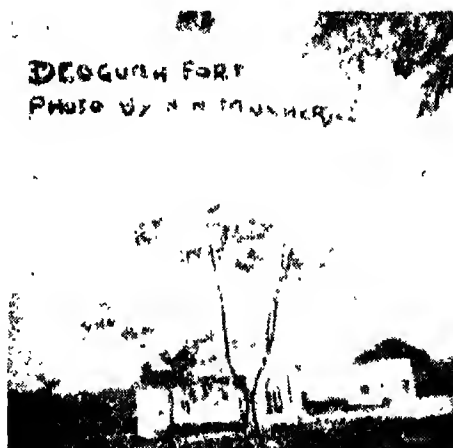
We left Jaipur on the afternoon of the 28th by the through passenger which carries two through III class bogies direct to Jodhpur. Passengers of other classes have to change at Mertha Road but the change is not inconvenient as Marwar Mail arrives within a few minutes time. At about 9 in the evening we crossed Sambhar Lakes where the railway line goes through a causeway for a mile with the salt lake on either side. The piles of salt near the station are also interesting to see. The fort of Mertha a few miles from the Mart, a Road station, was captured by Akbar after a stiff resistance in 1562.

We reached Jodhpur at half past six in the morning and took up our lodgings at Raghunath Das Dharamsala which is a fine building with excellent arrangements for bath. No charge is made for the lodging except a hire charge of annas two per cot and a refundable deposit of Rs. 2.

History of Jodhpur seems to be more chequered than that of Jaipur. A clan of Rastakutas settled in Kanauj between 946 to 959 A.D. The last ruling king Jai Chandra refused to help Prithviraj in his fight with the

Afghans, but his neutrality did not help him, for he was attacked and killed by Muhammad Ghorji in 1194. His nephew Salaji migrated to Marwar, and from 1212 to 1331 Hathodh was the capital after which Mandor was their headquarters for the next 78 years.

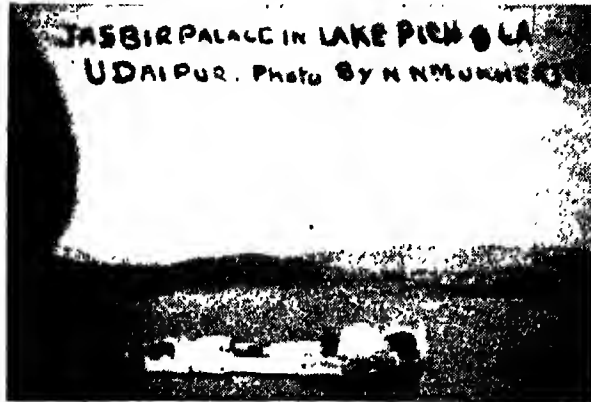
Due to undue interference in the affairs of Mewar where his grandson was yet a minor, Ranmal lost not only his life, but his capital was also seized by the Mewar regent Chormu and Jodha, the son of Ranmal, had to fly for his life. Although he recaptured Mandore in 1351 he did not think it safe to remain his capital here and in 1358 moved to the hill fortress, a year later the city was founded with the hill fort guarding it. Rathores of Marwar fought with Shekha in 1543 and were afterwards subdued by Akbar in 1552. From that time Jodhpur was an ally of the Moghuls till Jaswant Singh who was formerly Dara's general and was therefore held in suspicion by Aurangzeb died at Jamrud near Peshawar in a circumstance which lays the blame on the Emperor. Soon after his death in 1671, Aurangzeb attacked and annexed his territory, but the queen with the assistance of loyal chiefs, Gopinath and Durgadas, could take her infant son Ajit to Mewar from where Ajit recovered Mandor in 1701 and the rest of the territory by 1707. Ajit's daughter Indrakumari was, however, married to Farukshiyar, and this seems to be the last example of a Rajput princess married to a Moghul mentioned in history.



Deogurh Fort

The rock fort guarding the city is situated at an altitude of 400 feet surrounded by a wall a hundred feet high. The fort encloses a space of 500 by 250 yards. Two gates *Jaipol* and *Fatehpol*, guard it. In the city and in its neighbourhood there are ten palaces, the best of which was built by Umrao Singh about fifty years ago and is known as the Chittal palace. It is about 2 miles away from the town and stands on a spur about a hundred feet high. My resourceful companion could secure the permission, rare even for local people, from the brigadier to see the beautifully decorated rooms within. The aerodrome which is one of the largest in

the east, is quite near this palace. At the foot of the spur is a less decorated palace Raikebagh. The law-courts are near by. Jodhpur zoo is really the Lucknow zoo in miniature, but the tiger's and lion's dens are better kept. The museum has five stuffed animals, Cat, Kid, Kawn, Lamb and Rabbit, all of which are Siamese twins. The town has a College teaching up to M.A. and an Engineering College.



Jasbir Palace in Lake Pichola, Udaipur

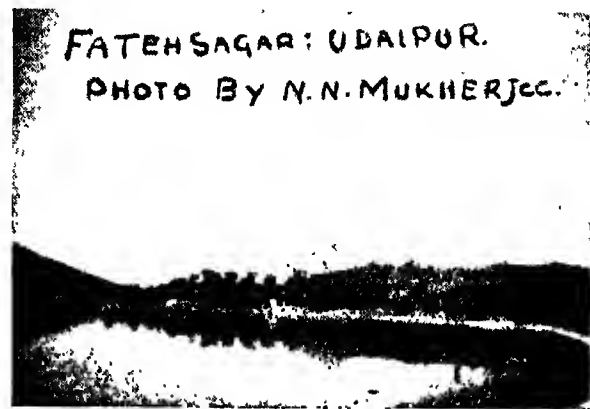
The most important place on the way to Phalodi is Mandor 6 miles away from Jodhpur which was the capital from 1381 to 1459. Ekthambha palace, resembling a pillar and an effigy of Panna Chief, Ncher Rao, are the two things worth visiting here. Guides point out a place where Ravana was married to Mandodari thus bringing us back to the days of the Ramayana, but the authenticity of their description is doubtful.

Our train for Phalodi left Jodhpur at 9 P.M. and was due to reach Phalodi at 3 A.M., it actually reached town. We were lucky in securing a lodging in a Dharamsala reserved for Jains only through the kind assistance of Sri Chunj Lal, the Commerce teacher of the local high school. Phalodi, a city of 16000 souls, is said to be a city of 15th century. The place gets an average annual rainfall of only seven inches. At two places there are catchment areas to store rain water: one near a fort three miles away, and the other at Ranisar about a mile away from the town. Nowadays a tube-well has been constructed which helps this scanty supply. Electricity is available but the prohibitive charge of nine annas per unit has affected its being popular. The local *dhanas* can supply good food at a moderate cost.

We expected a high crowd of sightseers for this rare phenomenon but were sadly disappointed. Except for 14 government meteorologists from Kolarkana, Poona and Agra, the non-official visitors could be counted on finger tips. Indeed we were the only two, official or non-official, from U.P. and were not commissioned by any. Only one Parsi gentleman came from Poona, and a few teachers were from the Punjab. A few amateurs came from parts of Rajasthan but the Physics or Mathematics professors from the three M.A.

colleges, Jaipur, Jodhpur or Udaipur were conspicuous by their absence and so were the Professors of the Engineering Colleges of Jodhpur and Pillani. Nobody came from the Universities of Delhi or Agra, Punjab or Rajasthan. This one fact will show how much behind we are as compared with the rest of the world in matters of scientific curiosity. However much may we try to take pride in Tenzing's achievement, it is undeniable that an expedition sponsored by New Zealanders and not Indians conquered the Everest and Italians conquered K-2. The Chief Minister Sri Vyas and Sri Raj Bahadur, the Rajasthani Deputy Communication Minister, were there but at the actual moment of the eclipse they were neither at the official observation post at the Rest House, nor at Ranisar the best place to observe from where we observed.

Although Solar Eclipse of 30th June is now a thing of the past, and many of our readers have heard or read much about this phenomenon, yet a repetition of some of the statements may not be tiring.



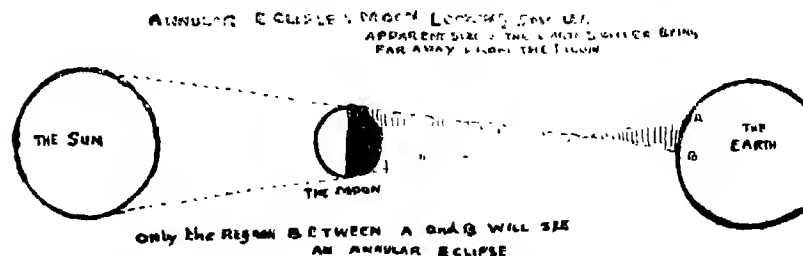
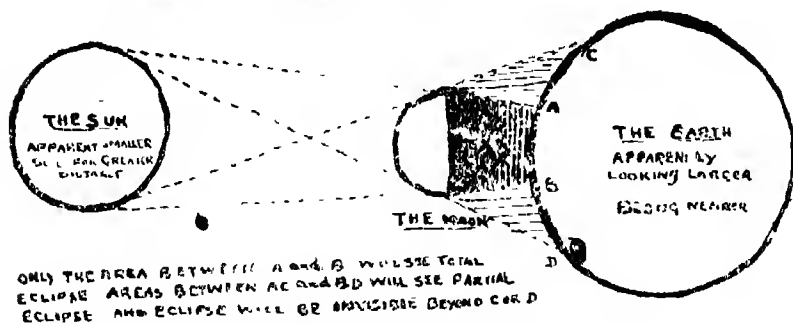
Fateh Sagar, Udaipur

That a lunar eclipse is caused by the shadow of the earth falling on the moon only on the full moon days, and a solar eclipse is possible only on a new moon day when the sun, the moon and the earth may be in a line, is perhaps known to all. As the plane along which the moon revolves round the earth is inclined to the extent of five degrees with respect to the plane of the earth's orbit all full moon nights are not nights of a lunar eclipse, nor are all new moon days of solar eclipse. It is only when the plane of the moon's orbit cuts that of the earth that we get an eclipse. It is also seen that usually two planes cut each other for a period of time, and usually a solar eclipse is followed by a lunar eclipse or *vice versa*. Such was the case on the 30th June for a lunar eclipse followed the solar fifteen days after. As the earth's shadow is larger, lunar eclipses are more frequent, and are usually visible from a wider area than the solar. Eclipses may be total or partial depending on the portion of the earth enclosed between direct and transverse common tangents as may be seen from the figure.

The space enclosed between A and B in the figure will see the total eclipse and that between C and D will see only a partial eclipse. In the eclipse of 30th June, the space enclosed between A and B was fairly wide from Phalodi, Jasalmer, extending through Quetta,

same region. That probably explains why ancient Indian astronomers had held two mysterious planets Rahu and Ketu (nodes and internodes) responsible for eclipse which made a complete cycle over the zodiac in about 18 years' time.

#### TOTAL AND PARTIAL ECLIPSE



Afghanistan, Iran, S. E. Russia, Poland, Sweden, Norway and Canada, U.P., Punjab and Bihar were included in space C and D. Neither the path of the earth nor that of the moon are circles, but are oval-shaped eclipses and the sun is not at the centre of the path of the earth nor is the earth at the centre of the path of the moon. The point where the earth is at the greatest distance from the sun, i.e., when the sun appears smallest, is called aphelion, the opposite is the perihelion. The corresponding two positions for the moon are apogee and perigee. When the sun is at the perihelion it is likely that the cone of double tangent or umbra in case of an eclipse may terminate before reaching the earth and no place enjoys a total eclipse. If an eclipse occurs when the moon is at its apogee, the apparent size of the moon being smaller, chances are that in the event of an eclipse taking place the umbra will recross itself and form an annular eclipse as was the case on the 21st August 1933, when an annular eclipse, or sun appearing as a narrow ring round the moon was visible from S. Burma and East Coast of India.

It may seem strange that though the time of northern summer may bring the sun directly overhead of the northern hemisphere, yet it is at aphelion and the sun is apparently smaller, that is why this total eclipse was visible from a big area. Total eclipses may occur once in two or three years visible from some part or other of the world, yet it is generally seen that it takes 18 years and ten days for an eclipse to be visible, total or partial, at the same time and approximately over the

Coming to the question of ancient astronomers one cannot help admiring the accuracy of the formulae they have devised with observations made without any modern precision instruments. These formulae are so simple that with their help anybody can prepare an almanac or a *Jantra* and predict eclipses months ahead. In this particular case a Bengali almanac published from Calcutta predicted the exact time, duration and places from where it will be visible in India as early as in January. It predicted that it would be visible from Phalodi for 32 seconds. Forecasts from government sources appeared much later, and they all held that it would be visible for 31 seconds. After the eclipse however they said that it was visible for 68

seconds (as mentioned in the *Pioneer* dated July 1, and in other papers including *Science and Culture*, July 1951, page 3). Three of us who observed the eclipse took special care to check our time with our watches, and all of us agree that the eclipse was visible from Phalodi (whatever may be the condition at Jasalmer we cannot say, and is beside the point also as scientists were also at Phalodi) for 30 seconds, thus proving that the predictions of almanac were more accurate than either the earlier prediction or later announcements of these scientists of ours. Official statement published after the eclipse had another gross inaccuracy. It was proclaimed through official agencies in the press including the information published in the *Pioneer* and other papers that *Corona* was visible from Phalodi. I dare say the person making the announcement was not only not an eye-witness to the scene but is also innocent of common optical principles. The totality of the eclipse was over seven minutes before the sun set at Phalodi; at that low altitude the sun or, normal days looks red for the light coming from the setting sun passes through a wider thickness of the atmosphere and all rays of wavelengths longer than red or orange are absorbed. How can the faint light of the corona which emits a green light be visible? *Science and Culture* of July is however right when it says:

"Owing to the low angle of the sun near the horizon at the sunset time, and due to long optical path of the rays through the hazy lower atmosphere, the corona was not visible nor photographed (was it only announced for consumption of the uninitiated public that it was visible?)."

There is one more thing in this connection that I must mention of Phalodi; although astronomers of ancient India had been so accurate, the astrologers it seems played havoc with astronomical phenomena. An eclipse was not only held to be the action of a demon Rahu but to see it was considered inauspicious in some circles. In this particular instance, it seems some astrologers of Rajasthan had branded it rather inauspicious to see. Consequently though we took all these pains to see this, being the chance of a lifetime, the people of Phalodi to whom this rare opportunity was offered for nothing were not enthusiastic. So much so we found some men, including teachers of the school who were out for a stroll actually turned away and went home before the eclipse started lest some evil might befall them, so great is the power of superstition in our land.

LOKMAN NIWAS GUEST HOUSE : UDAIPUR  
Photo. By N. N. Mukherjee



Lokman Niwas Guest House, Udaipur

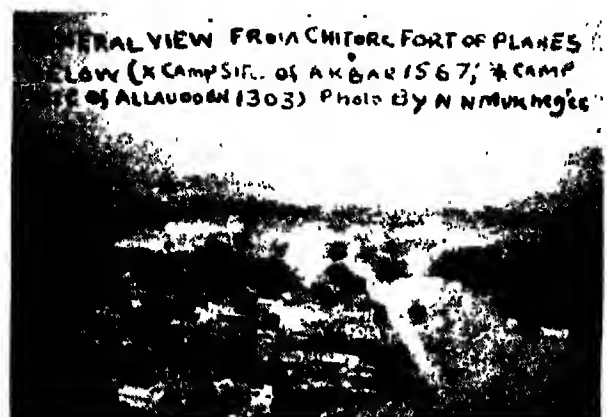
At Phalodi we noticed one more thing that needs to be told. After sunset there is always the twilight caused by the refracted rays of the sun from lower altitudes it gets darker as the sun sinks lower and lower. At Phalodi on the 30th June the opposite was observed, for some time the twilight grew brighter and darker. A moment's reflection will explain why this was the case. I have mentioned that the sunset occurred seven minutes after the totality ceased, the sun was still in the process of clearing itself out and hence every moment more light was being sent. This for some time counteracted against the effect of the sun sinking to low altitudes, and hence more light was available for a period, ultimately of course the effect of sinking down was more apparent, and the sun sank so low that it grew dark.

We entrained from Phalodi at half an hour past midnight and reached Jodhpur at seven in the morning. We went to the same Dharamsala, and having our bath started for Udaipur. The train left at 10-50 and took us to Marwar Junction at half past one. From there we got the Udaipur train at 2-40 P.M. In the latter train up to Phulad the journey was through the plain section, but at that station the engines were reversed and the line was seen rising up through a landscape

whose picturesque memory will surely impress a traveller. The steep hills on one side, deep precipice on the other with soothing verdure in contrast with the barren scrubland of Rajasthan which greeted our eyes so long, was indeed charming. The entire panorama captivates one whose artistic tastes have not been totally dulled by the monotonous humdrum of city life.

There is another thing that adds to this grandeur. Perhaps every spur and every pass in this region has its own tale to tell, for it was on these hills that Rana Pratap fought for his freedom, yielding to the great Moghul his dominions, inch by inch, after bitter struggles and in the midst of privations and sufferings, and yet held his head high and erect as one of those very peaks that braves the storm! For seventeen years from 1576 till his death in 1593 he fought bravely and the struggle was carried by his son Amar Singh till 1715, when the circumstances forced Amar to accept a treaty which was more honourable than that offered by the Moghul to the great houses of Amber and Marwar for the Rana was exempted from personal attendance at the Moghul court and no marriage alliance was forced upon the house of Mewar.

Gotam Ghat is a station five miles from Phulad, it overlooks a dangerous fort and the railway line spans the gap between two ridges by a bridge which is both curved and inclined; it takes one's breath away, as the train slowly crosses it. There are two similar bridges of this type further on. A temple situated on one of the high peaks commands a magnificent view. Perhaps in the days of Rana Pratap the patriotic priest in charge of this temple had dual duties to perform, for he was not only attending to the deity, but acted as the sentinel, and warned the arrival of incoming hordes by a sharp blow of conch which would resound through the valleys.

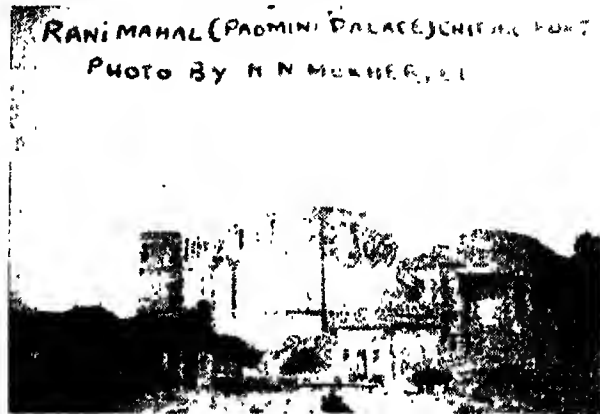


A general view of plains from Chitore Fort

Kumbhal Ghat, the next station is the highest, being at an altitude of 2712 feet. Overlooking the station and on a spur at an altitude of 3763 feet, stands the ruin of the Kumbhal Garh or Kumbhalur fort built by Rana Kumbha, the most glorious of the Ranas of Chitore, who ruled from 1433 to 1468 A.D. If the rocks could tell

their stories, they would enlighten us with many interesting events which we know only imperfectly so far.

It was here that Uday Singh a boy of 15 (not a mere baby as the poems about Panna seem to convey) took refuge after a plot to kill him by Banabir Singh, the usurper, was foiled by the heroic sacrifice of his foster mother, Panna, who substituted her own son, and thus preserved the lineage of Rana Sanga. It was at

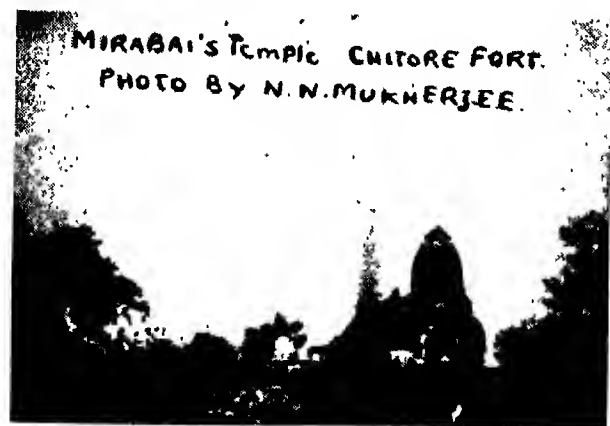


Rani Mahal (Padmini Palace), Chitor Fort

Kumbhal Garh that Uday Singh was assured of the support of the *Chandawats*, and with their help overthrew Banabir. The fort offered shelter to Uday Singh again in 1567 when Chitor was invaded by Akbar, and though he established a more secure capital at Udaipur, yet for all intents and purposes, Kumbhal Garh was his headquarters till 1571 as stated by the historian Gaurishanker Ojha in his *Rajasthan Ka Itihaas* (Vol. II, 733). Then again after Haldighat, Rana Pratap made Kumbhal Garh his headquarters till it was stormed by Man Singh after a stiff resistance a year after as stated by *Rajputana Gazetteer* (Vol. II A). Whether this fort was again recovered by Rana Pratap is not certain. Some chroniclers say that it was here that Amar Singh had to decide whether the rank of pre-eminence to lead the army would remain with the *Chandawats*, whose ancestor Chunda had relinquished the claim on the throne, and the *Shaktawats*, the descendants of Shakta, the brother of Pratap. Amar decided that whosoever would capture the fort would get pre-eminence. The *Chandawats* tried to scale through the walls and the *Shaktawats* tried to storm the main gates battering it with fighting elephants. This was not an easy task, for the doors had spikes and the elephants were fighting shy. Ballu, the third son of Shakta, in order to maintain the family honour did what Arnold Winkelreid did in Switzerland, namely, to stand against the gate and allow the elephants a human cushion against the spikes while he himself perished. No less was the heroism of the *Chandawats*, for Jamsingh, their leader was injured, and asked his friends to chop off his head and throw it across the walls so that the glory of the first head reaching the fort may remain with the *Chandawats*. The heroism of both thus

vies with one another and though historians like Gaurishanker Ojha say that this happened at Untala (page 788), yet the authenticity of the story is not denied and the rival claims of valour for a great cause will remain ever brilliant no matter whether it was enacted at Untala or Kumbhal Garh.

Near Kumbhal Garh the railway passes through two tunnels where the scenery is bewitching. Four miles from Kumbhal Garh the railway passes near the foot of a spur on which stands the fort of Deogarh, the early headquarters of the *Chundawats*, though the *Chandawats* later held Bedonore and perhaps Kumbhal Garh also. The sacrifice of Chunda, the founder of the group, resembles that of Bhusma for he relinquished the claim, on the throne so that his father could marry the Marwar Princess and the son through that wedlock would claim the throne. Like that of Bhusma, the father of course did not deserve the sacrifice, but the glory of the son was not tarnished by this. Though Chunda did not remain a bachelor like *Bhusma*, yet he remained a guardian to his infant brother Mukul and foiled the designs of the calculating Rathore grandfather, Rannal and his son Jodha. It was his acts that forced Jodha to establish a new capital at Jodhpur as his old capital Mandore was captured by Chunda Putta, a *Chandawat*, defended the fort of Chitor, when Uday Singh abandoned it after Akbar's invasion and died fighting. It was Chundawat, the Salumbra Sirdar, who settled the succession of Rana Pratap the eldest, against the unworthy Jamsal whom Uday had nominated. As for Jai Singh's valour mention has already been made, in connection with Kumbhal Garh.

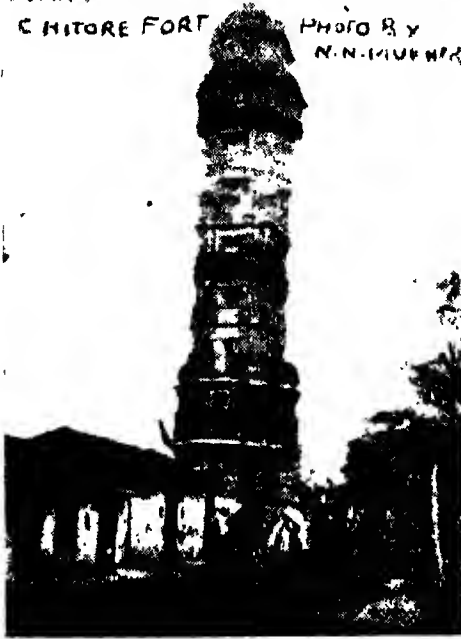


Mirabai's Temple, Chitor Fort

The next important station is Sardargarh, a hill fort 24 miles away and after going 27 miles further we came to Nathdwara. Eleven miles away from the railway line lies the famous Haldighat where in June 1576 Pratap Singh fought the Moghul army so bravely. Almost every house at Udaipur shows the Rana on horseback in the act of throwing a spear at Mansingh. Historians however doubt whether such a duel was ever fought. They also decry the story of the complete annihilation

of the Rajput army, for according to Ojha (Vol. II, p. 1756) the Moghul army remained a virtual prisoner at Gogunda (Haldighat) fearing Pratap's counter-attack. So whether Pratap, retiring all alone was chased by a Khorasani and a Multani whom his disgruntled brother Shakta, who is supposed to have joined the Moghuls and who was reconverted seeing Pratap's valour at Haldighat, killed, is a story which seems doubtful. There is however no doubt that during or after the battle Pratap lost his favourite gray horse Chaitak, for one can see the cenotaph of this only a mile away from Haldighat

RANA KUMBHA'S TOWER OF VICTORY  
CHITORE FORT PHOTO BY  
N. N. KUMAR



Tower of Victory, Chitore Fort

Ten miles from Nathdwara comes Mavali from where one can change for Chitore. It was at Mavali that Udai Singh killed the usurper Banbir in 1537 and recovered his father's throne.

Dehari is the last station before Udaipur. The railway passes through a tunnel and near it lies the famous pass where Raj Singh, the grand-on of Amar Singh, successfully resisted the Moghul army, when Aurangzeb came to punish him for his protest against the imposition of *Jazia*, and for giving asylum to the Rathore prince Ajit Singh. It seems that at this pass the Moghul army was allowed to enter, and then its passage was blocked, rendering it immobile. Perhaps Rajsingh had the advantage of the advice of the Rathore chiefs, Gopinath and Durga Das, who due to the association of the house of the Marwar with the Moghuls had learnt how slow-moving and unwieldy the Moghul Army had become. Ojha relies on the account given by the Muslim chroniclers that the Imperial Army was allowed to enter Udaipur, but by the very fact that there is no sign of a ravage of the royal fort there, it appears that if this were the fact, such permission was given after the subdued army

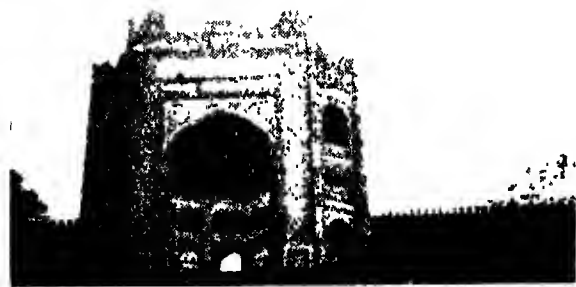
had signed a treaty and not before. The very fact that the subsequent treaty signed by Aurangzeb in 1681 relieves the house of Mewar from sending even a representative and a token force at the Moghul court thus making Rajsingh virtually independent, shows that the issue of the encounter was favourable to the Rajputs.

Anyway we reached Udaipur at 9-30 P.M. and went to the city two miles away and took up our lodgings at the Fathe Memorial Dharamsala, which is the State rest house. There were no single rooms of Rs 1/8 a day available, so we chose a suite of rooms at Rs 3 per day.

\* \* \* \*

The next morning we busied ourselves in seeing this charming city. The streets are however narrower than those of Jaipur or even Jodhpur and look less clean. Most of them are paved with stoneslabs. Jagadish temple is an old structure and near it stands the fort the abode of the Ranas, only the outer *mahal* of which we were allowed to see, for the other half houses the *Zanana*. Near the palace stands the Ekalinga fort which was built to guard it. Unlike the palaces at Jaipur or Jodhpur, Udaipur palace is a real fort. Entering through a temple site of Ganesh, we reached Mayur Chak where beautifully carved peacock images each with a posture slightly different from the other can be seen and the coloured stones with which these embossed images have been made is simply marvellous. Surya Chovar contains an embossed face made of gold of the Sun god from whom the house of Mewar claims direct descent. On both sides of the Surya image are images of attendant females wearing *saris* which though made of coloured stone appear as if they had been made out of delicate silk. Amar Niwas is a portion built by Rana

BULAND DARWAZA, FAIZPUR JILHAI  
PHOTO BY N. N. KUMAR



Buland Darwaza, Faizpur Silah

Amar Singh. Behind the fort lies the picturesque Pichola Lake on which on an island stands the beautiful palace of Jag Niwas started by Karan Singh son of Amar Singh, but completed by Jazat Singh. *Rajputana Gazetteer* says that the palace granted asylum to Prince Khurram later known as Shah Jahan when he had unsuccessfully rebelled against his father. Jagmandir is a temple built

on another island on this lake. The two islands together with Gangore Ghat make a sight which is too beautiful to be described in words. Overlooking the lake on the other side stands the small fort Sajjan Garh on a spur no less beautiful.

TOMB OF SALIM CHISTI - FATEHPUR SIKRI  
Photo by N. N. Mukherjee



Tomb of Salim Chisti, Fatehpur Sikri

Coming down from the rock fort we entered the beautiful garden surrounding the mordenized structure of the Summer Palace where the beautiful furniture and Etruscan cut-glass head-trees stand in as great a contrast with the hardships and privations of Rana Pratap as some of the dignified and pompous palaces of modern inheritors of Gandhi's sacrifice do with the simple hut of Seva Gram or Bhanga Colony from where the Father of the Nation earned India's Freedom.

On the right is the zoo and the museum. Though Rana Pratap refused to bow before Akbar the Great, yet his descendants did not, it seems, hesitate to bow before the image of a British queen Victoria in whose memorial the museum was built and whose statue rather than that of Rana Kumbha or Sanga, Rana Pratap or Rajsingh occupies a place of honour. Neither the zoo nor the museum has any special attractions, except that the latter has some stone relics and a sword supposed to be that of Rana Sanga.

About a mile away stands the catchment area of Swaroop Sagar and then comes Fateh Sagar, overlooking which stands the guest house of the Ranas, Lokman Niwas.

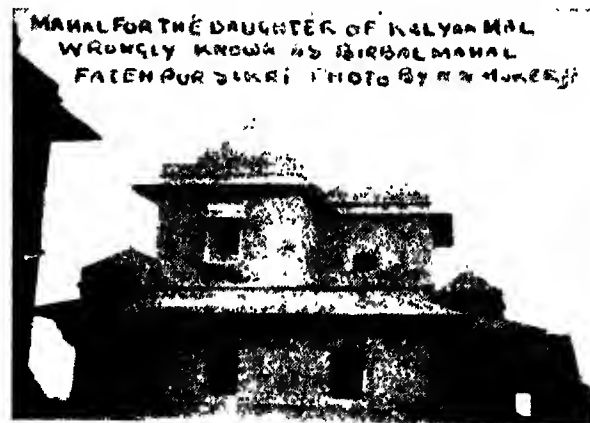
About a mile and a half away from the Fateh Sagar stands the beautiful garden Saheliyon ke Bag with its beautiful fountains and near it is the Teachers Training College, Vidya Bhawan. The M.A. College is however on the way to the station. Unlike other capitals of Rajasthan Udaipur is on a hill 2300 feet and enjoys an annual rainfall of about 40 inches. It is no wonder therefore that crops like paddy or sugar-cane grow here.

We left Udaipur at 6 P.M. As it was yet daylight we could see Udaipur Sagar, a big catchment area, built by Udaipur Singh near Debari. Through Mavali we went to Chitore which we reached at half past ten. The Jain Dheramsala at Chitore allows non-Jains also but charges

a deposit of Rs. 5 and a daily hire of annas ten. It is however not so comfortable, rooms being totally unfurnished. For bath one has to draw water for himself from a well.

Overlooking the whole area of Chitoregarh stands the massive fort of Chitore, which is by far the most important single place which no traveller to Rajasthan should miss. We took a tonga drawn by two horses and went to the fort situated at a distance of 2½ miles from Chitoregarh station. We crossed the Gambhira river and passing through the village situated at the foothill, climbed up the spur 508 feet high from the base and about 1800 feet high from the sea level. The fort is really a walled city 3½ miles long, over a mile broad, and the walls round it measure 12 miles. The spur is an isolated one. The Aravallis of Mewar is in the western side of the railway line while Chitore is in the east.

Bappa Rao conquered the fort from one Man Singh in 738 A.D. and made it the capital of Mewar. Alauddin invaded and sacked it in 1303 A.D. According to folklore, Alauddin first invaded it 12 years ago and the cause of his invasion was the beauty of Padmini, the wife of Regent Bhim Singh. He succeeded by treachery to imprison Bhim Singh but Padmini by a clever ruse assisted by Gora and Badal released the regent. Alauddin retired only to find another chance. Twelve years later Alauddin invaded again when Luxman Singh was ruling. The battle raged in fury and one by one eleven



Patal Mahal, Fatehpur Sikri

of the twelve sons of Luxman Singh as well as the Rana himself had to sacrifice and at last as the men went for a fatal last attack, Padmini with 1700 female inmates died in funeral pyre called *Johar*. Col. Todd seems to rely on this story which present-day historians like Gauri Shanker Ojha discredit. On the face of it the story seems absurd. While 12 years ago Luxman Singh was yet a minor, within 12 years he was old enough to be the father of twelve adult sons, one of whom at least was married for otherwise we cannot establish the claim of Hamir to the throne. The place which the guides show as the site of committing *Johar* is a narrow tunnel which cannot hold 1700 people. Ojha traces the origin of this legend to the poem written by

Malik Mohammad Jaisi on or about 1540 A.D. nearly two and half centuries later. He relies on an inscription at Kumbhal Gurh which though describing Padmini as a lady of exquisite beauty also describes her as the wife of the ruling Rana whose name was Ratan Singh. Alauddin invaded only once and during this invasion Ratan Singh died and Padmini became a sutli, buried at Samahisar, and the invasion lasted for a few days after his death when Luxman Singh a chief died with his sons. The story of *Johar* was probably true, only the number was less than 1700 and Padmini could not be there for she had died a few days earlier. The contemporary Muslim historian Amir Khusru also mentions of a single invasion of Chitore.

Whether the Padmini episode is true or a myth, we can at least judge it for its literary and aesthetic value. That the story has a charm of its own is undeniable. Incidents of a similar bloody struggle are not uncommon in history. One is reminded of the grim struggle for Helen of Troy, the fall of Mark Antony for Cleopatra or even the death of Sher Afghan the first husband of Nur Jahan; in which whatever some may say apparent complicity of Jahangir cannot be denied. But can these characters claim the superb grace and purity of Padmini? Helen was originally the wife of Menelaus, the king of Lacedaemon; but she eloped with Paris of Troy. After the Trojan war she again lived with Menelaus thus showing her inconsistency to both her husbands. As for Cleopatra's consistency the less said the better. Nur Jahan had her early episode with Selim which caused Akbar to force her marriage with Sher Afghan whom Jahangir was suspected to have got murdered. Coming back to Agra it took Nur Jahan only six years to forget her husband, and thenceforward she was deep in her intrigues to increase her hold on the household of her second husband. Contrasted with this the story of Padmini gives an aroma of grace which is worthy of a true daughter of the land that has produced Sita or Savitri!

Perhaps leaving the authenticity of this story, we may look into the causes of the fall of Chitore, the fort indeed was invulnerable for an attack along steep hills in the days when cannon was either unknown or too weak to smash a rampart. An invader encamping along foothills would cut off any water supply from the Gambhira river no doubt; but Chitore we saw had five catchment tanks, Gaumukhi, Hati Kund, Kattan ban, Ghoraghat and Suraj Kund which in the months of July and August (according to Amir Khusru Allaiddin conquered Chitore on the 26th of August 1303 when the dates of *Hijra* are corrected with English calendar) these were full. But perhaps we were overlooking the question of food shortage. The supply from the areas of the Aravalli was cut off, and though there was some scope of cultivation within the fort it was not enough and after all when invasion was going on all the cultivators must have joined as defenders, leaving the little cultivation that was possible. Food shortage

thus seems to be the plausible reason why at the end the Rajputs adopted suicidal tactics. Gauri Shanker Ojha while silent about the first invasion gives shortage of food as the reason why Chitore fell during the third siege of Akbar in 1567 A. D.

The devastation caused by the plunder and mass destruction of Alauddin is apparent from various ruins including the three-storied Rani Mahal, the abode of Padmini, which was later repaired by Kumbha only to be sacked again by Bahadur Shah in 1535. From this passage an underground tunnel goes towards Gaumukhi and it was within this tunnel that Rajput ladies performed *Johar*. At Gaumukhi water trickles through a spring whose head was made to resemble that of a cow's head. The other end of the tunnel leads to a room situated at the end of the edge of the tank, and on the walls of the room one can find a plaque image of Padmini which has been perhaps a later addition after the invasion.

PANCH MAHAL (BACK GROUND), PADMINI COURT.  
(FORE GROUND) GIRLS SCHOOL (LEFT) PANCH MAHAL  
(PHOTO BY N.N. MUKHERJEE)



Panch Mahal, Fatehpur Sikri

Near the gate of Chitore stands Suraj Mandir, the temple of Rana Sanga which was built by Rana Sanga. It is not far from the seventh of the seven gates, Padam Pol, Bhairon Pol, Hanuman Pol, Ganesh Pol, Jothla Pol, Lachman Pol, and Ram Pol.

Near Bhairon Pol stands the monument of Jaimal and Kallu Rathore. Jai Mal was in charge of the defence of Chitore jointly with Patta Chunda when Akbar invaded it in 1567. The invasion lasted for five months from Oct. 1567 to Feb. 1568, when at last shortage of food made the Rajputs order a *Johar* for the woman-folk and a suicidal attack on the enemy by the males. Jai Mal was wounded, but he was borne on the shoulders of Kalla and both died fighting. Patta was hurled by the trunk of one of Akbar's fighting elephants and smashed. His memorial stands at Ram Pol. Historians mention that what to speak of Alauddin or Bahadur Shah even Akbar ordered a mass massacre of the few inhabitants found alive! A few yards from Ram Pol to the east is the site of Pataleswar and near it one can see big guns said to have been used by Rana Sanga, two of them were 12 feet long. A Jain

temple of Shanti Nath is near it, and it was destroyed by Bahadur Shah who spared the structure but destroyed every image including the carvings on the walls. In front of this temple stands the palace built on the site of an ancient ruin of a palace of Rana Sanga. This was constructed by Rana Fatch Singh and now houses the Rajasthan Military Police Training College. Padmini Mahal or Rani Mahal, we have mentioned before, stands on its west about a furlong off, and near the palace is the granary where food was stored. Panna Mahal is a palace situated in the South of Rani Mahal where evidently the young princes stayed. It was here in order to save Uda Singh from the wrath of the usurper Banabir that Panna Bai, the foster mother, sacrificed her own son Karan.



Dewani Khas Fatchpur Sikri

A furlong and a half to the south-east stands another big Jain temple destroyed by Alauddin but recently restored by the Jains of Ahmedabad.

Mira Bai's temple stands in front of the second Jain temple, and is in its west. Folklore places her as the wife of Rana Kumbha, the most illustrious of the Ranas of Chittore (founder of Kumbhal Garh), whose devotion to Vishnu so annoyed her husband that she was ordered to drink poison which had no effect on her. Evidently she was allowed to have her own way and went to Muttra leaving her husband. Historians like Ojha have however a different story to tell. Mira Bai, they say, was born in 1498, full thirty years after Kumbha's death. She was the daughter of the fourth son of Rathore Rao Dnda and lost her mother in infancy. Thereupon she was brought up by her grandfather who was a staunch Vaishnava. In 1515 she was married to Bhoja, the third son of Rana Sanga. Her married life seems to have been short and uneventful for she lost her husband somewhere between 1518 and 1523. Thereupon she started living like a Vaishnava devotee in a house where Kali, Surya and Shiva were worshipped. This naturally caused friction but somehow or other Rana Sanga and his eldest son Ratna tolerated her. But after Ratna's death when Vikrama became the Rana troubles started. It was Vikrama, her brother-in-law,

who tried to poison her but she was saved. Thereupon to avoid friction Mira was taken by her uncle Maldeva. When Maldeva died Mira Bai went on a pilgrimage which included Muttra and Vrindavan and ultimately she died in Dwarka in 1545 A.D. Mira Bai stands unique in her devotion to her deity in spite of persecution and her poems show a rare poetic gift in an age when poetry was considered almost a man's monopoly and was almost banned to ladies in household. The temple of Mira Bai, though shorn much of its brilliance due to devastations by Bahadur Shah is worth a visit. Perhaps the association of Mira Bai with Rana Kumbha was caused by two reasons. First was the existence of Jata Shanker Temple built by Rana Kumbha which stands near Mira Bai's temple, and the second was the fact that Rana Kumbha was not only a great general and an architect, but was a patron of art and a poet himself. It was natural for a later chronicler to associate a female poet in the dynasty with this Rana who was himself a poet. Kumbha, according to *Rajasthan-Ke Itihas* by Ojha (Vol. II, page 538) has left an account of the names of his wives which include Kumbhal Devi (from whom Kumbhal Garh apparently got its name) and Apurva Devi but not of Mira Bai. Of the architectural gifts of Kumbha one may see the three gates, Hanuman Pol, Bhanon Pol and Ram Pol built by him, but by far the greatest is his Tower of Victory 122 feet high built in 1548 to commemorate his victory of Malwa. It is a nine-storied structure containing 157 steps. On alternate stories one may find either a shrine or a parapet meant for rest. The fine carvings and images were all destroyed by Bahadur Shah of Gujarat during the second siege of Chittore in 1537 A.D. This tower is perhaps the most prominent landmark of Chittore fort, being visible from miles away. There is another tower said to be built by Jains some half a mile to the north-east, but it is smaller and is not more than 80 feet high.

To the west of the tower stands the *Samadhiswar Temple* where dead bodies were brought before cremation. The three images of Shiva, Chandi and Parvati were disfigured by Alauddin, but were restored by Kumbha only to be disfigured again by Bahadur Shah. They have recently been restored in 1940. Perhaps in the cremation ground near it, the body of Padmini was consumed to ashes in the funeral pyre of her husband, who it seems was Rana Ratan Singh rather than regent Bhim Singh.

Gaumukhi tank which we have described earlier is situated near this place. The beautiful and secluded catchment gets its water supply from an underground spring which is made to resemble a cow's face. It is now used as a bathing place for pilgrims. The surplus water runs down through three narrow pipes so constructed that not a single one was large enough to admit any human being from the enemy camp to come and take the fort by surprise.

From Gaumukhi one has to pass through three

Early in the next morning we left for Pushkar seven miles away. There are no common means of conveyance besides *ekka* or *tonga*. The bus takes six annas, while eight-seater 'Taxis' which are really pickups take only eight annas. The latter is much more comfortable. The route to Pushkar passes through a hill in which one has to climb up and then climb down. Some of the hair-pin bends are rather sharp and the speed with which the buses and taxis go, are indeed risky. Pushkar lake is surrounded on all sides by hills and measures only  $2\frac{1}{2}$  furlongs by  $1\frac{1}{2}$  furlong. It seems however to be a natural lake which has recently shrunk in size owing to insufficient rains in the region for five years. While bathing, it is dangerous to venture too far, for fear of crocodiles. Besides crocodiles inside the lake, the other dangers are beggars and *Pandas* who like their compatriots at Gaya and elsewhere carry registers from which they are able to trace every visitor's ancestry or at least names of his neighbours or relatives and claim a monopoly of performing for him *sradh* and other rites. The singular glory of Pushkar is for the fact that it is the only place in the whole of India which contains a temple of Brahma, the god of Creation. Besides this,

VIEW AT FATEH PUR SILKI WITH EQUANIMITY RIVER  
BLACK & WHITE DRAWN. KISHI CHITRI. FINE & ROUND.  
Photo by N. H. MUKHERJEE, L.



A view of Fatehpur Sikri

Having left Ajmere by the evening train we reached Agre at about nine in the next morning. On the way at about seven one may see the famous fort of Bharatpur which was invaded by Gen. Cumbermere in 1826 and

could be captured only after six years. This time we resided in Maharaja Hotel situated at a short distance from the Fort Station. Our objective in the return visit was to see Fatehpur Sikri situated at 23 miles from Agra, to where the bus takes passengers from the government roadways terminus near the fort. The journey costs Re. 1½ per passenger each way if one likes to take a comfortable upper class and 13 annas if one prefers the 'Janata.'



Shajahan Mahal Agra

The small fort of Fatehpur Sikri was built by Akbar in 1560 and abandoned in 1583 or 1584. Though it has all the essentials of the government including Dewani-Am and Dewani Khas, yet from the diminutive size, it appears that it was not meant to be a serious challenge to the claims of Agra. Failure of water supply is given to be the cause of its abandonment, but the size of the catchment lake which is now dried up shows that though not enough for a large city, there was enough water to supply the royal court and the garrison. Probably the site was chosen when Akbar was busy in his Rajputana campaign when Fatehpur Sikri being nearer Rajputana by 23 miles saved a day's march. It also provided a seclusion and secrecy to draw up plans, while the busy city of Agra provided opportunities of leakage. Perhaps later on it served more as a country residence while the Agra fort was in the process of construction. Certainly the rural atmosphere of Fatehpur Sikri could not supply the pomp and grandeur which a mediaeval capital needed, and certainly Agra on the bank of Jamuna will have more facilities and attractions which will prevent its citizens being drawn away to an out of the way place like Fatehpur Sikri. When these weaknesses of Fatehpur Sikri were clear to Akbar he started building Agra and after it was complete Fatehpur Sikri was retained as a country residence and then finally abandoned.

The famous Buland Darwaza of Fatehpur Sikri, the tallest gate in the world, guards the entrance of Salim Chisti, Akbar's preceptor. Akbar granted the revenue of 54 villages to maintain the family of this saint and the tomb of his family members can be seen in a

courtyard adjoining the marble mausoleum built for the saint himself.

From this, one passing through a stable reaches the red-stone palace of Jodha Bai through a gate known as the King's gate. The palace of Jodha Bai, from what is written on a plate at its gate, was meant not for Akbar's wife but for his daughter-in-law who did not, it seems, use it at all, for she was married after Fatehpur Sikri had been abandoned.

Near it is the palace called Birbal Mahal, which guides show as the palace of Birbal, though it is unlikely that a male member would be given his apartments so near the royal harem. Really, as the archaeological department tablet shows, it was the palace of one of Akbar's queens, daughter of Kalyanmal of Bikaner. Panchmahal is a five-storied structure, overlooking the courtyard of the palace, including the place where a girls' school was established to educate court ladies, Khwab Gha, where Akbar himself used to rest and the courtyard where he played chess with human pawns.

Dewani Khas or the hall of private audience is also built of red sand-stone unlike its marble prototype at Agra or Delhi. Its central tower inside was made for the seat of the emperor and it was from here that he discussed the possibilities of his new faith *Din-i-Ilahi* which did not catch the fancy of his Hindu or Moslem subjects. Iliran Minar, a spiked tower built in the memory of Akbar's favourite elephant, can be seen here. The panorama from the place is also grand. Dewani Am or hall of public audience stands on its other side beside the resting place for Akbar's Turkish Sultana, who, it seems, attended the Durbar through a lattice work apartment on a side of the throne room.

The palace for Hakim outside Dewani Am, has a well in which bathing places have been made at different depths to suit the water level which sank to different depths in different seasons.

From Fatehpur Sikri one can come back to Agra by a bus at 4 P.M. or by train at 5-30. So much has been said of Agra in different books that this third city of U.P. with nearly three and a half lakh souls do not need any description. Sikandara situated at five miles from the city is the last resting place of Akbar. It is a five-storied building, one of its four gates was destroyed by thunder. The imitation tomb of the fifth-story is a monolith weighing five hundred maunds as the inscription says. How it was raised up in the days when cranes were unknown is a thing to be guessed. Probably it was rolled along an inclined plane through sweated labour of thousands of slaves. Dayal Bagh of Radhaswami Institute is well worth a visit and of course the red fort with its ruined Akbar Mahal, big Dewani Am, Jahangir Mahal with the library of this talented but drunkard King, Shajahan Mahal, a beautiful marble structure, Moti Masjid or beautiful Pearl Mosque built of white marble, and Dewani Khas with its courtyard where two stone slabs made of black and white marble are kept over which the throne of Jahangir was

kept as he watched the river bank. The Shishmahal was the bathing place. The brass gates from Chitore brought by Akbar are kept near. The three Places move a visitor to pity. One is the underground dungeon in which Nur Jahan managed to imprison her possible rivals and finally despatched them quietly into Jumna through baskets hanging down an underground tunnel and so ended the career of a number of ladies in the prime of their lives whose only fault had been that their beauty could possibly attract the middle-aged king. The place of imprisonment of Shajahan, the small enclosure and dungeon where this most lavish and luxurious emperor passed his last nine years, stands in bold contrast with all that he stood for in life. Perhaps the saddest of all is the tower Saman Burge, where Shajahan breathed his last. When the end was drawing near, the imprisoned emperor who had been denied access to light and liberty for eight years, and who was denied even the right to worship in

public mosque even on Fridays (to compensate which Nagina Mosquo was built near his prison which though beautiful was small) wanted only one favour from his son Aurangzeb. This was that he should be allowed to see his Taj Mahal while he breathed his last. Perhaps as a concession, the son granted it and so ended the eight years' imprisonment while the aged prisoner saw the crown of his glory built after years of his labour, situated about a mile off where his last remains were to be brought soon, but which so long he was alive and imprisoned was not even allowed to see except for the last few minutes. Unfortunately, the photo plate of the Taj Mahal from Sajan Burge could not be taken, and of the many sights of Agra we present our readers only with the picture of Shajahan Mahal where the emperor lived while he was free.

We left Agra by ten o'clock passenger on the next day and changing at Kanpur reached Lucknow at midnight. So ended our journey to Rajasthan.

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## INDIA AND CHINA

By PROF. S. N. AGARWAL

THE recent visit of the Indian Prime Minister to China has proved to be of great historical and political significance. Replying to short-notice question in the Lok Sabha, Shri Nehru observed that "the mere fact of a closer understanding between India and China is a factor of vital importance not only to those countries but to others also." In the course of his talk to a recent meeting of the Congress Parliamentary Party, the Prime Minister stated that his visit "had helped in bringing the two great nations of Asia nearer." In an interview with a British journalist who met him on behalf of the B.B.C., Shri Nehru laid great stress on the method of "friendly co-operation and understanding," as against "threats and an aggressive approach" to the solution of major problems confronting different nations of the world. The same note of a friendly approach was sounded by the Prime Minister in the course of his speech in Peking.

"The essential thing between two nations," said Shri Nehru, "is tolerance and friendly feeling." He continued: "If these are present, other things follow. I am convinced these are present in India and China."

Although Shri Nehru has welcomed this friendly co-operation between India and China for the establishment of peace in Asia and the world, he has made it quite clear that there are basic differences in the political and economic structures of the two countries.

"We found that such differences as existed in our political or economic structures need not come in the way of our co-operation in many fields and, more especially, in our working for peace in Asia and the world."

Shri Nehru, in the course of his interview to the B.B.C., described the enthusiasm of the people in both the countries and stated that, perhaps, in China, it is much more. But he made it quite clear that he did not like the methods of regimentation.

"It may be, we may not be able to do it to the same extent: but we prefer to do it in our own way."

Of course, Shri Nehru did not think it worth-while to discuss the ideological differences theoretically.

"We knew that we were functioning with different political and economic structures, and we left it at that."

The two Prime Ministers discussed, from a practical point of view, a number of problems like those of industrialisation, unemployment, flood control, population control and financial resources. The "Five Principles" or the 'Panch Shila' provided the basis for all these friendly discussions on common problems from the standpoint of world peace and prosperity. The Chinese leaders assured Shri Nehru that they had no intention of interfering with Indian conditions "internally or externally."

"For my part," observed Shri Nehru, "I accept their word because that word fits in with objective conditions in Asia and their country and in the world."

Both India and China are today engaged in the "great adventure" of raising the material and cultural standards of their people as speedily as possible. Both can learn from each other in many ways, though our economic and political ideologies differ basically and fundamentally.

In his address to the Congress workers at Darjeeling, Shri Nehru pointed out in details how social and political conditions in India and China differed a great deal.

"In China" said Shri Nehru, "there is hardly any freedom of press or expression."

There is also no independence of the Judiciary as in India. Their political or constitutional structure is also quite different: they need not devote hours, days, and months on almost endless discussions in Parliament. In India, freedom of speech and expression was fully utilised and even misused. The Judiciary made the working of the legislation rather difficult and prolonged. And yet India had achieved considerable success in improving the social and economic conditions of her people during the last seven years of freedom. We can surely learn several things from China: China, in turn, can learn other things from India.

"But," remarked the Congress President, "We like to do things in our own way, and will not brook any interference from outside." "Nor will I like to interfere with the ways of others."

Speaking at a largely-attended public meeting in Darjeeling, Shri Nehru observed:

"It is no use imitating other countries and peoples. It never pays to imitate because imitation leads to weakness and dependence on others."

India is wedded to a democratic Constitution: she has chosen the Gandhian path of freedom, peace and democracy. China is following a different path. And yet the two great Asian countries can learn from each other to the definite advantage of both. The principles of peaceful co-existence and non-interference can go a long way in bringing about better and happier relations between different nations and peoples for the ultimate aim of establishing a more prosperous, progressive and peaceful world to live in.

Some of us are under the wrong impression that the pace of progress under a democratic set-up is slower than that of a totalitarian regime. It is true that the democratic method appears to be slower to begin with; it entails long discussions and requires the willing co-operation of the people through a process of persuasion and popular education. The authoritarian way appears to be quicker in the beginning but shows signs of resistance and conflict as time passes on. The democratic procedure is, thus, slow but steady while the totalitarian method is seemingly fast but ultimately more jerky, risky and bloody. A small country like Ireland took about 800 years to achieve its political freedom, while India, under the glorious leadership of Gandhiji, succeeded in attaining Independence through peaceful and non-violent methods in about a quarter of a century. Even after Independence, India has been able to register remarkable progress in different sectors of national planning under a democratic set-up. It can be claimed without any hesitation that what India has

been able to achieve during the last seven years compares very favourably with the progress made by any other country in the world during the same period of time. We should never forget that U.S.S.R. took full 11 years to prepare the blue-print of her first Five-Year Plan after the Revolution of 1917. These eleven years in Russia were the years of bitter conflict, class war and severe famine. In China also the present edifice of unity, discipline and material progress is largely founded on fear, regimentation and authoritarian rule. Nothing has been achieved there as if by magic. Chairman Mao and the Chinese Prime Minister have openly admitted that their country would take about 15 to 20 years to be able to lay the foundations of a Socialist State. There is considerable unemployment in China and the population problem in relation to food and other material goods presents stupendous difficulties. There is still a tendency towards inflation; one Indian rupee is, at present equal to about 5,000 dollars. There is, even now, plenty of private property in land and industry. Attempts are being made to narrow down the gulf between small and big incomes. But even in Russia there is easily a difference of 1:80 between different income-groups. In both China and the U.S.S.R. although there has been substantial increase in production of different commodities, the quality of these goods is, in general, quite poor as compared with other countries of the world.

We in India, therefore, need not suffer from any kind of "complex" in gauging our economic advancement after the achievement of political freedom. During a comparatively brief span of seven years, we have considerably solved our problems of food, rehabilitation and inflation. We have succeeded in integrating 600 and odd States into the Indian Union. We have established a number of basic industries with a chain of magnificent National Research Laboratories. Our targets for food and several industrial products have been more than achieved. We hope to cover the whole country with Community Projects by the end of the second Five-Year Plan. These are no mean achievements for a country which suffered from great handicaps during centuries of political serfdom. But we need not rest on our oars. There is still much to be achieved through long and arduous labour. We should always be willing to learn from other nations. Self-complacency is always unhealthy and harmful. But to try to imitate other countries without developing one's innate strength is always suicidal. We must, therefore, march ahead with full faith in our ideals and objectives. Destiny has endowed us with a heavy but sublime responsibility. India has to show to the world that the path of peace, non-violence and democracy is quicker and nobler than the path of conflict, violence and authoritarianism. Let us try our very best to discharge this great responsibility with faith and missionary zeal.

## THE CRISIS OF PHILOSOPHICAL STUDIES IN INDIA

BY DR. S. K. DAS

It is more or less a truism that philosophy is but life gathered up into the focus of self-consciousness; and one of the compensations of middle life, as Chesterton once put it, is to see the truisms coming true. All the same it is a matter of increasingly painful discovery that in life truths of vital significance are so often *assented* to but not *believed*, in the strictest sense of the term. Truly viewed, therefore, all philosophy is contemporary philosophy just as all history, in a sense, is contemporary history. Pleading for the re-instatement of reverence as the soul of all education, Whitehead, one of the greatest philosopher-scientists of our century, is known to have acclaimed the present moment alone as the holy ground upon which we are to take our stand, inasmuch as the present sums up within itself the whole of existence backwards and forwards. What is suggested herein is not an over-estimation of the present but an exhortation to cultivate that *sense of proportion*, that sense and sensibility, which is the *raison d'être* of all philosophic thinking.

One such historic occasion, for stock-taking of our achievements and aspirations, cropped up in connexion with the Silver Jubilee session of the Indian philosophical Congress, held in Calcutta, December, 1950. As a spectator sees more of the game than the participants, with vested interests of their own, reference may profitably be made here to the enlightened testimony of one prominent delegate from U. K., published in 1951, in a representative *Journal of Philosophy*.\* Reviewing the *Silver Jubilee Volume*, the delegate to the Silver Jubilee session of the Philosophical Congress who acknowledged *inter alia* the "great privilege to attend these meetings and also to engage in an extensive lecture tour of Indian Universities,"† presented the main issue with that remarkable brevity which is the 'soul of wit':

"The differences between it and the type of philosophy most prominent in Britain and U.S.A. at the present time may be summed up by saying that it (*viz* Philosophy in India) is *more in contact with religion* and with practical aims (practical not in the sense of making money but in the sense in which the search for the highest good is practical) and *less in contact with science*.‡ Partly because of this divergence of interest I found that the most common approach is still that of metaphysical idealism, which we have got into the habit of looking on as dead. No form of

modern positivism has made a wide impression, and the philosophical atmosphere is more like I imagine that of the nineties at Oxford to have been than what we enjoy in England to-day."

Leaving aside other points, no less instructive and important, in this aetiological analysis, it will be worth our while in this context to concentrate upon that canker which has been for some time past the prolific source of mischief and misdirection in matters of philosophical study and research in this country. In a wider context, Mr. Bertrand Russell in his *Herbert Spencer Lecture* (1912) on "Scientific Method in Philosophy", is known to have proved to the hilt that Philosophy, as conditioned by ethical and religious motives, has either defaulted or deteriorated to the extreme point of self-stultification. In a country where Religion, following the dynamics of its meaning-particle gravitates along the line of least resistance into a cult that is communal, denominational or sectarian the danger is far more serious. Ethical or religious motivation of philosophical activities, laudable as it is, proves in the end hostile to the cause of philosophical progress and leads ultimately to the sterilisation of the philosophical impulse. It is readily admissible that ethical and religious motives are largely the product of the group or gregarious instinct, and the philosophy which they inspire is always more or less parochial, more or less infected with the passions and prejudices of a time and a place and, therefore precludes the possibility of attaining unto that global outlook, that world-view (*Weltanschauung*) which is the infallible mark of the philosophic spirit. What could have removed this plague-spot, otherwise inevitable and incorrigible, is the scientific motive and method in philosophy, in other words, that submission to fact which is the essence of the scientific temper.

This is the reason, in part, why Dr. Brijendra Nath Seal of revered memory would often exclaim, from his class-room chair, while expounding 'with the characteristic luminosity of his insight, the hidden meaning of some intricate text of Indian Philosophy, without being hide-bound by any philosophical tradition, Eastern or Western for the instruction and edification of his students. "It is one ruling ambition of my life" to quote his memorable words on the point, "to found a school of comparative research in philosophy which would prosecute the study of Indian Philosophy—not, however, on the traditional 'Tol' method of study and research but

\* *Mind*, January, 1952, pp. 132-133.

† Also in *Philosophy*, July, 1951, p. 263.

‡ *Italics ours*; also in *Philosophy*, July, 1951, p. 263.

along the open road through which Universal Humanity has travelled for ages."

It is no wonder that a religiously motivated philosophy, finding a congenial soil in a region over-ridden with a "casteist" and clannish predisposition, should foster a solipsistic or subjectivist mentality in theory and anti-social or anti-democratic activities in the practical sphere leading ultimately to racial, communal and regional vanity or arrogance. Wakeful to the dangers of these fissiparous and disruptive forces, nurtured in their overt as well as covert forms, the philosophic Vice-President and the philosopher-scientist, Prime Minister inveigh against them invariably in public in words that bear quotation here: "Casteism and Provincialism must go" in the interest of safety and well-being of the Secular State to which, be it remembered, we owe our allegiance.

There are two other danger-zones which have not been explicitly mentioned but are indirectly suggested by the reviewer's analysis referred to at the outset. One is the disproportionate emphasis upon logic and theory of knowledge (or epistemology) and the other is the inflated importance conferred upon Indian philosophy of the traditional type. The reviewer in question laments that "Studies of logic and linguistic of the more modern type find no place in the proceedings of the Congress and there is no talk about the analysis of common sense propositions." But if he had stayed on here for sometime more and cared to acquaint himself with the undergraduate and post-graduate curricula of studies in philosophy, he would have been staggered at the plethora of logic-chopping—not of the recent, rejuvenated type—but the old discredited backwash of metaphysical idealism, current about the nineties at Oxford. No one with the least pretension to sanity or seemliness would possibly deny the use and importance of a thorough grounding in method or the theory of knowledge, with a view to consolidating the matter of knowledge or the systematic structure to be raised thereon. The warning that was sounded by Lotze in the seventies of the last century has not outlived its use but, on the contrary, has a special application to the turn of events at the present

moment. "It is tedious," as he observed, "to be always sharpening one's knife when there is nothing to cut." One would like to go further and say that it is not only tedious but dangerous, for the knife may, for aught we know, may recoil upon one's own neck in the absence of anything to cut!

In the post-independence era it is but natural that we should go in for Indianization of our educational policies and curricula of studies. But this move, perfectly innocuous as it is, may, when coupled with, and re-inforced by, an uncritical spirit of revivalism, go to absurd lengths—to excesses and exaggerations—which cannot but spell mischief and self-alienation for Indian philosophical thought from world-thought. It is no use going into hysterics over the so-called status of world-philosophy claimed for Indian philosophy; for, it is safe and sane to remember that no respectable University or University College, barring certain Oriental Schools or Asiatic Institutes, in the whole of the United Kingdom or U.S.A. has, up till now, made provision for the study of Indian philosophy as a subject for study according to the University curriculum of studies. In the face of such problematical reception, the tendency in certain quarters to claim, for Indian philosophy in its traditional form, an immutable perfection which defies comparison with any other thought-type, ancient or modern, would serve to forge only the fetters of isolation or insularity in this ~~growing~~ "One World" of our thoughts and aspirations. It is a typical instance of what the psycho-analysis calls "repressed sympathies." That is the way of perverted pride, and that way lies madness. It is to our benefit therefore to resign ourselves to the timely discipline of philosophy herself that pleads for "Justice in the name of the Whole," and administers the homely and salutary lesson in humility. Let us close on the high-pitched key on which a celebrated philosopher of the last century gave his admonition to unwary pilgrims on the way to philosophic regeneration of their outlook on life: "There is no sin, however, prone to it a philosopher may be, which philosophy can justify so little as spiritual pride!"



## T. S. ELIOT AND A MODERN LOVE SONG

By DR. AMARESH DATTA, M.A. Ph.D.,  
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MUCH could be said both in favour of and against modern poetry. It has widened the horizon of poetic sensibility, discovered for its use the sub-conscious and very effectively utilized the possibilities of prose rhythm. Consequently quite a lot has been gained in technique as a result of new experiments, but the poetic attitude has been moulded too much and rather unhappily at times by the disintegrating surroundings. Disillusionment and despair, lack of faith and divided aims have drawn out of men, on the one hand, all their attachment to additional morality and on the other, their ability to easy and frank response to facts and events. To all this has been added the complexity of social life and instability of any moral code.

T. S. Eliot emerged on the literary scene of Europe with an extraordinary sensitiveness to modern conditions and equipped with a rare power of analysis and dissection learnt from the progress in the study of the psychological method. Under those circumstances his approach to poetry was new and revolutionary. In fact about the time when political revolution of great import was taking place in Russia a poetic revolution was declared by Eliot with the publication of his *Prufrock and Other Observations*. Of all the poems that appeared in that thin collection, the first poem, "The Love Song of Alfred J. Prufrock," is the richest in texture and poetic insight and also it sets the dominant note of the entire volume. Eliot of course outgrew the Prufrock stage of his career and Eliot of *Four Quartets* is vastly different from the poet who concentrated for a time on the personality types either 'refined beyond the point of civilization'—inhibited and fastidious or dare-devilish and irresponsibly self-assertive.

But unfortunately this pre-occupation with extreme examples of abnormal types became gradually a habitual feature of modern poetry. The limitations that the genius of Eliot could so easily transcend narrowed down the scope of modern poetry to a great extent for it remained almost completely circumscribed by the discovered land and the old world sank into a mere historical fact. Eliot's emphasis on tradition was perhaps a warning but its significance does not seem to have been realised by many modern poets. An analysis of the Prufrock poem will show on the one hand a remarkable technical skill and advance achieved by Eliot and on the other the accentuation of an archetypal pattern that has often been carried to its extreme in modern poetry and painting.

T. S. Eliot has been described by one of his admirers as one first holding the key of modern poetry in his

open hand and then unlocking its door. As he flings open the door, we enter a strange world of people who have, as if, just escaped from the broader and vaster life outside and found a retreat into this new inferno. Life here is placid on the surface, but a helpless struggle—a new torment surrounds it with hell fires. Doors are still kept open for those who will inhabit this world at the poet's bidding and we can see many of them already on their way—all bearing quaint and unusual names, Prufrock, Gerontion, Appolinaris, Limoges, Frigilium, Mrs. Phlaccus, Prof. Caanning Cheeta, Miss Nancy Ellicott and the like. And they have all come with their obsessions and repressed desires, their quixotic scruples and unhealthy sensibilities and, one may presume, they have reached this last resort dejected from a psycho-analyst's clinic. Obviously enough, there is something very grimly mysterious and abnormal about them—their names, their thoughts and talks and also about the world they live in. Eliot's admirers maintain that his poetic world is an epitome of the world outside and that its denizens are the essential men and women of our disillusioned world. Mr. Prufrock with whom we are directly concerned is supposed to represent the essentials of modern man. As such Mr. Prufrock to Eliot is what perhaps Satan was to Milton or Faust was to Goethe.

The modern world, then according to the new poet, is an Inferno—dusky and sombre—the land of the living ghosts, because the modern man lives the life of the sub-conscious, that of the conscious being as good as dead to him. Realism, therefore, for such a poet is only psychological realism. The extraordinary interest in that kind of realism is the result of a typical modernist reaction to traditional art and life. These realists are sometimes hailed as revolutionary in outlook and amazingly original in technique. But in fact they are revolutionary only because they are extremely individualistic, because they pass rather with a strange callousness from the social world to the completely private world rejecting all the specifically social features of poetry as a revolt against convention and introduce purely personal associations. There is therefore an anarchist revolution in literature, which they say, is waged against the destructive elements and for the negation of values in a decadent society while they themselves are unable to go beyond its limitations and are still caught in its coils. Hence, the craze for a blatant and intentional obscurity, for artistic freedom and sometimes for technical acrobatics.

Judged as such they may be original and revolutionary from yet another point of view because they look at

life through the small windows of their private world—from a hitherto unknown angle of vision. But this new window because of its newness does not necessarily disclose the whole or the essentials of life, on the contrary the possibilities are stronger for the inessentials to come to our view. We may take for an example the well-known painting of the American artist Georgia O' Keeffe called *The Sky seen through a Hip Bone*. One may legitimately ask the question: Why should the artist look at the sky through the cavity of the pelvis? Why this unusual love for distortion? And is not this eccentric individuality fatal to art?

So the basic feature of such realistic art is its glaring anti-realism its hostility to objective knowledge of life, for the more maniacally individualistic he is the lesser he is as an artist. These realists therefore are separated on the one hand from the finest traditions of art of the preceding centuries and on the other from the hopes and aspirations of life that is striving to be born.

So the claims made in favour of this type of poetry rest mainly on the poet's efficiency in so-called realistic and faithful portrayal of life. But it should be carefully noted here that Eliot's poetry seldom degenerates into a loose sally of eccentric thoughts. He always relates his experience to a wider context and his poetic associations either through contrast or parallelism reveal a keen sense of social consciousness and concern that could be found among poets only in Milton. So the poet of the Love Song of Prufrock is admirably free from the vagaries of the school that he himself founded. Moreover, the most unsavoury examples of the new art will be found more in modern painting than poetry.

We may now take up the love song for interpretation, but before we actually do it it should be profitable to know the motif and purpose behind the poem. Eliot's Prufrock—the modern man—will not lay bare his heart if he is not sure that the person addressed to belong to his world and that he cannot escape with his secrets elsewhere. The extract from Dante quoted as an epigraph to the poem makes this very evidently clear. That initially creates an atmosphere of twilight secrecy which is indeed the peculiar atmosphere of the whole poem. Secondly and perhaps more significantly, Prufrock is not a satiric portrait and the poem does not seem to have any didactic purpose. Towards Prufrock the poet is more sympathetic than contemptuous and the elements of contempt or even ridicule that are to be found here and there are directed against an artificial society which is considered to be responsible for Prufrock's mental make-up. It is therefore easy to perceive that Eliot's society is one of inhibitions and taboos and the causes of its disintegration are mainly pathological. It must also be noted that Prufrock's repression of and inability to speak out the elemental passion of love even to his beloved are the outcome of defeatist mentality and cowardly escape from society. The poem therefore is, not a criticism

of life because it does not in any way suggest the ideal relations between poetry and the world or criticize the existing relations between them.

So Prufrock is obviously a neurotic—a man of abnormal sensibilities and his love song, which stands best a psycho-analytical interpretation, shows clearly the poet's attitude towards the subject of a work of art. The dramatic quality and intensity that were to be the characteristic features of his poetry have been considerably achieved in this poem. Its technique also is psycho-analytical in so far as it follows the law of free association and psychological sequence. The technique itself, of course is older than Eliot but his originality is that his leaps from one idea to another are more violent and meaningful than those of his predecessors though to a great extent it also lies in the peculiar significance of the imagery of the poem.

Let us then consider the imagery and try to find out a meaning in reference to them. We therefore presume apropos of the poem that one dull dying evening 'like a patient etherised upon a table' Prufrock with his Beloved comes out of Eliot's Inferno—the world of the 'sub-conscious—to face the conscious world outside. A vague direction as to which streets they should traverse and which places to visit has been given by the poet who, one may visualize, is watching them from the little window of his twilight world. Then 'you have the scene arrange itself.' And Prufrock cannot, of course, help carrying the atmosphere of the world from which he has just stirred out to sing his love song, for he is one with it. This should not remind the reader of Milton's fallen Archangel, because Eliot has not to justify anybody's ways to man.

For Prufrock love is not divine or Platonic—it is grossly mundane and sexual, but he cannot or it may appear he does not wish to give a straight and direct expression to this earthly love. With full sophistication, therefore, he speaks through symbols. In the pale and sickly evening he wishes to walk through half-deserted streets where he would meet people—presumably couples—retreating with significant mutterings. This reminds him of nights—restless nights in cheap one-night hotels. But it is not for him a 'last ride together' for the streets follow 'like a tedious argument' and when he comes to an overwhelming question—the question of facing actuality—he was only to falter and speak again through symbols:

In the room the women come and go  
Talking of Michelangelo.

Of all artists why of Michelangelo? Is it simply because it rhymes with 'go'? Or is it because there is a humorous intent and even motive of ridicule against society in this sudden and strong rhyme and refrain? Or does it signify a sham, artificial albeit fashionable appreciation of art? Why Michelangelo even then? And why only women? Are they not speaking of Michelangelo who escaped from Florence to avoid the possibility of conversion to Christianity? Or they might

he referring to the famous marble group of the Virgin and the Child. *Virgin Mary*—the suggestions are palpable enough and through repetition, Prufrock is drawing the attention of his ladylove to a particular aspect of the life of the Florentine artist. Yet the hint does not seem to be of much import, so now he speaks in clearer images of direct significance:

The yellow fog that rubs its back upon the  
window-panes,  
The yellow smoke that rubs its muzzle on the  
window-panes  
Licked its tongue into the corners of the evening,  
Lingered upon the pools that stand in drains,  
Let fall upon its back the soot that falls from  
chimneys,  
Slipped by the terrace, made a sudden leap,  
And seeing that it was a soft October night,  
Curled once about the house, and fell asleep.

And these are the boldest hints that one who has 'measured out his life with coffee spoons' is capable of giving and yet after this somewhat direct utterance so far as he is concerned, once again he flags:

There will be time, there will be time  
There will be time to murder and create—  
Time yet for a hundred indecisions  
And for a hundred visions and revisions.

The problem in his world is not one of fleeting, galloping time, it is the immovability and the timelessness of time that puzzles him the most. Time for him is really out of joint but he does not feel that he was born to set it right. These indecisions, visions and revisions will naturally remind him of Hamlet but—

No! I am not Prince Hamlet, nor was meant  
to be;

Am an attendant lord, one that will do  
To swell a progress start a scene or two,  
Advise the prince; no doubt, an easy tool,  
Deferential, glad to be of use,  
Politic, cautious, and meticulous;  
Full of high sentence, but a bit obtuse;  
At times almost ridiculous—  
Almost, at times, the fool.

So he wonders: Do I dare? and Do I dare? But why this inability of a natural instinct to assert itself? Is he growing old? Why does he not dare to disturb his world when 'in a minute there is time for decisions and revisions which a minute will reverse?' This does not console him much, so he grows rather philosophic for he has already known them all. But philosophizing is not always the way of the balanced and the normal and especially the illusionists among philosophers are generally out of their elements with life. Hence, with this helpless abandon born of aimless brooding, 'how should I presume?' But he will have to begin when 'eyes have fixed him in a formulated phrase, and when he is sprawling on a pin and is pinned and wriggling on the wall.' But even when 'he has known the white bare arms, the disturbing perfume of a dress'—how should he begin? So again he tries to be vocal and significant through glaring images—of dusk, narrow streets, smoke, lonely men in shirt-sleeve leaning

out of windows, seas and of afternoon and evening sleeping peacefully smoothed by long fingers tired or pretending to be asleep stretched on the floor. He now wishes to be a pair of ragged claws to scuttle across the difficulties of the silent seas—the agonies of the struggle in the sub-conscious. But if he lets time pass, after tea and cakes and ices, will he have the strength to force the moment to its crisis? Though he has suffered all the spiritual upheaval of a prophet, he has not found any direction even for himself. Time is dragging him away from his moment of temporary decision, yet in a minute there will be time for decisions and revisions. Not only will he not have the strength, it will not be worth his while after 'the cups, the marmalade, the tea' to come to some overwhelming question and to say: 'I am Lazarus come from a different world (the sub-conscious reign of my mind) to tell you all.' On the contrary, even if she is lying, settling a pillow by her head he should like to say:

That is not what I meant at all  
That is not it at all.

But at the same time would it be worth his while to say: 'That is not it at all. That is not what I meant all'—after settling a pillow or throwing off a shawl and turning towards the window? Once again he is lost in the maze of contradictions, of attraction and repulsion. What is all this due to? He must have grown old and he will walk upon the beach in search of health. The beach reminds him of the sea and its dark depth and also his own mysterious recess of mind, where he has seen mermaids singing each to each. So long he lingered there with his love thoughts by the sea girls 'wreathed with seaweeds red and brown. But as they come to the conscious world their sub-conscious selves drown:

Human voices wake us and we drown.

In spite of its pronounced modernness, it will be interesting to note, the emotional pattern of the poem bears some resemblance to a recognized pattern very frequently employed in English poetry. A typical example of such pattern is furnished by Keats's *Nightingale Ode*. The rhythmic rise and fall of the Ode correspond to the attraction and repulsion of this modern love song. Again Keats's nightingale showed him the vision of a happy world in his hour of spiritual crisis though that proved to him ultimately an insubstantial dream and he had to come back to the world of hard realities. Similarly to Prufrock paralysed by living death and shattered by the sad consciousness of the helplessness of struggle, the song of the mermaids

...riding seaward on the waves  
Combing the white hair of the waves blown back  
When the wind blows the water white and black—  
brings the glimpse of a "life-rhythm where living creatures delight spontaneously in their natural environment mastering it and being carried along with its vital energies." And then again the last lines of both these

poems strike a note of disillusionment.

'Fled is the music, do I wake or sleep'—through the distance of about a century is echoed poignantly in the line :

Till human voices wake us and we drown.

Eliot's poetic mind has been very richly nourished

—:O:—

by the great tradition of poetry in Europe and his poetry therefore is highly and in an original way allusive. But the greatest charm of his poetry is that it gives its readers a chance to recognize the old in the new and the continuity of a great tradition which he has carried to greater heights.

## MERUTUNGA ACHARYA

By N. B. ROY, M.A.,  
Visva-Bharati University

PROF. BUHLER, writing to Noldke in 1877 on the contribution of the ancient Hindus in the field of historical literature, said:

"You are a little behind the age with your notion that Indians have no historical literature. In the last twenty years five fairly voluminous works have been discovered, emanating from authors contemporary with the events which they describe. Four of them I have discovered myself. I am on the track of more than a dozen more."

Among those in search of which Prof. Buhler was active, was the work *Prabandha Chintamani*, composed in V.S. 1362 (=1305-6 A.D.). Prof. C. H. Tawney, the translator of this work, was so warm in praise of it that it "blunted, in his words, the edge of the reproach . . . that with the exception of the *Rajatarangini*, there is to be found no work in Sanskrit literature meriting the title of history."

This treatise was the composition of our Merutunga Acharya, a Jain saint of Wadhwan (ancient Vardhamanpur) in Kathiawar on the highroad from Anhilwad to Junagarh. He is known to have written other works, such as the *Mahapurushacharita*, a chronicle of Jain saints, Theravali (Sthavirabali), a set of genealogical tables and *Vicharasrani*, which is taken by some scholars to be a part of the former. The Acharya's fame rests however on the *Prabandha Chintamani*. It is therefore necessary to critically examine the work in order to ascertain the Acharya's title to be called a historian. The book is divided into five cantos of which the first, opening with the mythical king Vikramaditya, deals mainly with Mulraja, the historical founder of the Chaulukya dynasty and the origin of the rivalry between one of his successors Durlabhraya and the Paramara King Manja of Malwa. The Second Canto treats of King Bhoja's liberality, his leanings towards Jainism and his overthrow at the hands of the Kalachuri King, Karna. The Third Canto opens with the story of a drought in Gujarat under King Bhoma, rival of King

Bhoja and after relating the story of King Siddhaya's birth, devotes mainly to an exposition of the principles of Jainism and its attainment of status of complete equality with the Brahmanical faith. The fourth forms, as it were, the crown of the volume, setting forth an account of King Kumarapala, the great Jain teacher, Hemachandra, King Viradhbala and his two ministers, Vastupala and Tejahpala, under whom Jainism won complete ascendancy in Gujarat. The fifth contains a bunch of miscellaneous stories and is rightly designated *Prabhuak-prabandha*.

But each chapter of it is a curious jumble of stories and a strange amalgam of fact and fiction. Historical facts and chronological data jostle with accounts of uncanny figures flying through the air and of mysterious temples underneath the sea. Accounts of learned philosophical discussions and pious foundations are juxtaposed with the fable of a goddess, causing a man's death, out of her jealousy for his devotion to a Jain Tirthankar and of a king dying suddenly, as a consequence of his necklace being caught in a tree, while out on the march towards Gujarat. Dialectics of Jain saints are followed by a grotesque story to reinforce the moral of *sarbadharmamanyata* (veneration for all religions). A nice historical fact, such as the threat of an attack on Benares by the Turkish army, is woven into an account of the accomplishment of King Kumarapala.

This outline sketch of the contents of the *Prabandha Chintamani* and the method of their presentation would at once mark it out from the ancient Greek histories and the medieval Muslim chronicles. Their primary object was to depict the history of the age in which they were written; but such a notion was remote from the mind of our Acharya. The completion of the *Prabandha Chintamani* synchronised with the extinction of the Vaghela dynasty. Since 1296 Alauddin's army and gendarmerie were active in Gujarat. The city of Anhilpataka was sacked, its queen taken captive and the port of

Cambay pillaged. But our Acharya has not a word to say about it. The cloistered recluse was deaf to the thud and crash of the world falling around him.

What then was the main incentive to the composition of the *Chintamani* (Jewel of Thought)? It was to propagate the gentle teaching of the Jains and to show the greater glory of Gujarat, which was the primeval sanctuary of Rishava against the background of the short-lived splendour of Malwa, consecrated to the Deity Mahakal.

I adduce a few illustrations in support of my point. King Bhoja goes out on chase and strikes a deer with an arrow when his attendant Dhanapal cries out saying:

"May your valour go to hell. It is a bad principle; He who takes refuge is held innocent That the weak is being slaughtered by the strong is a supreme tragedy. Lawlessness seems to be the order of the day."

On the return journey, the plaintive bleating of a lamb drew the King's attention and on the King's query Dhanapal replied:

"Having made a sacrificial pillar, slain animal therewith and made glory mine, if one goes to heaven, who will proceed to hell?"

Truth is my sacrificial pillar, penance fire, good deeds my fuel.

One should pour oblation of *ahimsa*; this is considered to be sacrificed by the pious men." Similarly he says elsewhere:

"*Ahimsa* is the essence of religion; due respect should be paid to the goddess Saraswati. All philosophers are agreed that one achieves salvation by means of meditation."

The doctrine of *Karma* is a cardinal Jain teaching and Merutunga often alludes to it in course of his narrative and concludes a story with the lines:

१. रसातलं यातु तवात्र पौरुषं ।  
कुनोतिरेषा शरणो ह्यदोषवान् ॥  
निहन्यते यद्वलिनापि दुर्बलो ।  
हा हा महाकपटं अराजकं जगत् ॥
२. यूपं कृत्वा पशुहन्त्वा कृत्वा रुधिरकर्दमम् ।  
यद्यैव गम्यते स्वर्गे नरके केन गम्यते ॥  
सत्यं यूपं तपो ह्यग्नि कर्म्मनि समिधोमम् ।  
अहिंसामाहुति दद्यादेवं यज्ञ सतां मतः ॥
३. अहिंसा लक्षणो धर्मः मान्या देवी च भारती ।  
ध्यानेन मुक्तिमाप्नोति सर्व्व दर्शनिना मतं ॥

"Neither personal appearance, nor pedigree nor conduct is of any avail Nor knowledge nor service rendered to humanity. Merit, accumulated by penance in previous births would surely yield in course of time fruit for many a man, just as trees do."

Our Acharya exhorts even the application of the Jain principles to administration as testified to by such a verse:

"He is a real minister, and enlightened too, who fills the treasury without imposts and extends territory without recourse to war."

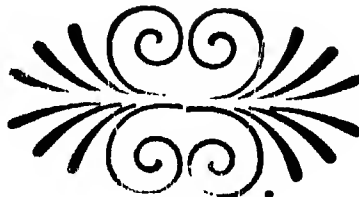
He, no doubt, rails at some Brahmanical rite but he shows true catholicity as a teacher by weaving a transcendent harmony out of the discordance of the various sects.

"The doctrines of the Buddhist you should read, but practise those of the Jainas. The Vedic way should guide your social behaviour. But the Supreme Good should be the object of contemplation."

One of the criticisms followed by the ancient Greek historians was to suspect *superhuman and miraculous occurrences which contradict ordinary experience*. Our Acharya was free from such scepticism. He makes plentiful use of those materials which the ancient Greek historians would doubt. His narrative is a bundle of detached stories centring round a few royal personages and thus lacks in sequence of narration. The contents are varied ranging from history, religion, folk to alchemy and the science of medicine. *Prabandha Chintamani* could therefore hardly be called a history and its author designated a historian. With its edifying verse and simple prose, it would however rank as a useful work in the Sanskrit *belles lettres*.

४. नैवाकृतिः फलति, नैव कूलं न शीलं ।  
विद्या नचापि मनुजेषु कृता न सेवा ॥  
पूजयानि पूर्व्वं तस्य किल संचितानि ।  
काले फलन्ति पुरुषस्य यथैव वृक्षाः ॥
५. अकराजं कुरुते कोपम् अवधाद्देशरक्षणम् ।  
देशवृद्धिमयुद्धाश्च स मन्त्रो बुद्धिमानंश्च सः ॥
६. श्रोतव्यः सौगत धर्मः कर्त्तव्यः पुनर्वाहृतः ।  
वैदिको व्यवहर्त्तव्यो धातव्य परमः शिवः ॥

\* By courtesy of All India Radio, Calcutta.





# Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

## ENGLISH

**VALMIKI RAMAYANA:** By N. Chandrasekhara Aiyar, with Foreword by Jawaharlal Nehru. *Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1954. Pp. xxii + 234. Price Re. 1-12.*

The immortal work of Valmiki, which with its sister Epic of the Mahabharata has come to be regarded as a part of the world-literature, has been translated into almost all European languages during the last century. Not to speak of the Italian translation of G. Corresio (Parigi 1847-58) and the two French versions of H. Fauche (Paris 1854-58) and A. Roussel (Paris 1903-09), we have complete English versions of the work in verse by R. T. H. Griffith (1st ed., Benares 1872-74) and in prose by Manmathanath Dutt (Calcutta, 1892-94) as well as a condensed version in verse by Romesh Dutt (London, 1900). The present condensed translation in prose from the pen of a distinguished jurist of our times comes in the wake of these older versions. Without indulging in invidious comparisons we may state our opinion that the author's attempt to elucidate the substance of the original in the simplest possible language (Introd., p. xxi) has been successful. It is, however, difficult to understand why the author has confined his translation only to the first six Cantos omitting the last Canto (*Uttarakanda*) without any word of explanation. It is to be hoped that the author in a subsequent edition will correct the inclusion of Tara and Gandhamadhava (p. 11) among the Vanara chiefs as also occasional slips in the transliteration of Sanskrit names (e.g., *Visushta* and *Vasishtha*, *Rajarishi* and *Thataka*).

U. N. GHOSHAL

**RAJAGRIHA AND NALANDA:** By Dr. Amulyachandra Sen, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D., Indian Publicity Society, 21, Balaram Ghosh Street, Calcutta-1; 1954. Two maps and plans plus sixteen illustrations. Pp. 122. Price Rs. 2-4.

This small book by Dr. Amulyachandra Sen is one of the best guide-books published on any historical site in India. Dr. Sen has not only given the reader a comprehensive and up-to-date historical account of Rajagriha and Nalanda, but has also placed certain itineraries at the disposal of the traveller who wishes to visit the spots hallowed by the memory of Buddha and connected with the rise of the early monastic order. We are sure the booklet will prove of inestimable help to its readers.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

**TIME AND THE TIMELESS:** By Dr. T. M. P. Mahadevan, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of Indian Philosophy, Madras University. Published by Upanishad Bihar, 70, Venkatesapuram Ayanavaram, Madras-23. Pp. 84. Price Rs. 2.

Dr. Mahadevan is a distinguished exponent and authority of Indian thought in general and Advaita Vedanta in particular. He is a dynamic thinker and an excellent interpreter. He has had a dozen thought-provoking treatises on Indian Thought, excluding the one under review. His work on Gaudapada is a masterly survey of early Advaita prior to Shankar. A few years ago, his lectures on Indian Philosophy in U.S.A. were highly appreciated and applauded by American audience.

The present volume, though small yet substantial, contains two lectures delivered by him in March, 1953, under the auspices of Principal Miller Lectureship of Madras University. This lectureship was endowed in 1926 by Sir R. Venkataratnam Nayudu, Vice-Chancellor of Madras University from 1925 to 1928 in loving memory of his devoted teacher, Dr. William Miller, sometime Principal of Madras Christian College and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Madras in 1901. The theme set for the Miller Lectures is the Inner Meaning of Human History as disclosing the one increasing purpose that runs through the ages and was inspired by a line in a poem of Tennyson.

Accordingly, the learned author selected a very important subject for his lectures. Since the concept of time plays a very prominent part in modern philosophy, he did very well in selecting this subject for discussion. In the short space of only two lectures, he has shown in the light of Advaita Vedanta that time has no absolute reality but it is a channel through which timeless reality or Brahman is approached. He examines critically various current concepts of time, mathematico-physical, psychological and metaphysical and rightly concludes that time is *anirvachaniya* or indeterminable. He prefers the absolutistic view of timeless reality to the theistic one as he finds all notions of difference and duality upheld by the latter view are unsatisfactory in the last resort.

The book is profound and pellucid, readable and interesting throughout. It is replete with as many as 114 quotations from ancient and modern thinkers, not only philosophers but also dramatists and poets. Decently printed in pica type on white glazy paper and nicely got-up with thick cover, the book leaves nothing to be desired.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

**THE DEVELOPMENT OF NATIONAL EDUCATION IN INDIA:** By K. C. Vyas, M.A., Ph.D. Foreword by Dr. B. V. Keskar. Vora and Co., Publishers Ltd., 3, Round Building, Kalbadevi Road, Bombay-2. Pp. 8 + 140. Price Rs. 4.

The term "National" was added to "Education" so far back as in the thirties of the nineteenth century by W. W. Adam in his Education Report and C. E. Trevelyan in his book on education. In the present treatise the author Dr. Vyas has it appears, used the term in the same sense as the former two. He has traced the history of Indian education in modern times, in a short compass in this book. He has, of course, given some account of the educational movements started by the Brahmo Samaj, Arya Samaj, the Theosophical Society of India and other bodies during the nineteenth century. With the quickening of the New Spirit early this century, our ideas on education were re-oriented, and our educational efforts ran into altogether a new channel. From the Swadeshi Movement of Bengal up to the all-India movement of the Non-co-operation, the Civil Disobedience Movement and the August Revolution (1912), our "national" education took root into the soil in newer aspects, the latest being the "Basic Education" propagated by Mahatma Gandhi. The book under review took note of these aspects, too. From this point of view the reader will find in it a running commentary on the national education movements of the different periods. But all the same the book cannot be considered a comprehensive history, and that is perhaps due to the handicap of short space.

One, however, expects in a book like this some detailed account of the endeavours in the direction of national education during the Swadeshi days in Bengal. These have left a permanent stamp on our national life and culture. The book also suffers from some inaccuracies. The Charter Act of 1813 gave freedom to the Christian missionaries to move and work in India. Therefore to say that "Immediately after the year 1813 no Christian missionary was allowed to set foot in British India" (p. 2) is not correct. Long before 1813 Carey, Marshman and Ward established the Serampore Baptist Mission and they had never suffered from any disability due to the above Charter Act. William Carey landed in India in 1793. Marshman and Ward reached the country in 1799. These three founded the Serampore Baptist Mission in 1800. Then how was it possible for Raja Rammohun Roy to 'come in contact with Serampore Missionaries' 'at the age of 21 (1796)'? (p. 11). To say that Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar 'became the Honorary Secretary of the Bethune College as soon as it was established in 1849' is also not true (p. 25). On page 35 we find student Keshub Chunder Sen 'transferred to the Metropolitan Institute under Cant. Richardson'. Here the author has betrayed a mistaken notion. The actual name of the institution was the 'Hindu Metropolitan College' and not the 'Metropolitan Institute'. The school of Pandit Vidyasagar was the 'Metropolitan Institution' founded more than a decade later. These and other inaccuracies should be corrected.

JOGESH C. BAGAT

**AMONG THE GONDS OF ADILABAD:** By Setu-madhava Rao, M.A., Deputy Revenue Secretary, Hyderabad (Deccan). To be had of the author. Price Rs. 2-8.

Of all the aboriginal tribes inhabiting the hilly tracts and plains of India, the Gonds numbering

about three millions are the most numerous. These aboriginal people who established independent kingdoms in different parts of Gondwana or the land of the Gonds had a glorious past. Rancee Durgavati, the Gond queen, who fought courageously in the battlefield with the Moghul soldiers and preferred death to dishonour is worthy to be remembered as one of the noblest daughters of India. A dependable account of various Gond kingdoms has been presented by Eyre Chatterton in *The Story of Gondwana*, a valuable work published in 1916. These primitive people who once ruled over the plateaux and plains of the Central Provinces (renamed as Madhya Pradesh after the attainment of independence) attracted the attention of Anthropologists and Administrators some decades ago. Captain Forsyth is supposed to be the pioneer amongst those who have made an acquaintance with the beauty and antiquities of the "Highlands of Central India" and Monographs written by Verrier Elwin and Grigson are considered to be authentic works on the manners, customs, traditions etc., of the Gonds.

But the Gond population is not confined in the Central Provinces only, innumerable Gonds are spread over Hyderabad and Northern parts of Madras. In the District of Adilabad (Hyderabad State) alone the number of Gonds according to the Census of 1941 is 71,871. Our knowledge about the aboriginal tribes of Hyderabad was scanty, but Baron Haimendorf of Austria due to whose untiring efforts the Department of Anthropology was constituted in the University of Hyderabad, has made us familiar with the Chenchus and other tribes dwelling in the State of Hyderabad. His volume on the *Raj Gonds of Adilabad* is really a monumental work.

The writer of the present work under review had the good luck of receiving the Baron's instructions in carrying out his Anthropological researches. He worked under Haimendorf's guidance as special officer for tribes in the District of Adilabad. During the tenure of service he came into contact with Gonds, Kollams, Pradhans, Thattis, Naik-Pods and other tribes; studied their life and customs and got opportunities of hearing myths and legends recited by the Pradhans. His varied experiences and materials collected from different sources have been gathered together in this small book which anyone interested in the aboriginal tribes will go through with great interest. The chapter on the myths and traditions will convince the reader that Gond stories have greatly been influenced by the Hindu mythology.

Mr Rao's book though not a bulky one will be regarded as a valuable contribution because it is based on practical experience and laborious fieldwork among the aborigines.

NATINI KUMAR BHADRA

**ECONOMIC ESSAYS** By Prof. P. R. Sanual. Book Store 15, Bankim Chatterjee Street, Calcutta-10. Pp. 98. Price Rs. 2.

In this small book fifteen essays written by the author from time to time for newspapers have been printed on subjects, such as Indian Finance since Independence, National Income and Its Significance, Sterling Area, Nationalized Industries, Budget—Old and New, Land and Lease, State Trading etc. Some of the essays are no longer topical but are of interest to students of economics. Written in simple language for the lay man the book will be useful to beginners in their study of economic phenomena discussed in the press and platform. "The Problem of Student

Indiscipline," although a well-written essay, does not seem to fit in with the title of the book.

**ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF INDIA:** By Miss Helen Lamb of Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge. Friends' Book Depot, 12, University Road, Allahabad-2. Pp 68. Price Rs. 4.

In a short compass of 68 pages Miss Helen has presented his views on the study of Indian economic problems as it faces India today after her attainment of Independence. More or less isolated from the outer world during the Mughal period India entered a new stage after Plassey in 1757 and still a new stage after 1857 when the British Parliament took upon itself the administration of the country from the East India Company. Economic interest and development were always subordinated to the Imperial interest of Great Britain. Whatever economic development India attained was in minor and subsidiary industries and the country remained a field of British economic experiments and exploitation. British industries established in the country received undue favour from the rulers and Indian industries had to struggle hard. Even two World Wars did not basically improve matters. Miss Helen has pointed some of the weak points of the Indian economic system and lack of statistical information necessary for a sound study and proper assessment of problems. India cannot develop on the basis of Europe or America (USA) because of her past history, social structure and huge and growing population. As such India shall have to find her own method in tackling problems of the day and in the second lessons and experiments of other countries will be helpful. We have no hesitation in recommending this book to our young students of Economics who will find it illuminating.

A. B. DUTTA

**LOVE AGAINST HATE,** By N. K. Poulton. Society for Defence of Freedom in Asia, Calcutta 1954. Pp 61. Price six annas.

This modest little book sets for itself a most worthy objective, the exposure of the Indian Communist Party and some of their base and bloodthirsty methods in furthering their sinister interests. Instigated against all this are the penicillade and loving mission of Vinoba Bhave and the non-violent Phoodin work which is gently but firmly and wisely wearing away the essentially god-fearing and simple Indian peasant from the Communist blood-suckers. The little band of workers who have sponsored this publication deserve every encouragement and the monograph it off the widest circulation. The power of the cartoons will feed a warm echo in the hearts of all true Indians. "Let free people know the truth about Soviet slave labour, its voracious, terror, speed-up, illegal tricks, machine industrialisation and dehumanising standards of living, regimentation of the workers and the thought and Communism will shrink within and die of its own lies." So all hail to this little book and to the men who produced it!

RAMESH K. GHOSHAL

#### BENGALI

**MANISHIDER PRISHTITUL ACHARYA SWAMI PRANABANANDA** Edited by Swami Anangananda Bhavat Saranam Sangha, Ballymange, Calcutta. Price Re 4-4; Bound Re 1-8.

Swami Pranabananda's life-long endeavour to instil into the Hindu society a spirit of activity and the consciousness of its own greatness has earned the respect of his countrymen. The volume under review

is a collection of twenty-two essays, by Dr. Shyamaprasad Mookerjee, Sir Manmatha Nath Mookerjee, Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerjee, Dr. Ramesh Chandra Majumdar, etc., on the mission and achievement of the late revered Swami.

D. N. MOOKERJEE

**PRINTERS' GUIDE, Vol. II.** By Narendra Nath De. The Eastern Type Foundry and Oriental Printing Works Ltd. 18 Bandaban Byasak Street, Calcutta-5. Pp 396. Price Rs. 6-10.

As the name indicates, this *Guide* deals with some of the important matters relating to printing. Paper, ink, engraving on wood and metal, colour-blocks—these constitute some of the chapters of the book. Printing machinery is also discussed in some others. Printing is considered an important industry. Those engaged in this industry should have a clear idea of it, and this book will be a true guide to them. It will also be useful to authors. The book is illustrated. We commend it to those interested in printing.

JOSEPH C. BAGAL

#### HINDI

**BABU KE PATRA MIRA KE NAM (1921-48): Translated from English by Ramnarayana Chaudhuri.** Navajivan Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad. Pp 399. Price Re 4.

This is a sheaf of 386 letters out of 650 which Gandhiji wrote to Miraben (formerly Miss Slade) in the course of their twenty-three years of sacred relationship as a father-in-spirit and a daughter-in-spirit or as a torch-bearer of light and a seeker of light. And they reveal both of them in colours and context, which few people could ever think of, knowing Gandhiji as they do as a man of strenuous public activities who had little or no time for adequate attention to the needs of the individual, and Miraben as a member of his *entourage*. For not only do we see here a clear case of mutual spiritual kinship at first sight but also the preceptor's deeply personal and unendingly patient instruction of the disciple, fighting against the octopus-like claims of self and of soft and sparkling society, into the ways of self-transcendence of and Truth of the Self. On the surface, it might appear that the letters deal often with ordinary matters such as health, food, etc., but it is the "holily human" touch of their great-souled writer which gives them a worth and a value beyond compare and calculation.

**MAHADEVABHAI KA PURVACHARIT.** By Navabhai Parekh. Translated from Gujarati by Ramnarayana Chaudhuri. Navajivan Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad. Pp 92. Price 14 annas.

After the late Mahadeva Desai joined Gandhiji in 1917 he had reduced himself to a hero so that up till the time of his death in 1942, he was known only as Gandhiji's Secretary. His life prior to 1917 was a sealed book to a large majority of the people, particularly those who lived outside Gujarat. Therefore his lifelong friend Shri Navabhai Parekh, has done well to lift the curtain over this period. This will enable the reader of his biographical sketch to love Mahadevabhai all the more. For the seeds of the latter's noble and winsome personality, undaunted courage, sterling character, true passion for literature, spirit of public service and of self-sacrifice were sown during the first half of his life and we see them sprouting in these pages. Only the sunlight of Gandhiji's soul quickened this sprouting to their consummation.

G. M.

## GUJARATI

(1) PRAKRITINAN IADAKVAYAN PAN-KHIS. By Vijay Gupta Maurya Pp. 22½. Price Re. 1-4.

(2) ZER UTARVANA TATKALIK UPAYO: By Dr. Shankarlal Kavi Pp. 96. Price 8 annas.

(3) DESHA ANE KAL: By Swami Madhav Tirtha. Pp. 410. Price Rs 4.

All published by the Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature, Bombay and Ahmedabad. 1949. Thick card-board bound

The second book deals with centipede, snake, cobra and other poisons and the remedies to instantaneously cure those bitten by these reptiles. Those suffering from partaking of substances like *bhang*, *dhatura*, nettles and like ones are also told how to cure themselves. The cure is rendered by means of Indian drugs and herbs. It is a good *valde mecum*. The first book is called Nature's Pets Birds. If we except these endeavours being made by the Editor of the *Prakriti* magazine, Shriut Hari Narayan Acharya, this is the first notable book on Birds and Bird Life in Gujarati, authoritative, readable and full of information as to what are their ways and habits. About 125 birds are dealt with here and illustrative blocks are also printed so that one can recognise them. *Desha and Kal* is a new departure in the line of the Society's publication. Serious subjects like Prof Einstein's Doctrine of Theory of Relativity are being handled for the first time and therefore the enterprise requires to be noted. It says that till one knows all co-ordinates, he will not be able to verify time or place. Hindu philosophy talks of the three states of waking, dreaming, and somnolence and in that way showed that recently what Einstein seeks

to establish. Swamiji has tried here to co-ordinate the *Vivarta-vada* of Vedanta with Einstein's discovery.

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P. R. SEN

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By

SWAMI VIVEKANANDA

The object of this publication is to bring within the easy reach of our student population a small, cheaply-priced yet representative selection of the Swami Vivekananda's message to the sons and daughters of India.

Page 163

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ADVAITA ASHRAMA

4, WELLINGTON LANE, CALCUTTA-13

Indiscipline." although a well-written essay, does not seem to fit in with the title of the book.

**ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF INDIA:** By Miss Helen Lamb of Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge Friends' Book Depot, 12, University Road, Allahabad-2. Pp 68. Price Rs. 4.

In a short compass of 68 pages Miss Helen has presented his views on the study of Indian economic problems as it faces India today after her attainment of Independence. More or less isolated from the outer world during the Mughal period, India entered a new stage after Plassey in 1757 and still a new stage after 1857 when the British Parliament took upon itself the administration of the country from the East India Company. Economic interest and development were always subordinated to the Imperial interest of Great Britain. Whatever economic development India attained was in minor and subsidiary industries and the country remained a field of British economic experiments and exploitation. British industries established in the country received undue favour from the rulers and Indian industries had to struggle hard. Even two World Wars did not basically improve matters. Miss Helen has pointed some of the weak points of the Indian economic system and lack of statistical information necessary for a sound study and proper assessment of problems. India cannot develop on the basis of Europe or America (USA) because of her past history, social structure and huge and growing population. As such India shall have to find her own method in tackling problems of the day and in this regard lessons and experiments of other countries will be helpful. We have no hesitation in recommending this book to our young students of Economics who will find it illuminating.

A. B. DUTTA

**LOVE AGAINST HATE** By N. K. Pandey Society for Defence of Freedom in Asia Calcutta 1951. Pp. 61. Price six annas.

This modest little book sets for itself a most worthy objective: the exposure of the Indian Communist Party and some of their bare and bloodthirsty methods in furthering their sinister interests. Justified against all this are the venerable and loving mission of Vinoba Bhave and his magnificent Phoolan work which is silently but heroically weaning away the essentially god-fearing and simple Indian peasant from the Communist blood-suckers. The little band of workers who have sponsored this publication deserve every encouragement and the monograph itself the widest circulation. The prayer of the sponsors will find a warm echo in the hearts of all true Indians: "Let free people know the truth about Soviet slave labour camps, purges, terror, speed-ups, staged trials, increasing industrialisation and decreasing standards of living, regimentation of the artists and the thinkers, and Communism will shrink within and die of its own lies." So all hail to this little book and to the men who produced it!

RAMESH K. GHOSHAL

BENGALI

**MANISHIDER DRISHTITE ACHARYA SWAMI PRANABANANDA:** Edited by Swami Anurananda Bhavat Sasangam Sangha Ballygunge Calcutta. Price Re. 1-4. Bound Rs. 1-3.

Swami Pranabananda's life-long endeavour to infill into the Hindu society a spirit of activity and the consciousness of its own greatness has earned the respect of his countrymen. The volume under review

is a collection of twenty-two essays, by Dr. Shyamaprasad Mookerjee, Sir Mumtaz Nath Mookerjee, Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerjee, Dr. Ramesh Chandra Majumdar, etc., on the mission and achievement of the late revered Swami.

D. N. MOOKERJEE

**PRINTERS' GUIDE, Vol. II** By Narendra Nath De The Eastern Type Foundry and Oriental Printing Works Ltd., 18 Bandaban Byasak Street, Calcutta-5. Pp. 390. Price Rs. 6-10.

As the name indicates, this *Guide* deals with some of the important matters relating to printing. Paper, ink, engraving on wood and metal, colour-blocks—these constitute some of the chapters of the book. Printing machinery is also discussed in some others. Printing is considered an important industry. Those engaged in this industry should have a clear idea of it, and this book will be a true guide to them. It will also be useful to authors. The book is illustrated. We commend it to those interested in printing.

JOGESH C. BAGAL

HINDI

**BAPU KE PATRA MERA KE NAM (1921-48):** Translated from English by Ramnarayana Chaudhuri Navajivan Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad. Pp. 399. Price Rs. 4.

This is a sheaf of 386 letters out of 650, which Gandhiji wrote to Miraben (formerly Miss Slade) in the course of their twenty-three years of sacred relationship as a father-in-spirit and a daughter-in-spirit or as a torch-bearer of light and a seeker of light. And they reveal both of them in colours and context, which few people could ever think of, knowing Gandhiji as they do as a mass of strenuous public activities who had little or no time for adequate attention to the needs of the individual, and Miraben as a member of his *cutanage*. For not only do we see here a clear case of mutual spiritual kinship at first sight but also the preceptor's deeply personal and unendingly patient instruction of the disciple, fighting against the octopus-like claims of self and of soft and sparkling society into the ways of self-transcendence of and Truth of the Self. On the surface, it might appear that the letters deal often with ordinary matters, such as health, food, etc., but it is the "holily human" touch of their great-souled writer which gives them a worth and a value beyond compare and calculation.

**MAHADEVYABHAI KA PURVACHARIT:** By Narahari Parekh. Translated from Gujarati by Ramnarayana Chaudhuri Navajivan Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad. Pp. 92. Price 14 annas.

After the late Mahadeva Desai joined Gandhiji in 1917 he had reduced himself to a hero so that up till the time of his death in 1942, he was known only as Gandhiji's Secretary. His life prior to 1917 was a sealed book to a large majority of the people, particularly those who lived outside Gujarat. Therefore, his lifelong friend Shri Narahari Parekh, has done well to lift the curtain over this period. This will enable the reader of his biographical sketch to love Mahadevabhai all the more. For, the seeds of the latter's noble and winsome personality, undaunted courage, sterling character, true passion for literature, spirit of public service and of self-sacrifice were sown during the first half of his life and we see them sprouting in these pages. Only the sunlight of Gandhiji's soul quickened this sprouting to their consummation.

G. M.

## GUJARATI

(1) PRAKRITINAN IADAKVAYAN PAN-KHIS. By Vijay Gupta Maurya. Pp. 224. Price Re. 1-4.

(2) ZER UTARVANA TATKALIK UPAYO: By Dr. Shankarlal Kavi Pp. 96. Price 8 annas.

(3) DESHA ANE KAL: By Swami Madhav Tirtha. Pp. 410. Price Rs. 4.

All published by the Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature, Bombay and Ahmedabad. 1949. Thick card-board bound

The second book deals with centipede, snake, cobra and other poisons and the remedies to instantaneously cure those bitten by these reptiles. Those suffering from partaking of substances like *bhang*, *dhatuna*, nettles and like ones are also told how to cure themselves. The cure is rendered by means of Indian drugs and herbs. It is a good *valde mecum*. The first book is called Nature's Pets Birds. If we except these endeavours being made by the Editor of the *Prakriti* magazine Shriput Hari Narayan Acharya, this is the first notable book on Birds and Bird Life in Gujarati, authoritative, readable and full of information as to what are their ways and habits. About 125 birds are dealt with here and illustrative blocks are also printed so that one can recognise them. *Desha and Kal* is a new departure in the line of the Society's publication. Serious subjects like Prof. Einstein's Doctrine of Theory of Relativity are being handled for the first time and therefore the enterprise requires to be noted. It says that till one knows all co-ordinates, he will not be able to verify time or place. Hindu philosophy talks of the three states of waking, dreaming, and soporificism and in that way showed that recently what Einstein seeks

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# INDIAN PERIODICALS

## Africa

In the course of his article in the *Bulletin of the Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture*, based on his lecture, "Peoples and Cultures of West Africa," given at the Institute on May, 1954, Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji observes:

Africa has been called the 'Dark Continent.' Until recently it was dark and unknown to the peoples of Europe and Asia; but now, thanks to European curiosity and Arab and European urge for expansion and exploitation Africa with all her hidden corners finds herself in the full light of knowledge and familiarity. It was also called 'dark' as its people (except among the later Arab invaders and the Hamitic peoples in the North) are characterized by their colour—black, in various shades, from the rich deep to the brownish, each of which has its own beauty, not usually appreciated by others. And most Christian missionaries who went to bring light to the 'Dark Continent' thought that with his 'heathen' religions and his cruel practices the mind of the African was plunged in the darkness of ignorance and superstition that Christianity alone as these missionaries conceived it to be could dispel. The attitude of the propagators of Islam, whether Arabs or Berbers or converted Africans, was also similar.

### THE MYSTERY OF AFRICA

A change in our attitude towards Africa is now demanded by the new age. Africa in the first instance with her special flora and fauna has preserved some types in both the plant and animal worlds that are no longer found elsewhere and that originated on the soil of Africa; and this makes Africa, as a field where Nature has unveiled herself, a source of perennial interest and novelty. There are the strange African trees and plants—the baobab, the oil-palm, the cola nut, the gum plants, besides some geological survivals in her plant world. The African elephant and rhinoceros, the hippopotamus, the giraffe, the zebra, the okapi, the quagga, the gnu and other animals are there with the African lion, the great man-like apes, the gorilla, and the chimpanzee. Then there is the true African Man: his physical and mental character—black skin suffused with strength and vigour, simplicity and cheerfulness, and closeness to Nature—is something which makes him quite distinctive in the World of Man, and eminently likable and even lovable, to those who come to know him from close quarters.

The Negro, or the Black Man of Africa, is one of the three main types of humanity—the other two being the White or Caucasoid (including also the Brown) and the Yellow or the Mongoloid (including the Red Man of America, who forms just a branching off of the Yellow Man). And a black strain is supposed to have formed a potent leaven in the evolution of the White Man, too, during the dawn of man's advent on earth.

In our country, as anthropologists have found, the African Negroid came in pre-historic times, and settled over a great part of the country. They were later either absorbed by other races who followed them, or were exterminated, or in some cases they were supposed to have survived to our day in small tribes—in South India, and in the Andaman Islands. Belonging as they did to the cultic and food-gathering stage, they did not have any civilization which could survive. But it is believed that some of their religious notions and practices may be found as a substratum in the cults and religious ideas of the subsequent peoples who established themselves in India and had contacts with these Negroids from Africa who preceded them in the country.

### AFRICA AND THE WORLD

*Ex Africa semper aliquid novi* 'always something new from Africa'—as the Romans said in wonder 2,000 years ago, when, along with the other peoples of classical antiquity, they were attracted by the greatness and the vastness, the antiquity and the primitive quality and the strangeness of Africa. Egypt was a part of Africa and to the south of Egypt lay Nubia and the Black Hinterland as yet unknown to the Europeans and to Asian peoples of antiquity, although the Carthaginian Hanno explored the West African coasts along the Atlantic down to Guinea about 600 B.C. and although it is said that Phoenician explorers sent by the Egyptian Pharaoh Necho circumnavigated the whole of the African continent from the Red Sea and the eastern coast returning to Egypt by way of the Strait of Gibraltar and North Africa, in the 7th century B.C.

Africa and her Negro people have been more exploited by Europeans and some Asians than any other area and people in the world. Yet through this very exploitation (and it was generally a ruthless exploitation, which has shown the White Man both European and West Asian, to be far more of a savage than the Black Man himself) Africa has been enabled to serve humanity in some indirect ways: through her physical labour, as slaves taken over to the New World and elsewhere, in promoting the wealth of other lands; through her art in bringing new elements to the music and dance in their international setting in the present day; and latterly, by direct contact to the arts of sculpture and painting and even to literature of the modern world; and through the innate simplicity and often a charming primitive quality of her life, not cut off from a contact with the hidden world which is behind life and from an abandon of faith in a Godhead that can be vaguely or intensely sensed.

### SUBMERGED TALENTS

The black people of Africa have so far been denied the opportunity to discover themselves and to rise to their fullest height. Africa's influence, in spite of everything, has been so far mainly through her enslaved population in America. Yet in her art—

specially in the remarkable traditions of her sculpture associated with her primitive animistic faith—sculpture in wood, in ivory, in stone, and in bronze, and modelling in earth, which had such an astonishing development among the true African peoples in the heart of the continent, and in her pre-historic paintings in rocks and caves, both in the North and in the South; and also in her simple mud architecture that has evinced quite a noble style and a beauty of line presenting a new thing in the world even at the present day—an architecture that she has developed during recent centuries in the Niger Basin of the continent—she is beginning to appreciate her potentiality.

The African has been the neglected and ill-treated child of the human family. There are still some who want to keep him segregated in his slavery and his poverty and his ignorance, so that they might exploit him like a beast of burden and yet try to have an easy conscience. The harmony and mutual co-operation in African domestic and communal life (with the industry, loyalty, and simple old world grace of the African woman forming the basis of this domestic life) have also not been understood; and disagreement with other standards and *milieu* of life has been responsible for a wholesale condemnation of African life (and religion also) as being among the 'beastly devices of the heathen.'

In Africa, it is true that there used to be human sacrifice among certain tribes as part of their religious cult. But this was not peculiar to Africa alone—most civilized peoples of the world, some time or other, including the ancestors of the present-day Europeans, practised human sacrifice. But the human sacrifice demanded by a primitive cult among a backward people was far less heinous than the human sacrifice in the name of religion that civilized and Christian Europe used to indulge in, e.g., the Roman Catholic Inquisition with its *autos da fe*, or 'acts of faith,' and witch-burnings in most Christian lands of medieval and early modern Europe, by which thousands of people, whose only offence was that they did not subscribe to the dogmas of a particular church, or were superstitiously accused of a knowledge and practice of black magic and doing harm to people with that, were burnt alive in slow fires, throughout some of the most enlightened centuries in the history of mankind. Those who condemned Africa outright for her alleged barbarities and savageries, in religion and in life, were like the man of whom Christ spoke as being too conscious of the mote in his brother's eye while forgetting the beam in his own.

But the Time Spirit is at last working, and one of the most significant things in the history of man at the present age is that the African man is also rousing himself from the sleep and stupor of ages, and is realizing that he also must take his proper place in the comity of races and peoples. He has taken his lesson from his contact with the peoples of the West, among whom, it must be said for the sake of truth and with due gratefulness, the African man found some of his truest friends and well-wishers, although the rank and file went to rob and exploit him and vilify him. Freed from the restraints imposed upon him by centuries of oppression, exploitation, and misunderstanding the African man will finally be in a position to contribute to the enrichment of human achievement, and he will be able to do something for bringing, according to the gifts with which Nature has endowed him happiness and joy to mankind. No one knows what Nature, or Destiny, or God, has in store for us. Who in civilized Greece or Rome of 2,500 or 2,000 years ago would have

thought about or could have believed in the future possibilities of the skin-clad and wood-coated barbarians of Central and Northern Europe, who offered human sacrifices to their gods, as the enlightened Germanic, Celtic, and Slav peoples of today, who are giving the lead to present-day civilization?

#### RESTORATION OF SELF-RESPECT

The Symphony through a Harmony of Contrasts in human civilization will not be complete before the African man can come and join it. Thus Symphony has remained incomplete in many ways, through numerous peoples of promise and even of remarkable achievement not being able to give of their best to the variety and richness of human civilization. Thus, we have the various peoples of the two Americas, some of whom were almost at par with the civilized peoples of antiquity in the Old World,—for example, the various Nahuatl peoples of Mexico (Toltecs, Aztecs, and others), the Mixtecs and the Zapotecs, the Otomis and others of Mexico, and the Mayas of Mexico and Guatemala; the Chibchas of Colombia; and the Quechuas and Aymaras of the Andean regions in South America; besides the Polynesians—to mention two groups of peoples, in the New World and in Oceania, who were 'heirs of an unfulfilled renown'. Their mental qualities, if allowed to have full development, would have supplied some new facets to human civilization as a whole. Most of these peoples are now either extinct or have become effete, or have lost their characteristics through miscegenation. But the African still survives, and he is very much alive; and if he is to make his own special contribution to this Symphony of Cultures, he must have a restored sense of self-respect, of faith in himself, and in his past achievements; and his past achievements have not been of a mean order.



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Before our mind's eye passes the panorama of the empires that the African man had built, with civilization of a type that was quite in consonance with the economic and cultural surroundings: the empire of Ghana beside the Senegal and Niger rivers; the Mandingo or Mali empire which succeeded that of Ghana; the Songhai, Mossi, and other kingdoms in the Niger countries; the ancient pre-Christian and pre-Muslim culture of Western Africa that found expression in the astonishing art products of this area; the empire of the Mali in the 14th and 15th centuries—the high culture they built, and the literature in Arabic they produced in the Muslim States of the Niger valley; old African towns like Ghana, Jenne Timbuctoo, Gao, Kano, and the various cities of West Coast, Benin, and the rest; the achievements of the early Bantu peoples of Eastern Africa, the empires (like the Monomotapa empire of the 17th century, and the earlier States) they built and the wonderful old cities like Zimbabwe they constructed, the ruins of which still excite our wonder; and above all, the great art of the West African and of the Bantu peoples, an art in which bronze-casting in a realistic way rivals the best work produced by ancient Greece and Renaissance Italy, apart from the symbolic art of African wood sculpture and masks that was connected with the native African religion.

There is also the African dance, and African music—the drums, the xylophone, and the harp, and the human voice. All these are true heritages for the

African, and there ought to be a revival of a proper sense of values about them; and then alone can the African strive to continue being himself and at the same time achieve greatness before his fellow human beings. The glory of a simple and happy existence with song and dance, which surrounds like a radiant halo the unbounded energy and industry of the African, should also be made to live and to suffuse with light African life as one of its priceless heritages. In this way only can Africa be of service not only to herself, but also to humanity at large.

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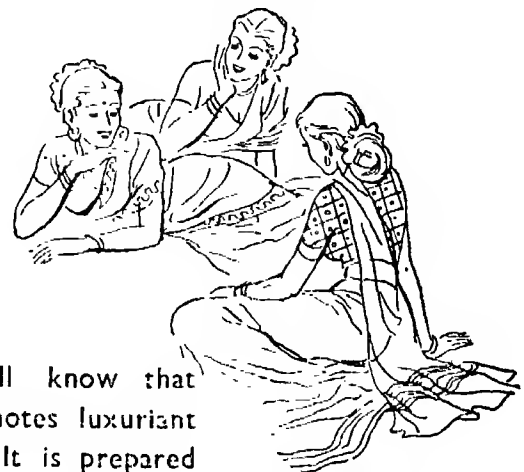
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### Santa Fe, New Mexico

Dr. Alma S. Wittlin, a European museum worker and a writer on the educational possibilities of museums, was invited to the U.S.A. by the American Museum of Natural History, New York, to study the educational work of museums in the Eastern and Mid-Western States. She writes in *The Aryan Path* :

Travelling to Santa Fe from Los Angeles in the West, or from New York in the East, one has to remind oneself that one is not required to carry a passport or to think of the tedious business of visa and customs: the city of the Holy Faith is a part of the United States. Even people in Chicago or elsewhere in the American Midwest or East tend to forget this fact sometimes, a quaint fact indeed, for the State of New Mexico and its capital, Santa Fe, are a world in themselves.

A good way of getting acquainted with Santa Fe is to seat oneself on a bench in the main square, the *Plaza*, eyes shut and ears exposed to the local sounds. They come, English words in a variety of accents, Spanish words and syllables, alien in rhythm and meaning. Santa Fe to a considerable extent lives on the tourist trade but the multiplicity of languages is a characteristic trait; in it reverberates the adventurous past. It is considered the most ancient city in the U.S.A. save one. Founded about 1605 the city now boasts a population of about 30,000 but has no railway station. The grandiose mountains which frame the spot required that the railway line should run through Lamy, some 18 miles to the South of Santa Fe. The atmosphere of Santa Fe seems to be a maze of historical reminiscences, artistic whims and sound, up-to-date Americanism, and its citizens do not appear to have ever reached a final conclusion as to the merits or demerits of its geographical situation.

Many New Mexicans preserve in their language the memory of the *Conquistadores*, the soldiers and priests of Don Quixote's Spain who succeeded in pushing the northern frontier of their Mexican colony into the area known even then as New Mexico. The well-groomed, darkhaired office girls of Santa Fe, and the young mothers who bask their babies in the sun, use Spanish words and have a pitch of voice that has long been forgotten in Spain. They hold the legacy of the men who, three to four centuries ago had ventured out to conquer the legendary Seven Cities with their treasure of gold and silver, but who had to be content with the seeming conquest of the souls of the native Red Indians a people who submitted to outward religious conversion without ever allowing their own spiritual convictions to be touched or altered by the white invaders.

Even now the Indian child of the American Southwest does not speak English until he reached school age. The settled Indian farmers in their villages, which are called *pueblos*, and the migrating shepherds have remained faithful to the languages of their ancestors, who are believed to have crossed over to America from Siberia some 30,000 years ago, *via* the ice or sand of the Bering Straits, a mere 36 miles. These American Indians speak so many different languages that sometimes they have to resort to English or Spanish to communicate among themselves with members of other tribes. All like to be recognized as

the "oldest Americans" and all take pride in a solemn deportment and great courtesy when dealing with "Europeans" as some call Americans with white-coloured skin.

The observer in Santa Fe, though he may register the world of sounds around him and notice the variety of spoken words, is bound as well to note the absence of much noise, the relative stillness that reigns in the American city. The rush, the haste, the tense anxieties of modern urban life, are unknown in the atmosphere of Southern relaxation of thin air, 7,000 feet above sea level. Opening the eyes will confirm what has been heard: there is a legacy of Seville and Granada in the narrow, winding streets, the walled gardens, the *patios*, the fountains, the window grilles, the heavy, carved doors. There are blanketed Indians, statuesque men with long, black, braided hair and women in *sari*-like draperies; there are the sons of the cowboys, those all-important characters of the Yankee conquest of the West.

The "Cowboys" of Santa Fe are not always genuine ones. In fact, many of the figures in tight, navyblue cotton trousers, the all-too-popular "jeans" and with large-brimmed hats, are young women! To be complete, the costume calls also for a pair of riding-boots of a special kind, with high, slanted heels and embroidered tops. The original cowboy, who watered his horse from his enormous hat, had his great time when the "Anglos" at last got access to New Mexico. In 1821 Mexico gained independence from Spain and the Mexican Governor who superseded the Spanish one in the Palace at Santa Fe relaxed the old rules which had tied New Mexico to Mexico and had shut it off from the United States. A trade trail was opened, the Santa Fe Trail, which soon became famous. With wagons piled high with modern industrial luxuries, cloth, furniture, rugs, etc., the efficient men of the Eastern States streamed west. Their guards on the long, perilous journey, amongst wild Indians and on uncharted trails, were the cowboys, an *elite* of *bravos*. At the end of the trail waited the buyers, aristocratic *Senoras* in black veils, Mexican civil servants and officers, and the timeless Indians. When the trading was over, drinking and dancing began, until the Easterners were ready to travel home again. On their trip east they drove before them huge herds of cattle and sheep. To this day, New Mexico's barren foothills are a homeland of sheep.

There is not a single skyscraper in Santa Fe, no subway and no speedway, but the city owns probably the oldest public building in the United States, the Governor's Palace. When the *adobe*, the local clay, was shaped into these stout low walls, the city of Washington, D.C., was still undreamed of. From the early 17th century for about 200 years the Spanish, Mexican and American Governors of New Mexico occupied this building, except for an interregnum of about 14 years after the Pueblo Indian revolt in 1680. In 1821 came the Mexican governors of the republic and in 1846, soon after the outbreak of the war between Mexico and the U.S.A., representatives of the United States occupied Santa Fe. At present the Governor exercises his office in a new Capitol building and the old Governor's Palace now houses the New Mexico Museum of Archaeology, a collection of archaeological and ethnological specimens of Indians and colonial Spanish origin, the Historical Society of New Mexico and the School of American Archaeology.

For several centuries, the colonnade in front of the Governor's Palace has been a landmark in Santa Fe. At present it is the charming background of a mart of American Indian arts and crafts, especially so during the annual *Fiesta* early in September when the native Americans from the neighbouring villages display under the arches their fine, artistic, handmade wares, their delightful slant-eyed babies and such household goods as families may need for camping out for three days and nights. In the past, this colonnade was the scene of many a remembered or forgotten tragedy and comedy. Spanish grandees and their ladies in 17th-century brocades have stepped from their coaches to this sidewalk; white and red-skinned rebels have been hanged under these arches; singing and shooting echoed from these walls whenever the government changed hands.

The past looms large in Santa Fe at all seasons, but especially when the three-day *Fiesta* is celebrated. Then a pageant which illustrates the last conquest of New Mexico by the Spanish, largely by moral suasion in the year 1692, is held. A member of one of the old Spanish families enacts the part of Captain Diego De Vargas and proclaims Spanish sovereignty over the city and the Palace. Clad in silk and velvet, with guns and lances, the captain and his men look picturesque on their horses and are loudly cheered by a motley crowd of enthusiastic subjects. Local citizens: Spanish American, Anglo American, and American Indians, and tourists from all parts of the United States, join in the spectacle. On the eve of the carnival a huge figure, "Mr. Gloom," is burnt and joy, in the form of dances and processions, is expressed. The Indians perform their ancient, symbolic prayer ritual; children in Spanish and Mexican garb revive memories of old rhythms and courtesies; ladies of Spanish descent don their grandmothers' gowns of brittle silk and drink thick chocolate. A solemn service in the Roman Catholic cathedral, in the presence of the Archbishop, marks the end of the festivities.

It is to the credit of the artists and archaeologists of Santa Fe that some 25 years ago they saved the *Fiesta* from the oblivion into which it had sunk. They are also the guardians of the good quality of the local Indian arts and crafts which are exhibited and sold on the occasion: the pottery, textiles, silverwork and beading. The American Indians are born artists, and here they badly need an additional source of income. The drought of the region is a constant peril to the farmer, especially as the birth rate is increasing among the Indians.

"Land of Enchantment" is a name of New Mexico, and it is not undeserved. The longer one stays there the more strongly one feels gripped by the virginal beauty of the snow-covered peaks under the deep blue sky, the rocky hills flecked with small pine trees, the weird forms of stone and soil carved out by erosion, the desert in all hues of red and yellow, and the appreciable harmony in which three different cultural groups, the Indian, the Spanish and the Anglo-American, have gradually learned to live together.

What matters it whether Los Alamos, with all its miracles of modern science, is far or near? Santa Feans refer to it casually as "on the hill."

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# FOREIGN PERIODICALS

## International Understanding and Tensions

Until quite recently international relations remained almost exclusively the field of historians, jurists, diplomats and economists. Only rarely did sociologists, psychologists and ethnologists concern themselves with analysing and removing international tensions. Although the social sciences are still quite unable to furnish any specific remedy which would end wars, they can nevertheless contribute to revealing some of the causes of war.

Since 1917 Unesco has dealt from various points of view with the problem of tensions which affect understanding between groups, both at the international and national levels. The first stage was to obtain a body of knowledge on the genesis of tensions and on the factors which influence their development. Researches were undertaken at the request of some States—India, Israel, Japan—into certain internal tensions. There is at present in course a general review and evaluation of the work carried out since 1916.

While intending to continue enquiries on internal tensions in the States which request them, Unesco is now placing the emphasis much more directly on positive aspects of international understanding. In 1954 an enquiry was launched to determine to what extent different cultures possess built-in devices (legal, religious, economic and social) which place a premium on and encourage solutions of conflicts by resort to mediation and other techniques for settling or avoiding conflicts. Based on the results of this enquiry, Unesco in 1955-56 will carry on its investigations in the areas of mediation one stage further through a series of case studies of successful and unsuccessful instances of mediation and conciliation, and representing a variety of suggested pro-

cedures, including those Gandhi. In each situation the reasons for success or failure will be sought. Examples will come from several countries representing different economic, legal, religious and social systems. In addition to purely internal conflicts, an analysis will be made of mediation in the development of international law since the end of the 19th Century, as well as of international mediation conducted by the League of Nations.

The substantial research work carried out in 1953-54 on the international comparability of investigations of public opinion will be followed by ascertaining through sample polls in a number of countries the public's attitudes towards major international issues, and particularly of the changes such attitudes are undergoing, under the influence of mass media and other sociological factors. In that context the attitude towards Unesco and various problems on Unesco's and the United Nations agenda will also be studied. In order to help to explain the needs of opinion certain intensive studies will be made of the role of mass media.

In 1955 Unesco will arrange to promote further and to co-ordinate internationally the work carried out by social scientists on the more objective identification of national characteristics and ways of life aiming to reduce the considerable misinformation which exists about other nations. Based on this work in 1956 Unesco will proceed to offer to supplement existing practical guides for experts on missions, organizers of seminars, courses for prospective immigrants, etc., giving an objective and comprehensive picture of the life of the countries concerned.—Unesco.



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### The Importance of Feeling Important

Edward Podolsky writes in *Unity*, September, 1954 :

One of our most significant personality attributes is the will. By exercising the will, the individual rises above his animal status into the realm of freedom, independence, and dignity. All sentient beings are always striving for some goal. The striving for importance is a normal and wholly natural process.

All of us at one time or another undergo a process of self-idealization: self-idealization, of necessity, entails self-glorification, and by means of self-glorification some of us achieve a sense of importance. This is the least socially acceptable means of attaining importance. Importance is far more than self-glorification or self-realization. It is not a selfish process. It calls for a wholesome and outgoing relatedness to others.

For most of us, striving for importance also means striving for happiness. For many, feeling important is identical with happiness. Importance has many meanings for many people. For some the striving for importance means the attaining of physical perfection; for others it means the achievement of intellectual maturity. For still others, being important signifies abundant economic security which in their case implies abundant possessions, a great deal of money and all the prestige that money can buy.

For too many, being important means power. Power is the ruling passion in the lives of quite a few people. Power also has many meanings for many people. Some gain spiritual power in religious activity. Others acquire a strong faith in something which make them relatively invulnerable (a political, economic, or literary movement). Still others gain power by acquiring great wealth or by rising to positions of great influence. The exercise of power for purposes of ego inflation does not result in a feeling of importance that brings true inner satisfaction.

A child feels important even without help from the outside. His real might is deplorably small but he overcomes his limitations with his strong imagination. Some people attain a feeling of importance only in their dreams and daydreams. They are emotionally rather stunted and seldom become active in the pursuit of real power. The man of benevolent action takes his dreams of power and makes them into useful realities. Others merely dream of power and can never do anything to make them a living and purposeful reality. Dreams of power and importance are not all ways identical.

It is quite natural that being important is interpreted differently by different people. For some, being important means belonging to a certain group, class, creed, or country. For many women it means being

a married woman, a wife, a mother, which is the attaining of a definite social status. For young girls it means having many friends, particularly boy friends, which is indicative of popularity. For a small storekeeper it may mean possessing the largest store in town with all the prestige that goes with it. For a rabid golfer it means a consistently good score; for a baseball player, getting the most home runs.

The nature of our striving for importance that is socially useful depends upon the intensity of our co-feeling with others. Co-feeling is a term invented by Dr. Alfred Adler, the founder of individual psychology. By co-feeling he meant a feeling of community or co-operation. Co-feeling and the striving for importance are not necessarily equal in drive. In many people the striving for importance is weaker than their co-feeling. In others, both factors are strong. These are the people who most earnestly try to be socially useful. In still others, both factors are weak. At any rate, our true importance depends just as much on the intensity of our co-feeling as on the intensity of our striving.

The greater the individual's co-feeling, the greater is the sociality of his striving and the greater is the satisfaction he will derive from it. Altruism is a potent factor in striving for importance. Importance must be attained in the eyes of others and not merely in ourselves for any real meaning of the term. Co-feeling automatically makes the striving for importance a positive factor, bringing satisfaction to oneself as well as to others.

Normal individuals, when they are discouraged, will stop striving for themselves alone, and will strive only with others. Striving for importance for oneself does not mean belittling others. We do not attain importance by debasing others. All human beings are important; all human lives are significant.

The striving for importance calls for reaching out for greater knowledge, profounder wisdom, real values. By means of these the individual makes the fullest use of his powers, enlarges upon them, and increases his usefulness in society.

By striving for importance one naturally is called upon to develop his given potentialities. This gives rise to the inherent urge to grow, to increase in usefulness and dignity as an individual. All normal people have the capacity as well as the will to develop their potentialities and thus attain real importance.

In most cases attaining a sense of importance means also the attaining of security. Security means the fulfillment of a person's wishes for prestige, that is, the acceptance by and the respect of society as well as the achievement of self-respect. Security also means a person's being able successfully to use his powers, skills, and abilities for interpersonal goals within the range of his interests.

Attaining a sense of importance also means self-realization. By self-realization is meant a person's use



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of his talents, skills, and powers to his own satisfaction within the realm of his own freely established realistic sense of values. It also means the ability to reach out for and to find fulfillment of his needs for satisfaction and security as they can be attained without interfering with the law or needs of his fellow men.

When a person has attained a sense of importance he has also gained a reinforced sense of reality, a development of a feeling of responsibility, and a substitution for a latent hatred of a feeling of mutual good will. All of this can be gained by the conscious evolution of a feeling for the commonwealth and the conscious destruction of the will to dominate others.

In closing, we may state the importance of feeling important as follows: (1) Our satisfaction and happi-

ness depend to a great extent upon our importance. We attain importance not in ourselves, but only in the eyes of others. Essentially, this implies co-operative living with others. (2) Our importance depends upon what we mean or signify to others. They will admit, approve or admire only such importance as is beneficial to them. They will not admit or will disapprove and despise any importance which is indifferent or harmful to them. (3) Being important also implies logical living. Logical living means living in accordance with the requirements of our own human nature and those of others. If we need importance and if attaining importance means getting it through attitudes and actions beneficial to others, then it is the only way we must live.



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### The Shackles of Family Affection

Ethel S. Beer writes in the same issue of *Unity* :

When silver-haired Mrs. Foster married somewhat late in life, everybody said she deserved it. Apparently they considered it her reward for being a devoted daughter.

"Of course, I couldn't marry while mother was alive," Mrs. Foster explained. "She opposed every man I went with. Not that she would admit it. On the contrary she bemoaned the fact that her only daughter was single."

Mrs. Foster was just one of those individual, young and old, serving their family year after year, often to the point of sacrifice or of limiting their development. Usually such behaviour is accepted as a matter of course by society. Yet family attachment does not always deserve the aura that surrounds it today.

To be sure, family life is important in our civilization. Children expand and thrive best in the family. Old people gain protection from want and loneliness because of the family. The tenacity of the family merits praise. Even though disintegration occurs again and again, the family rightly remains the ideal. In spite of legal splits and a lack of understanding family feeling often lasts. And this force does a great deal to shape human beings. Relatives wield influence, both good and bad, over one another. Valuable as family affection is it creates shackles. By no means does the family always provide fertile ground for independent thought and action so essential to bring out each person's potentiality. The difficulty is that today's habits demand a less restrictive attitude in regard to the family. Frustration never stimulates the best in mankind. In keeping with the times, flexibility must replace the present family yoke. For only when the members of the family are unhampereed themselves can they contribute to the larger struggle for freedom in this world.

The emotional tie between individuals in the same family is stronger than is generally realized. Even ill treatment does not always kill the bond between parents and children. Pretty and sensitive Betty always claimed

that her father was dead. Actually he had deserted, leaving her mother to support herself and three children, one of whom subsequently died. Yet years later when he returned—a broken old man—Betty gave him the finest care, including private treatment in a hospital, where he died.

"I felt I owed it to him," Betty stated warmly. "After all he was my father. It was worth it, too, to watch him" she added, "I don't believe he'd ever enjoyed anything as much as that clean room and bed. And he fairly lapped up the attention of the doctors and nurses."

Far from harboring a grudge against this father, who had caused her so much suffering in childhood, Betty felt a definite responsibility for him.

Both young and old spare a keen sense of duty for relatives even those outside the immediate family circle. Rosy-checked Mrs. Jensen, a widow in her sixties has nobody close needing her attention. Her only child, a daughter, is far away. She has no grand-children. Probably this is why she feels such a definite obligation for her grandnephew, a lively boy of two, whom she has cared for since infancy.

"I'm not going to let just anybody look after my nephew," she insists firmly. "And my niece won't stop working although her husband earns plenty. I know her."

So Mrs. Jensen wears herself out attending to this small boy in order to protect him from strangers. But she forgets that she is also helping to deprive him of the due of every child, the intimate sharing of day-by-day doings with the mother, by making it easy for her niece to shirk this responsibility.

Of course, too much mothering, "smothering" as it is aptly called, can make children overly dependent. "Mama's boys" were real menaces in the army because they could not adjust. The same holds true in civilian life. Before the death of Mrs. Benton's mother, with whom she made her home after her parents' divorce, she had a certain amount of emotional security.

"Afterwards I was all broken up," she relates, which is understandable in view of the close relationship between the two.

Now Mrs. Benton, still pretty in her thirties, clings

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to her father, for whom she always had a certain fondness in spite of their separation since her early years. And she cannot extricate herself from this connection, although he does not give her the satisfaction her mother did. Nor does he help her regularly financially, which as a divorcee with a little daughter to support almost entirely, she needs badly. Certainly Mrs. Benton adores her child. Only this protective role is not enough. She seeks somebody to rely on. The solution may be a second marriage, which Mrs. Benton is contemplating at present. However, she may be too involved emotionally with her parents, as some children are, for such a step to work.

Generally speaking, every child wants the approval of their parents as long as they live. But this attitude can go too far. Tommy, a husky young man in his thirties, dares not tell his mother about his intended marriage because he fears she will disapprove. Yet his solicitude for her has no foundation in intimacy during childhood. Tommy was brought up by nurses and governesses. Maybe this is the root of the difficulty. Tommy submits to his mother out of sentimentality and therefore cannot treat her honestly. Probably this reaction has delayed marriage for him so far. Tommy is dominated by the wish to please his mother much more than he should be at his age. Such adults do not always make successful partners in marriage, or they may never marry at all.

Some children are so wrapped up in their parents that they do not crave a life of their own. Cynthia—a tall blond with a large mouth—considered her mother, whom she had nick-named "Jeanie," her best friend. And the two usually had their social dates together. In her last years "Jeanie" was an invalid, demanding a great deal of attention from Cynthia, which she gave willingly.

"Isn't her devotion beautiful?" a mutual friend asked me one day. I smiled, thinking what it had done to Cynthia. From a promising young girl she had become a painfully self-conscious, middle-aged woman, trying to be coy with men. What initiative had she left to rebuild her existence along more wholesome lines after the death of her "Jeanie"?

The power that parents have over their children is astounding. Bright-eyed Magda had ambition for practically everything but marriage. Yet her mother, whom she worshipped, could see nothing else.

"She's not strong. I worry about what will happen to her after I'm gone," the mother told everybody.

In reality Magda was absolutely capable of earning her living and constitutionally unfit for marriage. But she finally succumbed, believing that her mother knew best. Then followed several years of wedded

misery from which Magda finally escaped by leaving her husband. Afterwards she had a hard pull resisting her mother, who wanted her to return to him. This time Magda won out. Years have passed since then. However, mother and daughter still are very close in spite of this bad experience.

Naturally the older generation sometimes are the victims of the family, too. Mrs. Brodsky, with her tired brown eyes, worked like a slave to support herself and her two sons.

"I'd rather wear my knees to the bone than accept charity," she announced after her husband's death. And that was more or less what she did, scrubbing for a livelihood. As the years progressed the struggle became increasingly hard. Mrs. Brodsky developed high blood pressure. One son had a mental upset in adolescence. The other had high ambitions and continued to study, while his mother toiled on. He was her pride and joy.

"You'll see, my Maxie, he'll be a swell doctor," she boasted. Ironically enough Max entered the medical profession at the expense of his mother's health. Yet she was content because he had accomplished his desire and raised the prestige of the family.

Often relatives make it hard to break the family pattern. Parents can mar their children's future not encouraging them to live within their means. Far-bred Hilda was married in high hopes in her early twenties. Soon a stocky youth not much older was a salesman in a shoe store. In due time he joined the army and Hilda returned to her parents, who took her back all too willingly.

"They're lonesome since all their children left. Besides it saves money," Hilda explained.

So Hilda and her baby occupied the room that she had had before marriage in her parents' luxurious apartment. All was very easy for Hilda. The tragedy was that when Sam was discharged from the army, she refused to go back to the simple household that he could afford. So the two were divorced. Today Hilda is a disillusioned bitter woman making her home with her widowed mother and grabbing a date with any man. On the contrary, Sam has remarried: a sensible girl, willing to live on a plane he can support.

The interference of parents may discourage young couples from following their own ideas about their children, especially if these are different from the way they were brought up. Nancy, with the flower-like face, had always meant to take care of her own children although she and Bill, her husband, had had nurses and governesses. But when the first baby came, she had a hard time and arrived home in a frail condition.



Immediately her mother stepped in and installed a nurse, saying it was a temporary measure, although she meant it to be permanent.

"Nancy's always been delicate," she told Bill, and when he remonstrated about the expense offered to pay for the nurse.

Since neither Bill nor Nancy wanted to hurt her feelings the arrangement materialized. And as the family grew, Nurse became more and more a fixture. Thus both children and parents missed the close companionship that would have meant so much to all of them. Were these parents weak? Yes, to some extent. However, had there not been family pressure they might have worked things out better.

Even older people find it difficult to go against realities dear to them. Mrs. Green, a widow no longer young, prefers living in another district, where she has more congenial friends. But her brother insists that she remain in her present neighborhood, because it is acceptable to his social set, although his sister mingles little with them. So, stupid as it may seem, Mrs. Green acquiesces.

Standards acquired in childhood are not shed easily. Somehow to do this seems like disloyalty to the family. Privilege in education is taken for granted in certain groups. Therefore, the children go to private school, if it can be afforded. Tom and Lisa had other ideas. Hence they moved to a community, where the public schools were notably good. Unfortunately they did not stay there long enough. By the time the children reached school age, the family had settled in a large city. Then and there the plans for a public school education for the youngsters vanished.

"How could they learn in such crowded classrooms?" rationalized Lisa. Yet her children had much more opportunity to supplement their knowledge at home in their excellent environment than many public school pupils. Democratic as Tom and Lisa were in other ways, they could not break the family pattern in education. Therefore, their children went to private school, just as the parents had.

Because solidarity exists in some families, any member can hurt another. Bertha's sister-in-law wanted her niece to have advantages according to her lights, which the parents could not afford. Her harping on these and her generous offer to pay for them, made Bertha distrust her own sense of values. Was she depriving her child, whom she adored? Perhaps her sister-in-law was right since she was the elder. To resolve such dilemmas when emotion is involved is never easy.

Quite evidently the shackles of family affection penetrate our lives deeply. To be fond of relatives is natural. The danger lies in abnormally close attachment and feelings which blur our judgments. As is well-known, the traditional family is changing rapidly. In some cases deterioration exists, but by no means in all. Even the increase of divorce, so publicized today, may be a better solution than unhappily couples sticking together. Taking it from the woman's angle, her self-reliance now makes her less likely to endure the miseries she did in the past. As for single young men and women founding their own homes, this practice should prepare them better for marriage. In the last analysis, dwelling under the same roof does not always mean intimacy.

More and more the democratic family, in which all receive due consideration, is spoken about at present.

Perhaps the shackles of family affection are an overlapping of the past, which will vanish if we honestly face the problem. Family devotion should benefit individuals, not force them into ways uncongenial to them. Give and take is essential in family relations. Even children are not always wrong, although many parents think they are. True affection in a family allows each member independence. Nevertheless they find joy in sharing experiences. The family can and should enrich our lives. The world will be a better place when families are joined together by bonds of real love.

## Two Personalities of France

Jacques Grellet, Consul General for France in India, has informed us of the death of these two famous persons of France :

EDOUARD LE ROY

The great French philosopher, Edouard Le Roy died recently in Paris.

Born in 1870, he belonged to the same generation of French philosophers as Bergson, Henri Poincaré, Durkheim, Lévy-Bruhl, whose friend he was. Like Bergson, he had a solid scientific formation and had even been, at first, professor of mathematics. But he did not content himself with teaching science, attracted to metaphysics, he, like Henri Poincaré turned his attention to the problem of Science and his scientific formation enabled him to consider with full knowledge the problem of the relation between Science and Religion. A fervent Catholic, he adopted in his work "Dogma and Criticism" a position very near that of the "modernists." Striving to conciliate religion and the discoveries of modern biology, a position which was adopted 30 years later by such biologist-philosophers as Alexis Carrel, (author of *Man the Unknown*) and Le Comte du Nouy (author of *Human Destiny*), he became such an authority on philosophy in the Collège de France, the highest University institution of France and perhaps of the world.

JACQUES FATH

Jacques Fath, well-known dress-maker, creator of some of the finest clothes worn by the most elegant women of Europe and America, recently died in Paris at the age of 42.

Since the Middle Ages, arts and crafts have given to France its reputation for taste and elegance. The "Parisienne" is noted all over the world for her style and "chic." This is the result of basic qualities in the French people, of very ancient traditions of careful workmanship and perhaps even more of close co-operation between the designers and workers (the famous "moulinettes").

The great Paris dressmakers are famous not only for the richness of the material they use, but even more for the art of their designers. Each of the collections, which are presented to the world at each season, represents the result of long work in creating and executing dresses which are famous for their finish.

Jacques Fath, with his friend and competitor, Christian Dior is one of those who succeeded in putting within the means of every woman models of the "Haute Couture" by creating alongside the sumptuous dresses which only the richest women can wear, less expensive models which, nevertheless, bear the mark of Parisian good taste and elegance.



Sri Jawaharlal Nehru at the Penang Airport, is welcomed by the members of the Reception Committee



C. D. Deshmukh (right), Union Finance Minister, and Mrs. Deshmukh were entertained in the United States by the India League of America at a luncheon at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel



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# THE MODERN REVIEW

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## NOTES

### *New Year Honours*

The New Year has begun running on its course, and with it came a shower of decorations, reminiscent of the days of the beknighted plutocrats and *jo hukum* "Bahadurs." We hope both the donors and the recipients are well-contented. We have no remarks to make beyond relating two stories, one from the inimitable pen of "Saki" and other from an episode that became a legend about the beginning of this century.

The caption of the story by "Saki" is "Cousin Teresa." It relates the tale of two half-brothers, both sons of an aristocrat, Colonel Harrowcluff.

The elder is shown as a typical specimen of the "gilded popinjay" of the idle-rich, that used to infest the lounges and green-rooms of the theatres and music-halls of London at the turn of the century. He was always busy doing nothing and was subject to sudden enthusiasms about epoch-making vaudeville hits. In one of those impulses he composed a ditty about an imaginary fair cousin and her four favourite hounds. It ran, as far as we remember, thus:

"Cousin Teresa, takes out Caesar

Fido, Jock and the big borzoi."

Having composed it, he conceived the idea of developing it into a music-hall turn with the aid of a vaudeville star by the name of Hermanova. And with his usual enthusiasm for such noble causes, he went into action.

About the same time, that is towards the end of the year, the younger half-brother returned after four years of Empire-building—that fruity legend of British fiction. He had achieved a lot and had reported on it to the colonial office. The reactions there were supposed to be favourable and the father, Colonel Harrowcluff, was hopeful about seeing his worthy son's name in the New Year's honours list.

But the unexpected happened. "Cousin Teresa" became a success and was the rage. Nights were made horrible, and days little less so, by all and sundry, ranging from the butcher's boy to the children of belted earls, howling out the refrain of "Cousin Teresa."

Naturally when the honour's list was being drawn up the Prime Minister ordered his private secretary to put down the name of Harrowcluff for a Knighthood. When the secretary enquired as to which of the two brothers was meant, the puzzled Prime Minister asked if there was another brother. On the Empire-builder's name and labours being enumerated the Prime Minister dismissed all that in short order and reiterated that he meant the composer of "Cousin Teresa." He further directed that the letter L within a bracket be appended after the name. The much bemused secretary discovered later on that (L) meant "awarded for literary prowess"

The second story, which is reputably true, is about a famous pundit of Benares, whose profound erudition and austere devotion to learning became far-famed towards the end of the last century. He was likewise the brightest luminary in a famous Benares college of those days.

Lord Curzon, the Viceroy, visited the college sometime in the first few years of this century. The usual formal reception was given to that pomp-loving Viceroy. All the staff and many notabilities were present, but the pundit was busy with his manuscripts and refused to stand in line even after repeated and frantic requests of the Principal and staff of the college.

When the reception was over Lord Curzon asked whether the famous *Shastri*, about whom he had heard so much, was amongst those who were presented. On being told that the pundit was not present he ex-

pressed a desire to see him. The Principal rushed to Shastriji's room and told him the Viceroy's desire, which amounted to a command.

"I grant him permission to come and see me," was all that the pundit said, without lifting his head from his manuscripts. On this remark being communicated to the Viceroy, he went in person to see the pundit, who in due course blessed him.

In the New Year's honours list, the only name from Benares was that of Gangadhar Shastri, who had been awarded the C.I.E.

The day the list appeared, a learned disciple of the pundit, who was a Judge in the Benares district courts, went to salute and congratulate his preceptor.

On the pundit asking for the reasons for his disciple's elation, the Judge told him about the honour conferred on him.

The Shastri laughed loudly and remarked: "*Arre Srish, hum par shahi dal thiaa, aur tum ho gaye khush.*" (O Srish, they have poured ink (*shahi*) on me and you are delighted).

We conclude by congratulating the recipients of the honours, particularly those of the armed forces who most certainly deserve all the honour that the State can give. We repeat our felicitations to Shrimati Asha Devi Aryanayakam for the reception she gave to the award made to her on a previous occasion.

### The 60th Congress Session

This year the annual political bean-feast took place near Madras. A small township was built and named Satyamurthinagar after the redoubtable leader who has departed, and arrangements were made to house and feed a multitude of delegates and to accommodate the vast concourse that came to see, hear, and depart, no wiser and—we hope—no sadder after the audience. The cost was a few million rupees.

We could gather nothing that was of the essence out of the reports that filled the newspapers from the 20th to the 24th of January. But let us hasten to correct ourselves. There was at last a truly selfless Congressman in the presidential seat again. This in itself is an event worthy of record, after the Indian National Congress became a symbol of political power, and ceased to be a force that inspired millions to dedicate themselves for its cause.

We have neither the patience nor the space to discuss in detail the utterances or the resolutions. We have put on record elsewhere such of them as we deem worthy of record with comments where called for.

We would ask those who led the conferences and spoke at the plenary session, all except the president that is, as to whether they themselves believed in all that was uttered. If so then we have no quarrel. For in a free country each man is at liberty to hold to

his own opinions, however misguided or mistaken they might be.

There is a great deal of talk about "classless society," "Welfare State" and so on and so forth. If by classless society is meant a general lowering of standards, mental, moral, and physical, in efficiency, public behaviour and living, then we are well on the way. If by Welfare State is meant a State where the rich would grow richer and the poor poorer, while the educated middle class, which is the salt of the earth, anywhere and everywhere, is being wiped out, then verily ours is a Welfare State!

As for corruption in administration and public life and political oppression in some States, *that's the word.*

We pride ourselves on benign world-influence for Peace. Yet not a word about Central America nor anything about the solution of the Chinese impasse. For the information of our readers we give the following extracts from the international edition of the *New York Times* for January 16 and January 23:

The two countries principally involved in the Costa Rican fighting are:

*Costa Rica* (population 800,000; area 19,650 square miles) has been regarded as a liberal democracy. Its president, elected in 1953, is Jose Figueres, an American-educated (M. I. T.) engineer and devout apostle of social reform (his plantation is called *La Lucha San Fin*—"The Unending Struggle"). He has put through programs for free education, minimum wages and trade union organization. He has vigorously denounced dictatorial regimes. The army at his command is a 1,500-man civil guard. It has no military planes.

*Nicaragua* (population 1,000,000; area 148,000 square miles) has been a one-man dictatorship for twenty years. The dictator is President Anastasio Somoza, the richest man in Nicaragua ("I take care of the business of Government and I take care of my own business"). President Somoza has provided an efficient regime with considerable social services, but he has been slow to grant personal liberties. The Nicaraguan army numbers 7,500 well-trained troops. It was strengthened tremendously last month by the purchase of twenty-five P-51 fighters from Sweden.

The new tensions over the Far East last week raised sharply the fundamental question: Is major war in the Orient nearer?

In the immediate view the answer hinges largely on Peiping's intentions toward Formosa itself, where the U.S. already is deeply committed. Although the defense pact with Formosa is not yet ratified, there seems little doubt that if the Communists were to attack the big island, the Seventh Fleet would come out shooting. Peiping's naval strength is sparse, and the Formosa Strait is an enormous obstacle. Western observers doubt strongly that the Communists are prepared to make the attempt in view of the disaster and defeat it would bring.

## *The Presidential Address*

We add our voice to those welcoming Shri Dhebar to the presidential chair of the Indian National Congress. A good man, whose life is dedicated to the cause of uplift and regeneration and whose record is unsullied either by official careerism or by the undignified and totally degraded scramble for political power, we wish him godspeed in his mission. May his eyes remain undimmed by the dust which most of his working committee are adepts in throwing.

With regard to his address, we only find the extracts given below as being worthy of record. The rest is in the usual vein. We do not wish to criticise either the portions we reproduce or the rest of the speech. He has as yet to obtain a clear perspective of the situation in which the nation is placed. Further, a guileless man himself, he has yet to learn a lot about the activities of wily experts in political legerdemain who throng the Congress rank and file.

On the subject of unemployment and the role of the cottage industries in solving it, he said:

Capital-intensive schemes, for absorbing millions of unemployed and under-employed, cannot by themselves produce the desired results because of many other factors, including that of our capital resources.

Because of all these and other reasons, it is now accepted on all hands, the Planning Commission not excluded, that what India needs directly is large-scale expansion of cottage and small-scale industries involving comparatively small investment capital per unit. This universal realisation should fortify our original faith in the role of cottage and small-scale industries as a means of solving our economic distress. This must also set at rest, at least for the time being, the difference on the fundamental question of centralisation or decentralization of industries. When I say at least for the time being, I mean, for a space of time, long enough to give this process a full trial.

We should now go ahead and mobilize our strength and our resources to the fullest extent in the channel of development of cottage and small-scale industries.

The Planning Commission is also clear on the need for the following measures in relation to the development of cottage and small-scale industries:

- (1) determination of overall condition of supply and demand;
- (2) reservation of spheres of production;
- (3) non-expansion of the capacity of large-scale industries, related to small-scale industries;
- (4) imposition of cess on large-scale industries;
- (5) arrangement for the supply of raw materials;
- (6) co-ordination for research, training, etc.

This also must set at rest any doubt in the minds of any group of people about the role of cottage and small-scale industries in relation to large-scale ones. The employment aspect demands highest priority and, while adjustment can be made in the direction of developing

common production programmes for the small-scale and cottage industries, in relation to the large-scale industries, reservation of spheres can only mean absolute priority to the small-scale and cottage industries in these fields. This unambiguous stand on the part of the organisation, I have no doubt in my mind, will clear all misapprehensions in the minds of our colleagues working under the guidance of Shri Vinobaji and other constructive workers. It cannot be anybody's desire to avoid improvement in the techniques of production, including use and application of motive power in the field of small-scale and cottage industries.

On the matter of social democracy, he expounded his own views as follows:

It is generally accepted that political democracy is unthinkable without social democracy, and it is also generally realised that any momentum in our progress is unthinkable, unless an atmosphere of a common undertaking and common sacrifice is created. What do we actually mean by social democracy? How do we propose to create that atmosphere of a common undertaking and common sacrifice? For the last 40 years since the entry of Gandhiji in the field of politics in India, the Indian National Congress has been trying to manifest that democracy in practice. Circumstances, then existing, prevented it from carrying it out to its logical conclusion, viz., economic equality and social justice. After independence, not only has the country re-emphasised the need for it in the Constitution but the Central and State Governments have, through legislation and policies of taxation, tried to go further in that direction. Integration of States, abolition of Zamindari, introduction of Estate Duty, adjustments in taxes on income, Federal Financial Integration Agreement with Part B States, amendment of Article 31 (A) of the Constitution—all these have been aimed at securing economic equality. We, in the Congress, must however be clear in our minds that genuine equality is unthinkable unless equal opportunities are made available to every citizen of India. We do not wish to take away the status of those, who are in affluent circumstances or of those who are gifted with intelligence and knowledge. But we want an active acceptance of the same status for the workers in the field, factory or workshop. And so long as equal opportunities are not made available, their status will not change. Can we in the present economic framework really assure equal opportunity to everybody? This aspect has a great bearing on the national progress. Our chief source of development is our man-power. If he is to put in his best, the worker must be assured an equal status and equal opportunity in life. A conviction should grow upon everyone of us that while there will survive for some time some inequality, ultimately in the new social order that we envisage, the difference in advantages between citizen and citizen will have to be kept within bounds and so far as status is concerned, there will be no distinction on

the ground of one's avocation. If anything, we should accord the highest recognition to the dignity of labour.

He gave his clear-cut opinion on the form and scheme of education he considers best suited to the needs of the country as a whole:

I now come to the question of education. We are all agreed that we must have a system of education that is in keeping with the new society we conceive of, education that eliminates all class distinctions, education that realises dignity of labour, education that helps the process of co-operation, sacrifice and service. We are all agreed that it is now the basic education system which can take the place of the present one. We are also agreed on the urgent need of introducing basic education. I think there is no room now for any discussion on the subject. It is inconceivable that a nation can afford to waste even a small part of her national energy on a system of education, fit only for the social order that she is determined to change. The new social order of our conception must be supplied its base and we must do it forthwith.

The following are his ideas regarding party organisation. It is at least clear that he is aware of opportunism in the Congress ranks. We hope experience will show him how all-pervading that evil has become:

I shall now come to the organisational aspect. India has reached her first milestone in her journey towards her final goal. It is a big distance covered. A new vista has opened out before us. It was bound to produce its reactions on the organisation, as it has on everything vital and of value. With the change in the status of the country, has grown its responsibility and as a pivotal organisation, we can neither ignore the changes nor the new responsibilities.

Following freedom, our first responsibility was to give a stable Government to the people. The Congress could not have but participated in the administration.

This was a colossal task and was bound to react on the organisation. Some reactions have been healthy and have increased our status. Others were of questionable value and, in some cases, deleterious too. While this was but a part of a natural process and therefore inevitable, nevertheless it demands of us that we face it squarely.

The Congress membership in the pre-independence period was open to everyone. But in the circumstances then prevailing a large majority could not take advantage of it. Congress, however, used to draw liberally upon the sympathy and goodwill of these vast masses of people outside its actual fold. It could not very well close its doors to these persons. The Congress ranks naturally began to swell. Most of the newcomers were promoted by enthusiasm; some by considerations of duty, but not a few were prompted by considerations of sheer opportunism.

In the old context, legislative and parliamentary

career conferred a special status upon the candidate. Participation in parliamentary activities on the part of the Congress was bound to rear up complexes and generate a spirit of competition, even rivalry.

The Congress was required to form Governments. In a democratic State, there were all kinds of duties to be discharged, which meant all kinds of offices. This was also bound to produce some reactions.

In the context of a Welfare State, most of the social and constructive activities, in which the Congressmen were engaged, have been taken over by the State and others by various bodies, Boards, Congresses and Associations. It appears to some that in course of time the Congress will be reduced to a mere parliamentary party, its chief function being to lay down policies, run elections and lead the Government or the Opposition. It has, therefore, become necessary for me to emphasise some aspects of our organisation rather forcefully.

Lastly, we append his ideals, in consonance with those of the Father of the Nation, regarding the means to the ends desired. He says, quoting Gandhiji:

Eager as he was to serve the humanity as a whole, he was clear about his means: "Only that which was spiritually perfect was practically wise: Pure ends could be secured only by pure means." He would not touch 'Swaraj' if it was gained at the cost of his beloved principles of truth and non-violence. With a clear conception of his role, he guided the organisation from success to success. Sacrifice, austerity, service of the masses—those were the implements by which he forged unity of outlook and established communion between the different tiers of the society. It was the regeneration of the nation that was at work, the Indian National Congress being his willing instrument.

Political power was bound to follow. But our minds were and are clear. Power may come to us as it has come to us now. We shall, therefore, put it to the only use for which it is intended with humility and in a spirit of service. But power or no power, the organisation must continue to play its role outside the frame work of administrative responsibility by identifying itself with the masses in a spirit of sacrifice and service.

Elections have to be fought, for they are the outcome of a moral responsibility. But elections are means to an end. Their real purpose is to educate the masses about the functions of democracy, the role they are expected to play in it, and how they can strengthen the fabric of democracy. That healthy atmosphere is possible if we ourselves realise that elections are not the Congress's only concern not even the first. Elections are a part of its bigger responsibility, even though it is a substantial part. In the final analysis, the work of social education and social service must continue unabated so that when elections come, they would also get their proper place in the Congress programme and not assume an exclusive place of honour and prestige.

### *Social and Moral Standards*

On the 20th of January, the Subjects Committee of the 60th Session of the Congress unanimously passed the Steering Committee's resolution on "purity and the strengthening of the organisation." This resolution, of which the text and, Sri Morarji Desai's remarks in moving it are appended below, has caused much ribald laughter all over the country.

It is said that the legendary Robin Hood was most ruthless and dangerous immediately after his routine confessional of sins to a priest. Perhaps, the mirth that has convulsed millions of our nationals at the above routine utterance of *peccavi* originated from some similar thought.

The resolution as drafted by the Steering Committee, among other things, says, "The Congress views with serious concern some of the trends noticeable in the working of the organisation. These tendencies are symbolic of a general deterioration in social and moral standards. These trends are likely to warp the strength of the organisation, lower its dignity and prestige and reduce its potential for service to the cause of the people of India and that of democracy the world over. The Congress cannot ignore any such trend or tendency.

"It, therefore, directs the Working Committee to take firm and adequate measures to see that organisational purity is maintained, discipline observed and any attempt at group or individual aggrandisement is effectively checked."

Sri Morarji Desai moving the resolution stressed the need for cultivating personal purity and honesty among Congressmen which, he said, was essential for strengthening organisation.

Congressmen, he said, had exposed themselves to "temptations" of wielding political power after the attainment of independence. "I have no quarrel with people seeking elections to Legislatures, but we must keep ourselves above personal gains and whatever work is entrusted to us should be accomplished sincerely. We must utilise the political power not for personal gains, but for the good of the masses and the country as a whole," he added.

#### INTERNAL FACTION

Referring to internal factions within the Congress, Sri Desai said, that Congressmen had even "aligned themselves with their rivals outside the organisation's folds" to seek personal gains.

"We quarrel among ourselves, malign each other and even go to the extent of forging alliances with people who have not the ideals of the Congress at their heart. How can the party under such circumstances work for the betterment of the people and usher in a people's democracy?" he asked.

The Congress, he said, had been built on the ideals of service to the people. Its methods had always been peaceful and honest. "Unless we create personal integrity we cannot preach those ideals to the people."

"If we want to build a prosperous India, we will have to be clean, honest and sincere to ourselves. I will not mind if people who go against these ideals are not allowed to grow in the organisation," he said.

Sri Desai said that Congressmen had even forgotten the party's great achievement of unifying India and winning the country's political independence.

"With disregard to forging the unity of the country further, feuds not only among States but even on district and village levels are perpetrated. We forget then the basic unity of the country, the ideal of the Congress."

Sri Desai said that it was true that compared to other parties, the Congress was far better organised and disciplined. But, he added, Congressmen should not compare themselves with others, but seek to achieve their own ideals as laid down by Gandhiji.

### *Resolution on International Affairs*

The following resolution on international affairs was moved in the 60th plenary session on January 22, by Sri Morarji Desai:

"The Congress welcomes recent development in world affairs, which have contributed to some lessening of international tensions, and trusts that this process will continue and lead to a further improvement of international relations. The Geneva Agreement on Indo-China not only brought an end to 7-year war but, for the first time in a generation, put an end to fighting in the world as a whole. The Congress earnestly hopes that this will lead to a peaceful settlement in this important area of South-East Asia.

"India, in association with Canada and Poland, had undertaken heavy responsibilities in Indo-China. The Congress is glad to learn of the satisfactory work of the International Supervisory Commission in Indo-China and hopes that there will be no outside interference or pressure and that the future of these countries will be decided by the peoples themselves as provided in the Geneva Agreement.

"In Korea, while war is ended, peace is not in sight. The establishment of peace in Korea is vital to Asian and world stability, removing from the international context a source of grave danger which may lead to large-scale conflict. The Congress hopes that further steps will be taken to continue negotiations for a peaceful settlement of the Korean question.

"The establishment of a South-East Asian Defence Organisation by some great Powers of the West and some States in South-East Asia, is regrettable and has added to the insecurity of that region and extended the area of cold war.

"The Congress believes that real peace will be attained only by methods of friendly co-operation and understanding between neighbouring countries and, indeed, the countries of the world. The principles which should govern international relations have been set out in the joint statements issued by India, China and Burma and

more recently by India and Yugoslavia. The Congress warmly welcomes these five principles or Panch Shila. They represent the approach and policy of India in international affairs, and put forward the alternative of collective peace to the preparation for collective war. The Congress is of opinion that these principles must basically govern international relations and establish peaceful co-existence which is imperative in the circumstances of to-day for the survival of civilization.

"The continued exclusion of China from the United Nations is very regrettable and retards the progress of peace and stability in Asia and in the world. This Congress expresses the fervent hope that during the present year, China will take her place in the United Nations.

"The Congress welcomes the proposal, originally initiated by Indonesia at the Colombo Conference last year, to convene a conference of the independent States of Asia and Africa and wishes this conference all success.

"The ominous developments in respect of atomic and hydrogen bombs are a menace not only to world peace but to civilization itself. Even the experiments of the hydrogen bombs, if continued, threaten the entire world by their far-reaching and unascertained effect, which may lead to grave and permanent damage to human life and civilization. The total prohibition of the manufacture and use of atomic and hydrogen and other weapons of mass destruction, as well as conventional atomic weapons, such as atomic artillery, is imperative if civilization is to be saved from destruction.

"This Congress earnestly requests all concerned to bring about a cessation of the experiments and the immediate consideration of this matter by the Disarmament Commission of the United Nations. The Congress further suggests that the United Nations should take steps to give a scientific appraisal of the consequences of the use of and experiment with nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons so that the public of all nations might become fully aware of the grave menace of war to-day.

"This Congress records its appreciation of the policy of the Government of India in the realm of international affairs. It realises that the success of any foreign policy and its capacity to make itself felt, depend, in a large measure, on the strength and internal solidarity of the country as well as true understanding and appreciation of the basic aim and approach towards world peace."

In the discussion that followed, nothing new was said. The fact of the exclusion of Israel from the Afro-Asian Conference, and the non-inclusion of Australia and New Zealand was not even referred to, even in an explanatory fashion. This indicates the extent to which the Congress has been officialised.

### *Resolution on Economic Policy*

Pandit Govind Ballav Pant moved the resolution on economic policy in the January 22nd session.

The following is the text of the resolution:

"The Congress records its satisfaction at the improvement made in the general economic situation in the country and the progressive achievement of many of the targets laid down in the Five-Year Plan which have often exceeded expectation. In particular, the Congress is gratified at the great improvement in the food situation in the country and the progress made in the river valley schemes which have become symbols not only of great conceptions but also of great achievement.

The Congress also records its gratification at the advance made in the community projects and the national extension service which already cover over 80,000 villages and 50 million people. This great undertaking will bring about basic changes in the entire structure and functioning of rural India. This progress has been made not only because of the work of the trained personnel, but is due also to the public response and co-operation which these schemes have evoked. The progress made thus far has laid a substantial foundation for all-round advance of the people of India. This is evident from the social awakening throughout the country and the great interest taken in the Five-Year Plan.

The time has now come for a substantial advance on the economic and social plane with the definite objective of increasing production greatly, raising standards of living, and having progressively fuller employment so as to lead to full employment within a period of 10 years. The national aim is a Welfare State and a socialist economy. This can only be achieved by a considerable increase in national income and much greater volume of goods and services and employment. Economic policy must, therefore, aim at plenty and at equitable distribution.

The Second Five-Year Plan must keep these objectives in view and should be based on the physical needs of the people which should be mainly provided for by production within the country. This necessitates the building up of heavy industry including machine-making industry as well as a wide extension of small-scale and cottage industries. The success of the plan depends not only upon careful estimates and planning and proper directions being given, but also on the full co-operation of the people. Planning should, therefore, be based on the widest consultation of the people.

In view of the declared objective being a socialistic pattern of society, the State will necessarily play a vital part in planning and development. In particular, it will:

- (1) Initiate and operate large-scale schemes providing services such as power, transport, etc.
- (2) Have overall control of resources, social purposes and trends, and essential balances in economy.
- (3) Check and prevent evils of anarchic industrial development by the maintenance of strategic controls, prevention of private trusts and cartels, maintenance of standards of labour and production.
- (4) Plan the economy of the nation in its basic and broad aspects.

The First Five-Year Plan was based on a public

sector and a private sector. The public sector must play a progressively greater part more particularly in the establishment of basic industries.

The private sector or the non-State and voluntary enterprises will, however, continue to have importance. Such enterprises include co-operatives and small-scale industries. In the present conditions in India, such non-State enterprises are necessary for adding considerably to production and employment. There can thus be a speedier and fuller achievement of our objective, provided that the functioning of the private sector is in terms of the national plan. The private sector has thus a definite plan in our economy at present and should be encouraged to play its part within the broad strategic controls of the plan.

India is faced today by a great challenge. Not only the urge of the people to progress, but also the compulsion of circumstances necessitates rapid advance so as to bring about far-reaching social, economic and industrial changes. The challenge is to bring these about speedily and effectively by peaceful and democratic progresses. In view of the progress already made and the strong foundations laid down, the Congress is confident that the people of India will meet this challenge and fulfil the great hopes placed on them."

#### WELFARE STATE

Moving the resolution Pandit Pant expressed the hope that the Second Five-Year Plan would be able to solve the unemployment problem, banish poverty and wipe out superstition.

Pandit Pant said that the Congress had accepted the objective of a socialistic pattern of the country and "we want to base the future of our country on that fabric." In adopting that pattern of society, people would have to remember and bear in mind the ideals of "Sarvodaya" which was first brought by Gandhiji. The resolution, he added, also fulfilled the other objective—the Welfare State. The Welfare State could be of various patterns, but India's pattern was based on socialism.

#### *The "Socialistic Pattern"*

Prime Minister Nehru said, in the afternoon session on January 22, if the "economic policy" resolution was implemented "it means bringing of a revolution in this country—an economic revolution in this country of the biggest type."

This resolution, said he, was of the highest importance "because ultimately it is this policy which is going to shape the economic and social picture of India." This resolution pointed to a "certain turn in our thinking and action."

Intervening in the debate on the resolution in the plenary session of Congress Sri Nehru said, "yesterday the Congress adopted the Objective resolution." "In that resolution we elucidate further what we mean by our objective which is laid down in Article 1 of the Congress Constitution. We stated that we wanted this to be clearly understood that we aim at socialistic pattern of society. The present resolution before you deals with

the economic policy. We have to give effect, if we may say so, to that resolution because ultimately it is the economic policy that is going to shape the economic and social picture of India, which you may call socialistic pattern or whatever you may like to call it. Therefore, this resolution is of the highest importance."

"Naturally," he continued, "in a resolution of this kind, however long-drawn out it may be, one cannot enter into detailed policy. There is one danger in the resolution and it is that you may use striking phrases and broad words and phrases and imagine that you have given a great lead to the country."

"It is possible but it does not help because we have come up against scientific problems, we have to deal with problems of India, the problem of unemployment, raising that level of the country, problem of industrialisation and so many problems. These problems are not solved by broad generalisation and slogans and I say this without any hesitation. I myself have been a victim of slogans. But time has come when you have to forget phrases and deal with hard realities of the situation. This is necessary for us, more especially for Congress men, because Congress men are more responsible for running the Government and Governmental policies than others. Therefore, for us merely to adopt big resolutions with striking phrases is not good enough. In fact it tends to delude one."

#### ROLE OF CONGRESS

"In reality the only way that is to be done is to sit down and draw up a plan. That is the function of the Planning Commission and those who are concerned. Obviously the Congress session cannot sit down and draw a Five-Year Plan but in a resolution of this kind you have to indicate the type of things you should have to in drawing up that plan. This resolution which is before you gives reference to the approach. You will see, the resolution says that 'time has now come for a substantial advance on the economic and social plane with the definite objective of increasing production greatly, raising standards of living and having progressively fuller employment so as to lead to full employment within a period of 10 years. The national aim is a Welfare State and a socialistic economy'."

This resolution, said Sri Nehru, was not merely a repetition of what they had said before.

"It is pointing to a certain turn in our thinking and action. Time has now come to do this. In a sense we have been doing this but evidently we have not been doing this adequately or, at any rate, we should do this much better now. Therefore, the resolution says time has come to do this with the specific object of raising production and removing unemployment."

Sri Nehru said, in this resolution they had avoided any "bombastic" words. "We are old and mature organisation with a great deal of experience of all kinds and it is not desirable, therefore, that we should use

words vaguely and bombastically. Therefore, on the whole we under-estimate what we propose to do. This resolution is a proposal of under-estimation because if you give effect to the resolution it means bringing of an economic revolution in this country of the biggest type. But we don't talk of revolution in this resolution. We talk in a relatively pedestrian manner."

Sri Nehru said mention had been made of measures to putting an end to unemployment. In this country of growing population, it was a terrific problem. In other countries like Yugoslavia and Russia and in America and Western Europe, circumstances were different. India also had a different background. In thinking of solutions to problems, the country's peculiarities had to be borne in mind, but one had also to learn from the experience of others.

Sri Nehru said, mention had been made of measures. "Planning is quite essential. Otherwise, it is just anarchy. Three or five years ago, when we talked of planning, some others objected and asked: 'What do you mean by planning?' Planning was not acceptable to many people in high places. Today planning is being understood by the average man apart from those in high places. Now we have got a Five-Year Plan of which three years are more or less over and we are thinking of the Second Five-Year Plan."

#### OBJECTIVES IN VIEW

"There is much talk," Sri Nehru added, "of this plan being built from below. This is right. Village panchayats, etc., should be consulted. Every specialised group of persons should be consulted, doctors, engineers, merchants, industrialists and other organisations at Governmental level. Nevertheless, what do you mean by planning? Have you paid much attention to the following paragraph in the resolution? It says: 'The national aim is a Welfare State and socialist economy.' This can only be achieved by a considerable increase in national income and much greater volume of goods and services and employment. Economic policy, must, therefore, aim at plenty and at equitable distribution. The second Five-Year Plan must keep these objectives in view and should be based on the physical needs of the people, which should be mainly provided for by production within the country. Mark the words 'physical needs of the people.' They are important words. They are the governing needs, they ought to be the controlling factor in the drawing up of the Second Five-Year Plan."

#### BASIS OF PLANNING

What was the first Five-Year Plan based on?—Sri Nehru asked. It was based on data, and information then available. Certain projects were already there and work was to start on new schemes and priorities had to be given. The plan was based on "the finance available and on priorities being given to the various schemes that were useful and good and we have had good results but really this is not planning in the real planning. The concept of planning is not to think of money we have got and divide it into schemes and give priorities. But it

is based on physical needs. This is to say: What do the people of India need, how many schools, how much cloth, how much housing, how much education, health services, etc.? To begin with we are not thinking of finance but the needs of people to-day."

"We organise how to fulfil those needs. This is not a simple matter because in calculating the needs of the people we have to calculate not only on the basis of the increasing population but on the increasing needs. Finance is important but not so much as people think. What is important is trained personnel. The only thing we have to guard against is inflation. Inflation is avoided if there is production corresponding to the amount of money thrown in. Sometimes there is a gap. This is so in the case of large river valley projects. But in the case of cottage industries there is not this gap. Money is not locked up."

#### A COMPLICATED BUSINESS

Sri Nehru said that this resolution talked of endeavours to put an end to unemployment in ten years. But with the old methods of planning, this would not be possible. Planning had to be done in a big way. Side by side consumption had to be provided for because mass production inevitably involved mass consumption. It again entailed the question of increasing the purchasing power of the people. Therefore, purchasing power had to be dealt with in planning. Another question to be considered was the rate of investment, and the surplus available every year for investment. All this was a complicated business.

What he had said, he concluded, would help people to understand some issues. "The purely financial way" was certainly not good. It was important. But the approach should be non-financial and finances should be considered at a later stage.

#### Why Call it Socialism?

The Avadi session of the Indian National Congress has adopted a resolution that the economic goal of India is Socialism. There is nothing surprising in it, particularly as it followed the resolution taken by the House of the People during its last winter session laying down that a socialistic society is the object of India's economic goal. Obviously the resolution was sponsored and carried on with the initiative of the party in power. The definition of socialism naturally involves the question of Marxian Socialism which is an widely accepted concept of the subject. Marxian Socialism means: that there shall be a classless society; that the entire means of production of the country must be owned and controlled by the State; that there shall be a dictatorship of the proletariat; and that a socialistic society shall have to be reached not by peaceful means but by revolution by the proletariat.

In modern times, of course, the concept of socialism has undergone a radical change in its application to practice, particularly in Soviet Russia. The shift

towards national socialism in Russia during the Stalin regime is a marked deviation from the Marxian concept of world socialism wherein the proletariats have no country. Still, however, socialism means, and this is generally recognised, that it is a state of society wherein the entire means of production is controlled and owned by the State and that it is a classless society. The distinction between the "haves" and the "have-nots," between the exporter and exploited must needs be annihilated. It is still an ideal as yet achieved nowhere. In Russia the party consists of mighty "haves" and the rest different categories of "have-nots." In China as yet there are 'National Capitalists'."

Now, what type of socialism is envisaged in the Congress resolution? Is it the Marxian type? Obviously not. In moving the resolution on socialism at Avadi, Pandit Nehru is reported to have stated "This freedom struggle all the time gained in its social content and now the time has come when we should march further in this direction and declare openly what we have of us said that the type of society we are aiming at is a socialist society. What exactly socialist society is in detail I do not promise to go into and many may argue about it. Many of our academic people and pundits may argue about it. Let us argue if you like. But I want to tell you that whatever it is going to be, it has to be in keeping with India's genius. If it is something superimposed then it will not go far. I don't mean to say that we cannot learn from others, we must and we will learn. But whatever we learn must also be grafted on to the soil of India and not be something apart from it. Pandit Nehru said that the word socialism had come from the West. In Europe the word was connected with class war and many other events 'but it is not necessary we should go through the troubles of Europe to achieve our brand of socialist pattern. Indeed it would be foolish for us to go through those troubles and copy the methods of others."

Nobody would certainly ask Pandit Nehru to go through a process of class struggle to establish a socialistic pattern of society. Socialism can now be established without the class struggle that is by peaceful and democratic means. But socialism must mean one thing fundamentally and it is that the means of production must be owned and controlled by the State. If in socialist State the means of production is owned partially by the private sector however limited the sector may be then it is not pure socialism as defined in the West.

According to Sri Nehru's concept socialism means two things: it is a casteless and classless society and that private enterprise must exist in socialism. While speaking on the economic policy in the House of the People on December 21, 1954 Pandit Nehru referred to the suggestion made by some people that the

private sector must be prevented from functioning. He replied by saying that such idea came from confused thinking. He said "Our policy must be inevitably of raising production, of increasing employment as rapidly as possible. In doing that, it is essential that the public sector should grow as rapidly as possible. I think in the circumstances in India today, it is quite necessary that the private sector should function under certain broad strategic controls. We have to have the public sector and the private sector as a co-ordinating part of the plan. We have to think of the whole business of building India as one large co-operative enterprise in which every group and every part of India shares. I do not wish to limit the public sector at all in any way but our resources are limited. It is no good merely preventing somebody when I cannot do it myself. That is folly." He further contended that it would be absurd to ask the private sector to function denying them freedom to function denying them initiative.

Mixed economy is a compromise between socialism and capitalism and it is a type by itself. To identify mixed economy with socialism is to liquidate the latter. Pandit Nehru has suggested that the Indian genius will be able to evolve a type of socialism suited to Indian conditions. When the scope of socialistic structure is circumscribed by the existence of private enterprise there is little left for further enunciation. It means plainly speaking that the seal of socialism has been set on mixed economy and further evolution on the purely Western socialistic basis is prohibited by the nature of the definition. There is no reason however for being hidebound by Western concepts.

The champions of socialism in this country need not therefore be much elated nor the private sector be disappointed at the threat of socialism. Everyone will stand where he is now. It is not a dynamic concept in a static structure pouring old wine in a new bottle. The hastiness of the Congress Party in branding the mixed economy as socialism is understandable. It will keep the mouth of the agitators shut for some time. Pandit Nehru's visit to China and his entente with Mr. Chou En-lai has taken the wind out of the Communist Party's sails which is now just groping in the darkness. The Praja Socialist is in a process of disintegration and to prevent extinction it has now switched on Bhoodan. By declaring that the goal of Indian economy is socialism the Congress Party has automatically registered a claim to be acknowledged as the champion of socialistic economy.

It is for the leaders of the opposition parties to dissect and analyse Pandit Nehru's speech. We neither desire nor consider it due to us to do so. But it is about time some light was thrown on this confusion between Western socialism and the Gandhian prin-

principle of Ram Rajya. We would like to see a clear-cut exposition.

Pandit Nehru abhors doctrinaire economics, but unfortunately he himself indulges in doctrinairism without being earnest. The "demos" in India are still ignorant and ill-cared for, and no talk of socialism or Welfare State can bring about any hope for them unless and until their conditions are materially uplifted. It is yet to be seen how in this country there can be a classless society in the midst of private enterprise. A classless society envisages not only economic equality, but also the liquidation of economic exploitation, and in a system of economy where there is private enterprise, it is difficult to bring in economic equality or the complete liquidation of exploitation if the private sector does not adopt a totally new outlook.

We have made the above remarks because we believe that enunciation of nation-building principles should be kept free of electioneering motives.

### "Rastrabhasa"

What is 'nationalisation' in Hindi—the national language?

Prime Minister Nehru put this question at the Subjects Committee meeting and left the problem unsolved.

Mr. Nehru, who was moving the economic resolution in Hindi paused to find a suitable expression for 'nationalisation' and asked the delegates nearby what it was.

Several of them shouted "rashtriyakaran."

Mr. Nehru said this word did not express clearly the connotation of the term "nationalisation."

He continued his speech using the English term.

Pandit Nehru was quite right. There are quite a few persons who are following the principle "where ignorance is bliss it is folly to be wise," in their enthusiastic clamour for the immediate replacement of English by Hindi. Crude and incomplete—not to say incomprehensible—translations of English terms and phrases are making confusion worse confounded as a result.

### Avadi Congress Expenses

A reader writes in the *Hindu* with reference to the estimated cost of ten lakhs of rupees for the provision of food for 2½ million audience in connection with the session of the Avadi Congress: "Such a colossal expenditure must make one pause and seriously think. Is all this necessary, and justifiable? For after all, you are having only the Annual Political Party Picnic at Avadi—nothing else absolutely."

He asks if such an expenditure of ten lakhs of rupees could be justified on Gandhian principles when nothing would come of it to ameliorate the people's distress.

We say "no" with all the emphasis at our command.

### The Industrial Credit Corporation

The Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation, registered in Bombay on January 6, 1955, under the Indian Companies Act, will aid financially and with technical and other assistance, industrial enterprises in the country. Dr. A. Ramaswamy Mudaliar has been selected as the first Chairman of the Board of Directors and Mr. Percival Beale, Chief Cashier of the Bank of England, has been appointed as the General Manager of the Corporation.

The authorised capital of the Corporation will be Rs. 25 crores, divided into 500,000 ordinary shares and 2,000,000 unclassified shares of Rs. 100 each. Initially the Corporation will issue the 500,000 ordinary shares. Investors in the United Kingdom will subscribe for 100,000 shares and those in the USA 50,000 shares. The balance of 350,000 shares will be offered for subscription in this country. Of these, 150,000 shares will be offered privately and 200,000 shares will be open for public subscription.

The British investors have taken shares worth Rs. one crore and American investors Rs. fifty lakhs of the initial share capital of the Corporation which is Rs. 5 crores. This amount of Rs. 1.5 crores has been subscribed by institutional investors in the UK and the USA. The British investors consist of eight Eastern Exchange banks, 30 insurance companies, four industrial concerns and the Commonwealth Development Finance Company, Ltd. The American investors comprise the Bank of America, the Rockefeller Brothers, Olin Mathieson Chemical Corporation and the Westinghouse Electric International Corporation. Shares worth Rs. 3.5 crores are being sold in India partly through private placement and partly through public offering.

The Government of India is crediting the Corporation with Rs. 7½ crores free of interest for a period of fifteen years and the Corporation will have to return this amount in equal annual instalments over a period of fifteen years commencing from the end of the first 15-year period. In addition, the International Bank has given a loan of about Rs. 5 crores (\$10 million). The loan is for a term of fifteen years and bears interest at 4-5/8 per cent per annum, including the statutory commission of 1 per cent. Amortisation will begin on January 1, 1960. The loan is guaranteed by the Government of India. This is the seventh loan made by the Bank to this country for development projects and the total amount lent to India stands at \$ 126.7 million. The proceeds of the \$10 million loan will be used for the purchase of imported material, equipment and services required to carry out private industrial projects to be financed by the Corporation.

The primary object of the Corporation will be to assist industrial entrepreneurs within the private sector of industry in India. The purpose generally is to assist the creation, expansion and modernisation of such industrial enterprises, to encourage and promote the

participation of private capital both internal and external in these enterprises and to encourage and promote private ownership of industrial investments. The Corporation will make long and medium-term loans to industrial enterprises, purchase shares of industrial concerns, underwrite new issues of securities, guarantee loans from other investment sources, and help industry to obtain managerial, technical and administrative advice and assistance.

The Corporation will be able, by nature of its organisation, to tap funds in India not at present being available to industry, and in due course to increase the inflow of foreign investment in this country. The Corporation will benefit Indian economy not only by direct financing of industry but also in other ways of equal importance. Through its connexions abroad, it will be in a position to meet its needs for technical knowledge and managerial experience. Furthermore, its power to underwrite new issues will fill the gap in the Indian capital market. The nature of the Corporation and its sponsorship by leading financial institutions in India and abroad should enable it to raise funds in this country hitherto lying untapped.

The Corporation will participate in the equity capital of industry and may make funds available for re-investment by revolving investment as rapidly as possible. The funds at the disposal of the Corporation will be Rs. 17½ crores. The Corporation can borrow up to three times the amount of the capital, plus the amount of the interest-free deposit outstanding and any reserves which the Corporation might have built up.

The British and American investment has been invited because the Steering Committee feel that through association with the Corporation, foreign investors will obtain a clear insight into the conditions in which private industry is functioning in India. It would also show that the fears and sometimes alarmist views spread about the future of private industry in India and more so in foreign countries, is unjustified. Another advantage would be the greater participation of foreign capital, not merely through the Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation but outside of it, in assisting, under proper conditions laid down by the Government of India, the development of Indian industries. Finally, through such contacts, technical assistance and "know-how" in many new industries will be made easier, and co-operation will be established on a firm basis between those in foreign countries who wish to associate themselves in the development of Indian industries by the private sector and those in India who desire to invest in the private sector.

### *Persian Oil Agreement*

At last, Iranian oil has begun to flow back into the world oil markets. Persia and the Consortium of eight oil companies negotiating in Teheran have finally reached a settlement of the long standing oil dispute. Both the Majlis and the Senate have ratified the

international oil agreement and it has received the assent of the Shah. The agreement is between the Iranian Government, the National Iranian Oil Company (N.I.O.C.) on the one side and the Consortium of eight oil companies on the other. The eight companies are: (1) the Standard Oil Company of California, (2) the Socony-Vacuum Oil Company, Inc., (3) the Texas Company, (4) the Gulf Oil Company, (5) the Compagnie Francaise des Petroles, (6) the Anglo-Iranian, (7) the Royal Dutch Shell and (8) the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey.

The Iranian oil industry was nationalised in March 1951 during Dr. Mossadeq's regime. The nationalisation stopped oil exports from Iran and crude oil production came to a standstill. In 1950, Iran exported 30 million tons of petroleum and the crude oil production stood at 32.3 million tons. Petroleum refining amounted to 24.7 million tons in 1950. The activities of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company ceased from 1950 and they contributed nearly 10 per cent of Iran's national income. Since nationalisation the revenues of the Iranian Government suffered seriously and the Seven-Year Plan projects became impossible of implementation.

General Zahedi came to power in August 1953 after a successful coup against Dr. Mossadeq and he inherited almost an empty treasury. All attempts to bring about a settlement in oil dispute proved a failure. Finally, Mr. Herbert Hoover, President Eisenhower's special adviser on oil, succeeded in reaching an agreement over oil impasse. Of course, the overthrow of Dr. Mossadeq's regime facilitated in concluding the agreement. The agreement makes a compromise between the Iranian national sentiment and the demand of the Anglo-Iranian Company for economic justice. Under the terms of the agreement, although the effective control of both the Abadan refinery and the main oilfields in Iran passes to the international Consortium, the legal title to ownership is retained by the Persian Government.

As part of the Persian oil agreement, the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, the former concessionary, will receive net compensation of £25 million (free of interest), and this is payable over 10 years starting from January 1957. Besides, it will receive £32.4 million from other members of the Consortium for the sale of 60 per cent of its interest in the Persian oil industry; it will have only 40 per cent interest in the Consortium. In addition, the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company will be paid by the seven other members of the Consortium, 10 cents per US barrel on crude oil and products they export from Iran. This payment will cease when it reaches a total of \$510 million. The basis of the agreement is the 50:50 division of the profits of the oil industry between Iran and the Consortium.

Re-development of the Iranian oil enterprise is

to be undertaken by two companies formed by the Oil Consortium and the National Iranian Oil Company. One will be responsible for exploration and production and the other for refining. Each company will have seven directors, two nominated by Persia and five by the Oil Consortium. Oil revenue for Persia during the first three full years of operation, after an initial starting period of three months, will amount to \$150 million at present prices and costs. Of this amount Iran will be paid \$31 in the first full operating year, increasing to \$67 million in the third year. Production of crude oil will rise progressively to a total of 80 million cubic metres (68 million tons or 500 million barrels) for the three-year period. After the first three years the Consortium will take from Iran quantities of crude oil which will reasonably reflect the supply and demand trend for Middle-East crude oil, assuming favourable operating and economic conditions in Iran.

The rate of production that will be reached at the end of the three-year period will once again establish Abadan refineries output as being the largest in the eastern hemisphere. The Abadan refinery with its potential output of over 500,000 barrels per day is the largest in the world. The only other two refineries on the Persian Gulf—Aramco's at Ras Tanura and Bahrain Petroleum Company's plant at Bahrain—can each put through about 200,000 barrels a day. Other refineries in the Middle East are small tapping plants only.

### *Private Demand for Gold 1931-53*

During the years 1944-53 approximately 4.5 billion dollars of gold flowed into private channels throughout the world. Of this net flow about one-third was accounted for by uses in industry and the arts in the United States and the balance represented largely additions to private gold holdings in all forms in a few countries of Western Europe. The total amount of gold absorbed by private demand throughout the world (excluding the USSR) in the years 1931-53 represents about one-seventh of gold production which aggregated to nearly 600 million ounces (21 billion dollars at \$35 per ounce). It is estimated that gold production during the past four-and-a-half centuries totalled about 1.6 billion ounces (56 billion dollars) of which more than 1 billion ounces (37 billion dollars) are presently held as official reserves by central banks and governments. Since the discovery of America the total absorption of gold into private holdings, industrial or artistic uses and waste and losses is being estimated at about a half billion ounces (19 billion dollars).

The large private demand for gold during the past decade are related to monetary disorders, political fears and dangers of war. Monetary disorders appear to have been the most pervasive, as countries

where there was a high preference for gold were generally among those which suffered from monetary inflation and loss of public confidence in their currencies. On the other hand, traditional, psychological, and institutional factors seemed to have conditioned nations differently, in many cases the reaction to monetary disorders was flight of capital into foreign assets, speculative investments and consumer goods, rather than into gold.

Growth of private demand for gold during the post-war period, under conditions of restrictions on trade and exchanges, led to the formation in many countries of so-called "free" gold markets, whose operations were circumscribed by Government controls. As gold movements and exchange settlements between such markets in different countries were generally restricted, their activities involved varying degrees of evasion of governmental regulations, particularly with respect to import and export of gold and related foreign exchange operations.

The prevalence until recently of premium prices—that is, prices higher than the official dollar value of gold—was a phenomenon that arose from attempts of governments to insulate their respective gold markets through the imposition of direct controls. Premium prices have resulted mainly from effective depreciation of the various currencies involved, but such prices also reflected in varying degrees, both the risks involved in the illegal nature of many transactions and a speculative preference for gold.

Abatement of private demand and decline in prices for gold in most markets to official valuations during the past year have accompanied achievement of financial stability and relaxation of exchange and trade restrictions in Western Europe and the Sterling Area.

### *Mineral Production in India in 1953*

According to a recent report of the Geological Survey of India, the aggregate pit mouth value of minerals produced in this country in 1953 was Rs 112 crores as compared with Rs 108 crores in 1952 and Rs 105 crores in 1951. In 1947 the total value of all minerals produced in India was only Rs 64 crores. The total value of coal produced in 1953 was Rs 52.7 crores, of manganese ore Rs 29.4 crores, of gypsum Rs 28 lakhs, of chromite Rs 25 lakhs and of bauxite Rs 7.88 lakhs. With the exception of coal, all these are record figures.

The Railways consumed in 1953 10.4 million tons of coal representing 29 per cent of the total output. The consumption of coal by other industries was as follows: iron and steel and brass foundries (12.6 per cent), steam electric utilities including gas companies (7.8 per cent), textiles (5.0 per cent), bricks, tiles and ceramics (4.6 per cent). Nearly 2 million tons of coal and coke were exported by India in 1953.

Importers of Indian coal are Pakistan, Japan, Aden, Australia, Burma, Ceylon, Egypt, Hong Kong, Indonesia, Korea, Singapore, Tanganyika and the UK.

The USA was the largest importer of Indian manganese in 1953. The value of manganese exported to that country was Rs. 17.3 crores. Other leading importers were: UK (Rs. 2.7 crores); West Germany (Rs. 1.3 crores); and Japan (Rs. 1.3 crores).

The total value of metals produced in India in 1953 was estimated at Rs. 55.2 crores. Steel led with a total of Rs. 41.6 crores. Silver registered the lowest value at Rs. 64,418. The number of persons employed in the production of minerals in 1953 was 592,197. The corresponding figure in 1952 was 583,395.

According to a resurvey of the geological resources of the Jharia coalfields by the Geological Survey of India, the available reserves of all types of coal in the Barakar measures, Jharia, are estimated at 11,679 million tons. According to the estimate made by Sir C. S. Fox in 1926-28, the reserves were placed at 4,537 million tons.

### *Taccavi Enquiry Committee*

The *Hitavada* reports that the Government of Madhya Pradesh announced on January 15 their decision on the Report of Enquiry on Taccavi policy, submitted to them in March, 1954, by the Committee the State Government had appointed. The Enquiry Committee, consisting of 16 members, was headed by the State Minister for Revenue, Sri B. A. Mandloi.

The Taccavi policy so long followed by the State Government was embodied in the executive directions issued under the Agriculturists Loans Act, 1884, and the Land Improvement Act, 1883; and was formulated largely against the background of famine. Consequently the policy did not envisage any regulation of private money-lending in rural areas with its attending evils. Faced with the need for reduction of agricultural indebtedness during the economic crisis of the 'thirties the Government had to modify the policy of *laissez faire* in the field of rural moneylending by usurers; and the Central Provinces and Berar Debt Reconciliation Act (1933) and the Relief of Indebtedness Act (1939) were passed. The shifts since independence, from "protective" to "productive" aspect of taccavi led to a widening of the scope of taccavi and a careful and thorough examination of the existing policy becoming necessary, the above Committee was appointed to review the working of the whole system of taccavi and to make recommendations to the Government as to the policy to be followed in future.

The State Government accepted the recommendation of the Enquiry Committee that except for taccavi required as a measure of relief from distress, the responsibility for which must rest on Government, the co-operative agency should ultimately take over

the bulk of agricultural financing for productive purposes. Government also agreed that it was desirable to distinguish between "taccavi advanced for relief from distress and agricultural financing for productive or protective purposes." In view of the weakness of the co-operative movement in the State, Government would, however, as suggested by the Committee, continue to grant both types of taccavi while efforts would be made for strengthening the co-operative movement so that ultimately the whole of the work of agricultural financing might be entrusted to the co-operative societies.

The Government also agreed that creditor-debtor relationship between the State and borrowers were theoretically undesirable but, as the Committee also had said, it was not possible on practical considerations to abolish that relation at once.

The Committee had estimated the total credit requirements for short-term seasonal loans at twenty crores of rupees and for medium-term loans at six crores of rupees. With due regard to the financial position of the State, the Committee had, however, suggested that as an immediate step the total volume of agricultural financing by the State Government be increased progressively by about two crores of rupees every year. The Government agreed to the suggestion with the qualification that subject to their financial ability, Government would try to provide the suggested amount of credit every year provided the borrowers repaid regularly the loans advanced to them.

The State Government also accepted the recommendation that a single agency for advancing loans to agriculturists in one and the same area was preferable to more than one agency; and would henceforth distribute loans through co-operative agencies in areas where such agencies were engaged in financing agriculturists with loans. The suggestion for the grant of temporary accommodation to the State Co-operative Bank against the risk in short recoveries in a year of indifferent harvest was also accepted.

The Committee had suggested the establishment of a fund to be known as the Co-operative Credit Stabilisation Fund by contributing one per cent of the total outstandings of co-operative societies towards this fund out of the Consolidated Fund of the State for the purposes of stabilising the movement in times of unforeseen calamities like general collapse of agricultural prices and enabling Government to draw on that fund for fulfilment of their guarantee in respect of the loans obtained by the State Co-operative Bank. That was also agreed to by the Government.

The Committee had made various recommendations on the procedure of distribution and accounting of taccavi. The more important of them were accepted by the Government. The recommendations dealing repaying capacity, joint responsibility and grant of

taccavi to persons having no transferable interest in land also were generally accepted.

The Committee had pointed to the importance of prompt repayment of loans by the borrowers in any scheme of rural credit. The figures quoted by the Committee showed that during the period from 1947-48 to 1951-52 collections of arrear loans had generally been unsatisfactory. Except in a few matters of detail, Government accepted the recommendations of the Committee in the matter of recovery of loans.

Dealing with misapplication of taccavi loans, the Committee had observed that the misapplication of taccavi was not as large as was commonly believed. According to the finding of the Committee, "the tendency to misapply a loan obtained from Government is a social evil" and "in some cases, it may have its roots in the economic condition of the borrowers." Government intended to take steps to check the tendency to misapply taccavi loans.

### *Kashmir's Economic Condition*

The *Kashmir Post*, a weekly new magazine published from Jammu, devotes its editorial columns on January 14 to an examination of the present economic situation in Kashmir.

The newspaper notes with approval the remarks of the Chief Minister Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad that more had been done during the past twelve months to ameliorate the lot of the people than during the preceding one thousand years. Recounting the achievements made in different fields the newspaper writes: "If today a new kind of life pulsates among the people of the State, if today the masses are permeated with a sense of endeavour and achievement, the reason is that the new leadership which was voted to power after August 1953 (replacing Sheikh Abdullah) made a serious effort at basing its policies entirely in conformity with the people."

Nevertheless, the editorial goes on to point out in a friendly way, the economy of the State could not be regarded in any way as satisfactory from whatever point one might look at it. The purchasing power of the people was shockingly low and unemployment rampant. Agriculture was under heavy pressure and industry undeveloped. The cottage industries also were in an equally sorry state. As a result almost "the entire population of Kashmir is forced into idleness during winter months which by itself provides proof of the fact that little has been done to provide work to the people in their homes."

Advertising to the question of the utilisation of the State's natural resources for increasing its wealth, it is pointed out with reference to the State Plan that except in so far as the plan provided for the setting-up of three power projects there seemed to be little indication that a serious effort was intended to raise

the per capita income of the people or to increase the economic potential of the State. While the opening of new roads and building of bridges were in the long run likely to result in improving the economy of the backward areas of the State, the unfortunate fact was that at the moment "the entire State must be regarded to be a backward area on the basis of the overall economic position of the State."

The State Government, which the newspaper is confident was keen on building up the economic prosperity of Kashmir, is asked to reassess the need for developing the economic potential of the State. "Absence of taxation is in no way a happy position for a State desirous of making progress in the modern age. The more willingly people pay taxes, the more easily they can contribute towards the cost of development schemes, and the more there is cause for satisfaction. Looked at from this angle, we do not seem to be doing so well at present," concludes the *Kashmir Post*.

The question of a comprehensive plan for the raising of the economic level of the Kashmir people depends a great deal on the Settlement of the Indo-Pak dispute regarding the future of Kashmir. If it were decided either way then that question could be tackled.

### *All-India Educational Conference*

The All-India Educational Conference met in its twenty-ninth session in Patna during the last week of December and was presided over by Dr. P. R. Paranjpye. The Conference discussed almost every aspect of the country's education and in turn adopted as many as forty-three resolutions. *PTI* reports:

"The Conference viewed with concern the 'crisis' that had confronted education and educators in West Bengal in particular and the whole of the Indian Union in general and was of the opinion that it had arisen owing to the fact that both the Central and State Governments had not given the priority that education deserved in a predominantly undeveloped area of the world, just out of colonial rule.

"It suggested:

"(a) Instead of merely co-ordinating and guiding the work of the State Governments, local bodies and private agencies, in the carrying out of educational programmes, the Central Government should assume the overall responsibility for the implementation of national policies in education and help the other three agencies as far as possible.

"(b) At least 25 per cent of the total budgeted expenditure of the States and at least 15 per cent of the total expenditure of the Centre should be earmarked for education. Of this at least 50 per cent of the sum allocated in the States and at least 40 per cent of the sum allocated in the Centre should be kept reserved for primary education.

"(c) Teachers in their particular field of education should have the predominating voice in the shaping of the national educational policies through their representative organisations.

"(d) Adequate arrangements must be made for ensuring a decent standard of living for teachers and social security comparable to others of the same qualification in the services.

"(e) Education cess should be levied on annual incomes of over Rs. 1,500. It should also be levied on foreign industrial firms, Indian monopolies, jute and jute goods, tea, cloth and other items which are for export as well as on racing, intoxicating liquors and luxury articles, cinema, etc.

"(f) There should be a thorough reform of the primary educational system. The aim of primary education should be to provide eight years of integrated education. A system of free and compulsory primary education must be provided within the next five years everywhere. Adult education should be democratically organised with the help of primary teachers.

"(g) New legislation should be enacted in the light of these basic principles and the existing legislation be modified accordingly.

"The conference urged the Government of India to establish a Central National Research Institute for Education on the lines of the National Laboratories.

"For the security of service of teachers and arbitration of disputes, the Conference recommended the immediate setting-up of an arbitration board in every State, consisting of a judicial officer or a retired officer not below the rank of a district and sessions judge and three assessors representing the directors of education, the management and the teachers' organisation in the State. The Board should be granted the authority by legislation to act as a tribunal on the lines of industrial tribunals having legal competence to summon and examine all witnesses, have access to all relevant materials for disputes and to adjudicate all disputes."

The Conference urged for the extension to primary teachers of certain benefits recommended by the Secondary Education Commission for teachers in Secondary schools. Further, in the best interest of education adequate representation of primary teachers on school managing committees was also urged. The Conference also suggested the institution of a system of gratuities to be paid to the primary school teachers on retirement. The working hours of primary teachers were recommended to be restricted to 30 hours in a week and working days in a year were suggested not to exceed 210. The demand of Bombay primary teachers for full pay while under training was also supported by the Conference.

PTI adds that in regard to primary education "the Conference requested the Government of India

immediately to appoint a representative commission (1) to make a comprehensive survey of elementary education in all the States; (2) to enquire into the condition of primary teachers and to prepare uniform scales of pay on a country-wide basis for them; (3) to report on the facts in basic education; (4) to prepare a master plan for primary education for administration, syllabus, teachers' training, etc.; and (5) to suggest ways and means to implement it."

We think most of the suggestions made at the Conference are worthy of consideration. But (c) and (e) do not seem to be practical at the present juncture. The detachment and the objective capacity of assessment of the essentials in educational procedure can hardly be found in teachers in the everyday sense of the term. As for financial arrangements, they had best be left to specialists.

### *Lessons of Kumbh Mela Tragedy*

The Enquiry Committee under the chairmanship of Sri Kamala Kant Varma listed nine 'predisposing causes' for the tragedy which had occurred at the Kumbh Mela on February 3, 1954, killing between 450 and 500 people.

According to the summary of the report published in the *Statesman* on January 11, those causes were:

"1. Cancellation only a few days prior to February 3, 1954, of compulsory inoculation against cholera was presumably the main cause of the sudden influx into the Kumbh Mela of an unprecedentedly large crowd on the main bathing day. According to the report, Mela officials did not appear to have been prepared for the sudden arrival of such a large crowd.

"2. Only one route for ingress was prescribed for the major portion of the crowd. The result was that the people moving along this route were subjected to irresistible pressure from the rear and were forced to go forward.

"3. The Sangam railway station which the Northern Railway established in the parade area in front of the ill-fated bund occupied a great deal of the available open space. Besides, passengers de-training in close proximity to the bund rushed into the Sangam area immediately with their luggage. When abandoned, this luggage proved a stumbling block to the crowd.

"4. All open spaces outside the compound of the Sangam station, the military depot and the Agriculture Department Farm were occupied by a variety of camps and shops.

"5. All open spaces in the Sangam area, particularly between the Ganga and the bund, were also occupied by numerous camps.

"6. There was rain on February 2 and although clinkers were spread, the surface of Ramp No. 1

down which the tragedy occurred and of the immediate neighbourhood was still slippery.

"7. There were a number of ditches between Ramps No. 1 and 2. The majority were filled in, but a large ditch, filled with water was overlooked. The surrounding area was full of slush and mud. This ditch played a prominent part in the tragedy.

"8. The routes prescribed for the Akhara processions of the various religious orders and for pedestrians intersected in the Sangam area below Ramp No. 1, creating a dangerous situation.

"9. Policemen posted on this route and other crucial points to control the crowd belonged to the Provincial Armed Constabulary which does not wear turbans. They could not be identified among the crowd and were unable to be of assistance."

The immediate cause of the disaster had been a clash between the Naga processionists and the pilgrims.

The authorities were blamed in the report for their policy of undue appeasement of some "holy men" bent on going in a procession unclad. The committee found that a number of men who did not normally go about unclad had been made to join the procession on payment.

Among the notable suggestions of the committee were the recommendations that the planning of a Mela should be started two years ahead of the event and that there should be no railway station in the Mela area.

Pointing to the lessons to be learnt from the Kumbh Mela disaster, the *Bombay Chronicle* writes in an editorial article on January 15 that the findings and recommendations of the Inquiry Committee were relevant not only to future Kumbh Melas at Allahabad but also to similar gatherings everywhere.

The newspaper touches on a broader aspect of the matter and raises the question about the exact function and duties of a Secular State in relation to religious events—a question that was agitating many minds. While, according to the newspaper, the State should not discourage any type of religious observance and rather "should go further and afford for any religious group, or community which organises any ceremony or gathering, all the facilities possible and necessary"; and even the revival and encouragement of traditional festivals and observances with artistic, cultural or religious significance also might be in order, "the line should be drawn somewhere. Can the State go so far as directly to organise purely religious events," as it had done in the case of the last Kumbh Mela?

The *Bombay Chronicle* thinks that the exact role of the Government in such matters should be clarified by public discussion. In its view it was desirable that the Central and State Governments and even quasi-governmental agencies should restrict themselves to

civil duties and leave religious functions to private organisations.

We agree with this view. Further we think that the well-being of the general public and their safety should be prime considerations. Any quasi-religious practice that threatens public safety or peace should be vetoed.

### *Removal of Untouchability*

Sri Maganbhai Prabhudas Desai replies to some of the more plausible objections to the removal of untouchability in India. In an article on the matter in the *Harijan* on January 8, he quotes certain reactions to the Government of India's intention to undertake a comprehensive legislation for the abolition of untouchability, to show how conservative certain people were.

Expressing some surprise that efforts should be made in some quarters to bring up the idea of co-existence as a justification for the continuation of the caste system and untouchability, Sri Desai points out that co-existence presupposed equal regard for one another and it was incompatible with any idea that some were higher and others were lower by birth.

It was also surprising that objections should be raised against interdining, Sri Desai continues. One was free to eat whatever or however he liked but "the belief that the presence on one's side of someone belonging to some other particular caste at the time when one is eating constitutes for the latter—although the former should be eating from his own plate—a breach in his practice of religion cannot be accepted."

Sri Desai dismisses as baseless the fear that expressed by some that because of some special facilities they were receiving, the Harijans might like to keep up their separate identity forever. It could not mean "even if there were some truth in it that they should not be given the facilities which they deserve." Moreover, it was "not reasonable to suppose that lured by those facilities they (the Harijans) would like to keep their social status as it has been." It was the normal constitutional responsibility of the State to help the more backward classes educationally and economically.

The more important question, Sri Desai emphasises, was not whether the Harijans were likely to give up their existing social status which they certainly would do, but "whether the non-Harijans will wipe out the sin of untouchability. . . That is what we should be concerned about and attend to with all our energy. If that is done all other things that we want will follow automatically."

### *Recalling Legislators*

Sri Ananthasayanam Ayyangar, Deputy Speaker of the Lok Sabha, said in a recent speech at the

Harold Laski Institute in Ahmedabad that people should have the right to recall their representatives in the different legislatures in India, if those representatives failed to give a good account of themselves. He would like the right of recall of legislators to be first applied in the State Legislatures and then to the Parliament. Sri Ayyangar also referred to the tendency among Parliamentarians to absent themselves from the House for hours together and said, "We have to ring the bell very often to get the quorum. The tendency to remain absent from the House has developed since the salaries of the members have been fixed."

The *Hitavada* in an editorial article on the 14th January wholeheartedly supports the idea of incorporating a provision in the Indian Constitution for recalling absentee and indifferent legislators. Referring to Sri Ayyangar's speech the newspaper writes that there was no reason why the Lok Sabha should be excluded from the proposed rule regarding recall of legislators, especially as the evil of absenteeism was largely prevalent in that House too.

The Constitutions of a number of countries also provided for the recall of legislators who did not take their duties seriously or who ceased to represent the people who had elected them, the newspaper notes. In our Constitution too, it is suggested, there should be a clear legal provision to prevent political apostasy as the "practice is becoming somewhat common for legislators crossing the floor of the House for personal reasons and paying little or no attention to the views of their electorate."

"A sound party system cannot be developed unless the legislators who change their party loyalty are deprived of their seats in the legislatures," the newspaper writes. Mere expulsion from the party was not enough in those cases for curing political opportunism.

Reference is made to the fact that the fixing of monthly salaries for our legislators had been done according to the practice obtaining in the British House of Commons. But there was a lot of difference between the British Parliamentarians and their Indian counterparts. A Member of Parliament in the United Kingdom spent almost the whole of his salary on the duties pertaining to his office. He regularly maintained an office in his constituency and was in constant touch with his electorate.

"But what is the position in our country?" asks the newspaper. "How many legislators can say that they are in constant touch with their masters, the voters?" In fact, after election very few legislators remembered the electorate until the exigencies of a further election reminded them of that. As a result many of them ceased to represent the views of their electors on many public issues.

"This indifference to his masters are bad enough.

But if he adds to that the evil of absenteeism in the Legislature, he must be recalled by the people," the *Hitavada* writes.

The arguments supporting a provision for the recalling of laggards and useless legislators is cogent enough. But what should be the procedure for determining the will of the electors? Unless a rigid procedure is laid down, it would mean that the elections would never be conclusive.

### *Education of Legislators*

The All-India Conference of Government Whips of Legislatures which met for two days in Mysore on January 15 and 16, is reported to have recommended the establishment of a Reorientation Institute for Legislators of all parties in the Union Parliament and the State Legislatures, to enable them to understand to a greater degree the problems of the public. The Government of India was urged to provide requisite assistance for the purpose, if necessary, with external aid.

### *Chou-Hammerskjöld Talks*

The United Nations General Assembly in a resolution adopted on December 10 last condemned the Government of the People's Republic of China for what was stated to be the unjust detention and punishment by China of eleven American airmen. The resolution sponsored by the sixteen Korean War Allies and approved by the General Assembly by 47 votes to 5 with 7 absentions including India, asked the U.N. Secretary-General to negotiate with the Chinese Government for the release of the airmen and to report back on the results by December 31, 1954.

Accordingly, Mr. Dag Hammerskjöld, the U.N. Secretary-General, offered to go to Peking to hold talks with the Chinese Government on the release of the imprisoned American airmen. The Chinese Government was apparently not very keen to receive the U.N. envoy but eventually agreed to the proposal at the special request of the Government of India.

Mr. Hammerskjöld arrived in Peking on January 5 via New Delhi, where he had talks with Premier Nehru. The U.N. Secretary-General was accompanied by Professor A. S. Bokhari of Pakistan who was an Assistant Secretary-General of the U.N.O.

In a joint communique issued on January 10, after the conclusion of the talks, Dr. Hammerskjöld and Mr. Chou En-lai said that in their meetings they discussed "questions pertinent to the relaxation of world tension" and felt that "these talks have been useful and we hope to be able to continue the contact established in these meetings."

There was no mention in the communique of anything about the imprisoned U.S. airmen.

Mr. Hammerskjöld said in a Press Conference in New York that his discussions with the Chinese Government "were very thorough and that the visit of Peking has achieved what I was aiming at in this first step;" and that "no deals of any kind" had been suggested by either side. He added that there was no possibility of his going back to Peking.

In his talks later on with the U.S. Secretary of State, Dr. Hammerskjöld is reported to have said that he was hopeful of the release of the airmen imprisoned in China "given restraint on all sides."

It is generally believed that Dr. Hammerskjöld's discussion with Mr. Chou En-lai covered a wide field including China's membership of the U.N. The Chinese Government stated to have sent a detailed report on the Peking talks to the Government of India. Though the contents of the report have not been made public, it is believed to indicate China's great reluctance to treat the case of the imprisoned airmen as a major issue of her dispute with Washington, in spite of her knowledge of America's strong feelings in the matter. China, however, reportedly indicated her great willingness to co-operate in measures to remove the tension which gave importance to such incidents.

Commenting on Dr. Hammerskjöld's report on his talks in Peking, President Eisenhower said on January 14 that Americans were disappointed by it. He said that it would not be easy for Americans "to refrain from giving expression to thoughts of reprisal or retaliation"; but he urged everyone to refrain from such thoughts.

It has since been known that during Mr. Hammerskjöld's visit to Peking, the Chinese Government had offered to allow the relatives of the imprisoned airmen to go to China to visit them. But the U.S. Government is reported to have decided "not to encourage" families of the airmen to accept the Chinese offer. According to *UPI*, Mr. Hammerskjöld said that he would hold himself responsible for the security of the American relatives who wanted to go to Peking.

On the occasion of Mr. Hammerskjöld's China visit certain interested parties found it opportune to indulge in anti-Indian propaganda. It was wildly and widely rumoured that Mr. Hammerskjöld had been given a cold reception in New Delhi. However, Mr. Hammerskjöld himself contradicted the story and thus laid bare its hollowness.

### *Bogor Talks*

The Prime Ministers of five Asian countries—India, Indonesia, Ceylon, Burma and Pakistan—had their first meeting in Colombo when they held discussions from April 28 to May, 1954, covering matters of common interest including the ending of war in Indo-China, China's admission in the UN, stopping

Hydrogen bomb tests and problems relating to Communism, Colonialism and the Middle East. In that meeting they had also discussed the desirability of holding a conference of African-Asian nations and the Prime Minister of Indonesia, Dr. Ali Sastroamidjojo, had been entrusted to explore the possibilities of such a conference.

Accordingly, the Premiers of the above nations met for two days on December 28 and 29 at Bogor, the Indonesian hill resort, 40 miles south of Djakarta, to discuss the agenda and list of invitees for the proposed Afro-Asian Conference which had originally been scheduled to be held in Indonesia in February or March this year, but would now be held in the last week of April (one tentative date was April 18).

The Bogor Conference unanimously approved of the list of nations to be invited. The proposed invitees, which included People's Republic of China, Japan and Turkey but excluded Israel and U.S.S.R., numbered twenty-five. Others were Afghanistan, Viet Nam, Viet Minh, Laos, Cambodia, Egypt, Sudan, Gold Coast, Liberia, Ethiopia, Iraq, Libya, Iran, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Central African Federation, Saudi Arabia, Yemen and Nepal. Thailand and the Philippines which had already indicated their unwillingness to attend such a conference were also invited. Israel was not invited. Thus if all the invitations were accepted altogether thirty countries would participate in the proposed African-Asian Conference at Bandung in Indonesia.

The purpose of the proposed African-Asian Conference was described by the Prime Ministers to be:

"(a) To promote goodwill and co-operation among the nations of Asia and Africa; to explore and advance their mutual as well as common interests and to establish and further friendliness and neighbourly relations;

"(b) To consider social, economic and cultural problems and relations of the countries represented;

"(c) To consider problems of special interest to the Asian and African peoples, for example, problems affecting national sovereignty and of racialism and colonialism; and

"(d) To view the position of Asia and Africa and their peoples in the world of today and the contribution they can make to the promotion of world peace and co-operation."

The twenty-five countries had been invited to the proposed conference on a broad geographical basis and on the agreement of the five Premiers that "all countries in Asia which have independent governments will be invited."

The conference would be on a ministerial level; it was hoped that either the Prime Minister or the Foreign Minister of the respective countries would attend the conference, together with other representatives.

The Prime Ministers pointed out "that acceptance of the invitation by any one country would in no way involve, or even imply, any other change in view of the status of any other country. It would imply only that the country invited was in general agreement with the purposes of the conference." No discussion of the proposed conference would be regarded as binding on any country unless it so desired. The basic purpose of the conference was that the countries concerned should become better acquainted with one another's point of view and "the Prime Ministers hope that this clarification will enable all the invited countries to accept their invitation," says the communique issued at the conclusion of the Bogor talks.

The Prime Ministers welcomed the outcome of the Geneva Conference which contributed to the cease-fire in Indo-China and hoped that the Agreement would be fully implemented. They expressed their continued support to the demands of the peoples of Tunisia and Morocco for their national independence and their legitimate right to self-determination. The four other Premiers supported Indonesia's claim to West Irian (Dutch New Guinea) and expressed the hope that the Netherlands Government would not fail to honour their obligations under their agreement with Indonesia.

The Prime Ministers also reiterated their great concern at the destructive potentialities of the nuclear weapons.

Eighteen countries are reported to have already given their consent to participate in the forthcoming Bandung Conference.

The Bogor Conference of the five Asian Powers found a sympathetic response in the Soviet press though the Soviet Union, which had vast territory in Asia, was excluded from the list of invitees.

In an article in the *Pravda*, official organ of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, N. Pastukhov writes that the importance of the Bogor Conference "lies in the fact that it expresses the desire of the Asian peoples to rule their own destiny. Its decisions also show that the Asian problems cannot be settled without the participation of the great Chinese people. At the same time the Conference has evidenced the constantly growing struggle of the Asian peoples for full national independence, against colonialism, racial discrimination and economic enslavement."

### *Western Reaction to Bogor Conference*

Though London official circles wished "a fair wind" to the Afro-Asian Conference, Whitehall was not altogether enthusiastic about the prospect of a conference of Asian and African countries, such as was envisaged by the Djakarta Powers. "There is, indeed, reason to believe that the resentful comments of the *Daily Telegraph* yesterday (Dec. 30) on the 'Coloured

Man's Burden' are not far removed from official reaction here," writes Dr. K. S. Shelvankar in a despatch to the *Hindu* from London.

Britain was resentful at her exclusion from the Bandung invitees as she still regarded herself as an Asian and African Power. The decision taken at Bogor to invite, among others, Gold Coast, Sudan and the Central African Federation—which had so long been treated as a close British reserve—presented Britain with a problem. It was pointed out in certain quarters that the three African States under reference could not accept the invitation to attend the Bandung Conference without British consent as Whitehall was still responsible for them. Consequently, there appeared some doubts as to the eventful British attitude on the issue of these States' joining the conference. Britain had, however, constantly emphasised the *de facto* independence of some of these countries which had not yet attained full Commonwealth status, and had also been seeking to get them admitted to specialised international bodies like the World Health Organisation, Dr. Shelvankar points out.

*PTI* sums up the Western reaction in the following words: "Behind the facade of diplomatic phrases, what the Western Powers are really concerned with, according to informed sources here (London), is not so much the forging of a political bloc—which they know to be difficult in view of the ideological conglomeration of the States—but the emergence of a vast economic co-operation agency for Asia and Africa controlling the bulk of the raw materials on which the Western industrial nations now depend."

American coolness to the proposed conference was also not much concealed. Mr. John Foster Dulles, the U.S. Secretary of State, said that the purposes of the proposed Afro-Asian Conference were not clear to him and he described the communique issued after the Bogor Conference "an ambiguous document."

There was much resentment in the Australian press at her exclusion from the Bandung Conference.

Comment was also made in the Western press at the exclusion of New Zealand and the Soviet Union.

### *Atomic Energy Institute for Pakistan*

The Government of Pakistan recently decided on the establishment of an Institute of Atomic Energy in Pakistan. A committee was accordingly appointed under the chairmanship of Dr. Nazir Ahmed, who was at present also chairman of the Pakistan Tariff Commission. The committee would devise a programme for atomic energy and prepare a detailed plan for the Institute of Atomic Energy with special reference to location, accommodation, staffing and organization, procurement of machinery and equipment and radioactive and fissionable materials indicating sources of their supply.

### *Soviet Offer of Atomic Co-operation*

The Soviet Government in an announcement on January 14, signified its willingness to pass on to the U.N. Atomic Energy Committee the scientific and technical experience gained from the operation of the first industrial atomic power plant in the U.S.S.R. which had been in commission since July, 1954. The offer was being made, according to the *Tass* statement, as a recognition by the Soviet Government of the great importance of the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes and a contribution in its efforts to promote international co-operation in that field.

Describing the Soviet offer as "of extraordinary interest," the *Hindu* editorially writes on January 16 that though in the Western countries there might be a tendency to search for 'catches' in the Soviet offer, "there is nothing in the Moscow report to indicate that the Soviet Union is making the offer on a conditional basis." While the precise value of the Soviet declaration would doubtless be examined in detail by the U.N. Atomic Energy Commission the anxiety evinced by the Soviet Union—as one of the two Great Powers possessing developed atomic weapons, the other being the U.S.A.—to explore the possibilities of utilising atomic energy for peaceful purposes, what was more, to share the results of their research with other countries must be regarded as very hopeful.

The newspaper refers to the fact that the Soviet offer came more than a year after President Eisenhower had made a proposal in a speech before the U.N. General Assembly in which he had stated that with a view to removing the popular fear of atom, the "governments principally involved, to the extent permitted by elementary prudence," should "begin now and continue to make joint contributions from their stockpiles of normal uranium and fissionable materials to an international atomic energy agency," which would "devise methods whereby the fissionable material would be allocated to serve the peaceful pursuits of mankind."

The *Hindu* writes: "While Gen. Eisenhower's proposal seemed to limit the functions of the proposed atomic energy agency to sponsoring investigations into the effective peace-time uses of fissionable material, the Soviet Union seems to go one step further and to offer its knowledge and technical 'know-how' for setting up atomic power stations in other countries."

Provided the Soviet offer had been genuinely made the newspaper even envisages a healthy rivalry in the export of atomic power plants between the Soviet Union and United Kingdom, who was also

reportedly making good progress in development of atomic energy.

The reason why Gen. Eisenhower's proposal for an international pool of fissionable material had not yet materialized, according to the *Hindu*, "may be that the countries which have fissionable material—among them are Australia, Japan, China, India, South Africa, the Congo, France, Portugal, Brazil and Canada—are not willing to disclose their resources to an international agency of whose immediate serviceability to them they have doubts.

"But their reaction might be very different if a U.N. agency, supported by the U.S., U.K. and the U.S.S.R., comes forward to harness atomic materials for peaceful purposes in the countries possessing them.

"It is to be hoped that the U.N. Atomic Energy Commission will seriously go into the Soviet offer and explore the possibilities of East-West co-operation in harnessing the atom for peace," the newspaper concludes.

### *American People and Russia*

Sixty-five per cent of the American people were against any diplomatic break with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, a Gallup poll showed recently.

A cross section of the American people had been asked: "Do you think it would be a good idea or a poor idea for the United States to break off diplomatic relations with Russia at this time?"

Sixty-five per cent thought it a poor idea, 21 per cent a good idea and 14 per cent were undecided or had no opinion.

According to the survey, there was no basic difference of opinion on the question between Democrats and Republicans.

### *250-Million-Year-Old Reptile Found*

News from Israel reports that recently the petrified skull of a 250-million-year-old reptile had been found, almost completely intact, in the Wadi Ramon in Central Negev, by Dr. F. Brotzen, a Swedish palaeontologist. The skull, together with another find last year of the anterior part of the body armour of such a reptile probably belonging to the same species, represented an extremely rare and valuable find. An international team of palaeontologists was expected to go there to explore the Wadi Ramon area which was generally believed to conserve valuable fossils, provided that it was possible to solve the problem of financing such a costly undertaking.

# INDIA'S CREATIVE RECREATION

By

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CREATIVE recreation is a most important factor in social regeneration. Recreation implies "creation," but the term, as it is often used today, has lost its original meaning and includes any kind of pastime or relaxation without any idea of renovation or revival of physical strength, mental alertness and moral fervour. Recreation has thus a much larger connotation and includes activities for rebuilding the body, mind and spirit, and generating a healthy and optimistic outlook on life. Recreation has an important part in the life processes of the individual, the group and society, and all human communities, whether savage or civilized, have made ample provisions for all kinds of recreation.

Indo-Aryans began life by worshipping nature and they made provision for all kinds of festivities and rituals for each season of the year, and also for important occasions. The same provisions were also made by the Dravidians. The Buddhist and Jain teachings brought in, however, many austere aspects of life, some of which were modified by Hinduism. Hinduism, under the guidance of the priesthood, brought back some of the rituals and ceremonies to satisfy the desires of the people for recreational purposes. Since the beginning of the present century, there has been a revival of them all over the country.

The number of recreative measures is legion. But for practical purposes they may be divided into four groups, such as physical culture, sports and games, revival of folklore and broadcast and cinema. This classification overlaps and is arbitrary, but it is nevertheless useful for all practical purposes.

## PHYSICAL CULTURE

Physical culture forms a most important class of recreation. Its main objective is twofold, (1) to strengthen the muscles, and (2) to fortify the lungs, the importance of both has been realized and provision has been made for them by the individual, the group and the government in most of the countries, advanced or backward. In India "gymkhanas," or club houses for physical culture had been in existence from time immemorial and they are now being supplemented by the Government both in urban areas and the country-side.

Creative recreation should begin at the nursery school in which the play impulses of children may be given a creative bias. Such work must be extended to include the children in the junior basic school covering the first five years of compulsory primary education, and also the children in the senior basic school covering the second three years of compulsory primary education. All the children, both boys and girls, should be made to undertake physical exercises as a part of the school curriculum. Moreover, the students in the senior basic

school, that is, those between the ages of twelve and fourteen, should be drafted into either the boy scout or the girl guide movements.

Schools, colleges and universities should provide physical exercises for their students, both men and women. Moreover, the Indian educational scheme, or the Sargent Plan, has proposed a National Youth Movement to provide recreative and social activities, especially for those between the ages of fourteen and eighteen. The objective of this movement would be to supplement similar work started by the Young Men's Christian Associations and the Ramakrishna Mission. The Government of India appointed a committee to prepare a plan for a central training college of physical education. This proposed college should train physical training teachers, coaches, recreation leaders, and publish literature on physical culture.

Another important problem is the provision for recreational facilities, including physical exercises, in the rural areas, where by far the largest number of the Indian population still live. The establishment of a school in every village or group of villages would naturally provide physical exercises and recreation for the children and they may be supplemented by the establishment of gymkhanas (places of physical exercise) where wrestling, weight lifting, and dumb-bell practices and other exercises might be provided for the adults.

Physical exercise may be organised into a veritable show or exposition by the amateurs, for clubs, schools, colleges, universities and other organizations or by professional enterprises, as in the circus, for public entertainment. When put to rhythm with music, these physical exercises become great sources of inspiration to the young men and women and of pleasure to the public in general. The greatest attempt at nationalizing physical exercises were made by the Czechoslovakians before World War II when thousands of young men and women joined the open-air physical exercises in rhythm with music. They not only presented a magnificent sight but also created a great admiration for youthful participants, bringing into mind the Greek conception of the 'beauty of the human body.' The very attire of the young men and women reminded one of another Greek philosophical truth that "the object of dress is not to cover the body but to beautify it."

## SPORTS AND GAMES

Sports and games are instinctive in origin, but take definite shapes from group habits. Unlike rituals and ceremonies they are more easily influenced by those of other countries. India has contributed to the world two very important sports, such as hockey and polo. On the other hand, India has also adopted cricket, football,

tennis and other games from the West. As far as indoor games are concerned, India has also contributed to the world the very aristocratic game of chess. Dice is also an old game in India and Indian princes have even been known to stake even their kingdoms on this game. In recent years, sports and games, both indigenous and foreign, have become closely integrated into national recreation. They bring enjoyment not only to schools, colleges, universities and other institutions and organizations which actually participate in them but also to the public in general.

What is more important still is the fact that sports and games have great influence upon building the individual, the group, and society as well as upon national and international relationships. In the first place, constant successes and defeats on the playgrounds create among men and women a spirit of sportsmanship and prepare them to meet the conditions of actual life. It has often been said that Wellington won the battle of Waterloo at Eton, implying his activities on the playing field rather than in the class room. In the second place, success on the playing field often opens the way to permanent relationships in other aspects of life. The defeat of the British Army football team by the Bengali Mohun Bagan team in Calcutta a few years ago raised the morale of the Bengali youth, and the outstanding achievement by Prince Ranajit Singh as cricketer won high appreciation for India all over the world. Finally, sports and games help in building up national and international relationships. Cricket and football matches between schools, colleges, universities and other institutions and organizations all over the world, bring young men and women together. Recently India has also taken an active part in the Olympic Games and established contact with many foreign countries and won laurels on several playing fields.

Both the Government of India and the Indian public have realized the importance of sports and games in national and international relationships and have adopted definite measures :

(1) On November 14, 1948 India started the construction of Nehru Stadium at New Delhi at a cost of Rs. 2.5 million. It consists of an athletic section with cycle and running tracks and a swimming pool, with stands for 20,000 people, a tennis court on the Wimbledon model, grounds for cricket, football, hockey, badminton and an open-air theatre, also a club-house for residential accommodation.

(2) A Patel Stadium has also been built at Bombay at a cost of Rs. 2 million which consists of similar facilities. There is no doubt that these stadiums will be followed by the construction of similar ones in other parts of the country.

(3) What is more significant is the inauguration by the Government of India of the Rational Sports Club of India in New Delhi on March 7, 1953. It is the first of the national chain of clubs to be built gradually in most of the cities of India.

India received Olympic recognition in 1920, when a team of six participated in the Olympiad and since 1928 India has retained the World Hockey Championship. In 1949, eight countries signed the constitution of the Asian Games Federation at a formal meeting in New Delhi under the presidency of the Maharaja of Patiala, the President of the Indian Olympic Association and the doyen of princely sports. The first Asian Games were assigned to India and it took place in New Delhi in 1951.

Of the foreign games, cricket occupies a very honorable place. It was introduced by the British a long time ago, but Bengal took it seriously in 1877 and in 1885, the game of a Bengali team against an Australian team visiting the Calcutta International Exposition was drawn, thus showing the power of the Indian team to stand a professional international team. Early in this century, Prince Ranjit Singh proved to be the world's greatest cricketer, and the title "Ranji" became associated with the cricket game. India honours "Ranji" in the form of the "Ranji Trophy." The recent match between the Prime Minister's XI and the Vice-President's XI has probably become a permanent national feature.

While cricket is largely a game of the middle and educated classes and polo has remained an aristocratic and princely game, the House of Jaipur becoming its well-known champion, football is often called the game of the people or the masses and draws the largest number of spectators. As noted above, it was a football game in Calcutta early in the century where the famous Mohan Bagan team defeated the British and the British, both civilians and army, showed the highest spirit of chivalry when they left the field with hats in their hands instead of on their heads. Football has raised the national stature of India and Mohan Bagan, Mohammedan Sporting and East Bengal Clubs have become famous in the annals of national sports. Games' appeal is both varied and wide in the present-day India, especially since here the achievement of her independence. Both lawn tennis and table tennis are very popular; boxing is gradually gaining ground; like ju-jitsu in Japan, wrestling is also a popular sport in India. Among other sports, mention must be made of swimming and aquatics, Kahaddi or Hu-tu-tu, Gilli-danda, golf and badminton, volley-ball, netball and many others in different parts of the country. (Source : *India 1953, Annual Review*, The High Commission of India, London, 157-62).

#### REVIVAL OF FOLKLORE

The revival of folklore, such as folk dance, folk song, folk music (instrumental) is still another method of regenerating social life, especially among the rural population. While sports and games have a better chance of development in urban areas with their comparatively denser population, folk dances, folk songs and folk music can thrive better in rural areas which are the home of their origins and development. Just as in the case of her natural resources and cultural traditions, India is also

enormously rich in her folklore for several reasons : First, the variety of her ethnic groups, such as Aryans, Dravidians, Mongolians and Aborigines, who have brought with them their own folklore and also developed new ones in their new abode. Second, extreme variations both in physiography and climatology in India which have developed folklore, especially among the aborigines, some of whom, e.g., proto-Australasians, arrived in India even before they developed their final racial characteristics. Third, magic and mysticism together with mythology have also played their part in the development of folklore. The Bhils, the aborigines of Rajasthan, for instance, even to-day resort to dancing, whenever there is a drought, in order to appease the powers for rainfall. Finally, some professional dancers, e.g., Bhawai of Rajasthan, have been created as such by the upper classes for their amusements.

There is thus in India a regular cycle of festivals and fairs almost all the year round. There are special days for celebrating autumn or harvesting, spring, and rainy seasons, new year's day, National Independence Day, the Gandhi day ; principal holidays, whether of Hindu, Moslem, Christian or Sikh origins, are observed as national holidays. The sacred places of India are many, such as Mount Abu for the Jains, Amritsar for the Sikhs ; Gaya and Saranath for the Buddhists ; Nawadwip, Puri, Brindaban, Mathura, Banaras and Rameswar and other places for the Hindus. Recently Qadian, the birth-place of Ahmed, the founder of the Ahmadiyya sect, has also become a place of pilgrimage to his followers. For the orthodox Moslem the holy places are Mecca and Medina, which are outside India. But some of the mosques and tombs, such as Jumma Masjid of Delhi, the Tomb of Akbar at Fatehpur Sikri and the grand and noble edifice of the Taj Mahal at Agra always inspire admiration and reverence from millions of visitors from all over the country.

Sacred places are permanent and some rituals and ceremonies are performed throughout the year, but on certain occasions they become animated and lively, and congested and overcrowded with devotees and visitors from all parts of the country, and assume the characteristics of veritable fairs, with markets loaded with rare and curious merchandisc, and streets filled with amusements including sports and games, folk dances and folk songs and folk music. Like festivals, fairs are commonplace in India, but India's outstanding fair is the Kumbha Mela, which has come down from time immemorial and is held once in every three years in four different places and the final and fullest meeting taking place every twelfth year at Allahabad, where two sacred rivers, Ganga and Jamuna meet, and which draws millions of Hindu brothers from all over the country.

Group dancing is a common thing in India. Both men and women take part in their folklore festivals, but they dance separately. Some time dancing and singing are combined. Among the aborigines men and women often take equal part in most of their festivals. While

dancing is rhythmic and is easily understood, singing requires some knowledge of language which differs from State to State. But the soul of music lies in its tune which is more easily understood without language. Most of the folk songs have come down from olden times. Among the best folk songs must be included the Baul songs of Bengal. But there are also several modern composers of folk songs in different parts of the country. The greatest contributor to modern folk song is, however, Rabindranath Tagore, and a large number of his 3000 songs belong to this category. What is more important is the fact that the All-India Radio spends more than half of its broadcast on popular music for the Indian people. Nor has India made mean contribution to instrumental music. The universal drum appeared in the very early communal life as in many other countries. The Bina or one-string instrument gradually developed into the guitar and the universal flute also developed into a higher class instrument. What is more significant is the fact that, unlike dance and song, various musical instruments made their way into neighbouring countries, especially in South-East Asia.

An important problem before India today is the utilization of her immense folklore resources for social solidarity and cultural enrichment. After centuries of suppression and indifference under foreign domination, the people of India have achieved national independence and established a democratic Republic and they are bound to revive their old cultural life, of which folklore forms an integral part. It is an opportune moment for the Government of India to utilize the folklore to the best advantage of India by the following methods :

(1) *Allocation and adjustment* of the folklore is the first step in this direction. All the folklore activities should be assigned to particular time and season in each locality, State and the Union. A uniform calendar for the whole country, instead of over a dozen as it is today will go a long way to the simultaneous demonstration of the folklores all over the country so that they may have a spontaneous feeling of solidarity among all classes of people.

(2) *Co-ordination and Nationalization* is still another process of utilizing the folklore for social progress. All the folklores, whether dances, songs or music should be co-ordinated, rather than integrated, into well-defined groups, so that each unit or group of units may preserve its specific quality and add to cultural richness. Moreover, all the units of the folklore should have national recognition, either directly by the Union Government or indirectly through State or District Government. Nothing could make a group of people, whether backward classes, scheduled castes, or scheduled tribes, feel as a part of the national whole as the acceptance by the national government of their cultural traits as best indicated by their folklore. The first step in the nationalization of the folklore was taken by the Government of India when the Festival of Folk Dances was held in New Delhi during the Republic Week

festivities in January 1954, and troupes of dancers were invited from all parts of India and all the States sent their representatives. Among the dancing parties mention may be made of Hoer Dance of Bihar, Fadhora Nritya of Saurashtra, Ras Dance of Gujarat, Srya Dance of Assam, and Sema (war) Dance of the Nagas in Assam.

#### BROADCAST AND CINEMA

Both broadcast and cinema are the most important methods of communication in modern times, especially in a vast country like India, where by far the majority of the people are illiterate and backward. Broadcasting began in India in the twenties. It was started by a private company in 1927 which, however, went into voluntary liquidation soon after. The Government of India soon realized the possibility of a new medium of communication and took over the company and made it a monopoly of the Government, establishing it as the All-India Radio. By 1939, India developed nine operating stations and full-fledged broadcasting services. The first programme for an audience outside of India was a broadcast in Persian in 1939 and, by 1945 the All-India Radio was broadcasting in ten foreign languages and five Indian languages, in addition to an elaborate service in English for audience outside the country. During the war, it was found advantageous to have a single source of news and so a Central News Organization was set up at Delhi. This organization is responsible for all internal and external news even today. After World War II, some reduction was made in the external services and an attempt has been made to improve home services. In six years since 1947, the number of All-India Radio stations has risen to twenty-two.

The role of India's radio is to inform, educate and entertain as well as to develop the intellectual and cultural life of the people and to interpret it at home and abroad. The external service has a twofold objective: (1) to reach the people of Indian origin overseas, and (2) to interest the outside world in general in various aspects of Indian life. The All-India Radio believes that there is a large and interested audience for its external service. As far as home service is concerned, in addition to the supply of general and special information to the Indian public the All-India Radio has a two-fold mission: First, to raise the general standard of musical appreciation throughout the country. It takes pride in being responsible for the recent revival of interest in serious and classical music and also the attempts to create a new tradition of light music and has made the finest collection of the folk music of the country. In fact, music forms roughly half of the total broadcasting times of the All-India Radio. Secondly, perhaps the most important of All-India Radio's home broadcasts are those addressed to the rural population. They are planned and presented with the greatest possible care by the staff who are fully acquainted with rural condi-

tions. The main objective of such broadcasts is to create some idea of the great cultural and historical heritage which is theirs and to give them a feeling of pride in themselves.

Like the radio, the film has been taking its part in the regeneration of the Indian people. "Two million people visit the cinema every day in India and ninety per cent of the films they see are made in their own country."

(1) In the short span of 40 years India has become the second largest film-producing country, employing 90,000 people. (*India 1953—Annual Review*, The High Commission of India, London, p. 139).

The founder of the film industry in India was Dhirendraji Phalke, who, inspired by a film on the life of Christ, produced the first Indian film on "Raja Harishchandra" and exhibited it in Bombay in 1913. Before retiring, Phalke produced 125 films. With the advent of the talking films in 1931, India's film industry received a new impetus to revival, and sound films attracted a large section of the community and cinemas were built in towns and cities and more than 2,500 cinemas were in operation.

In 1949, the Government recognized the importance of the film industry, appointed a Film Enquiry Committee to investigate the conditions of the industry and to make a report on the findings. The report was published in 1951 and was very well received by the public as a first comprehensive document on the industry, with valuable suggestions for reorganization. The Committee urged the Government to take active interest in the development of the industry, but without any interference with its independent existence.

An important event in the film industry was the organization of the International Film Festival of India in 1952, sponsored by the Government of India and organized by the Film Division of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. India acted as host to 23 countries and many international film personalities. Over a million people saw 54 feature films in 13 languages and 104 documentaries, which were selected for exhibition. So India's film festival became the first mobile festival of its kind in the world. Another unusual feature was the establishment of vast open-air theatres at Delhi and Madras capable of seating 7,000 people. These open-air theatres proved so popular that they have now become a permanent feature.

Some of the Indian films have established world-wide reputation. The film *Neecha Nagar* won the Cannes Film Festival's Grand Prize and amongst many other awards *Babla* won the Struggle for Social Progress Prizes at the Czech International Film Festival. The Government's Film Division's documentaries have also received recognition at European, Canadian and British Film Festivals. The Film Division has received a total of 18 certificates between 1946-53 from the Edinburgh Film Festival. To-day the Film Division leads the way in India in the production of documentary films,

with an average production of 36 films a year and one newsreel a week. To-day documentary films have become an integral part of the Government's information service overseas. Working along with feature films, the Government's documentaries play an important part in the messages of India abroad. (Source: *India 1953—Annual Review*. The High Commission of India, London, pp. 139 and 163. *India—A Reference Manual, 1953*, Government of India).

In summing up, it might be observed that creative recreation, which is being rapidly integrated into Indian

national life, will undoubtedly renovate the physical strength, mental alertness, and moral fervour of the people. Physical culture as an integral part of the compulsory education as well as sports and games will help the future generations to begin their life processes with greater vigour and the revival of folklore will add to their cultural enrichment. Above all, broadcasts and cinemas as part programme of social education will prove extremely useful to the enlightenment, information, and entertainment of the people and will also keep them abreast with other nations.

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## SOCIALISM AND SARVODAYA

By PROF. S. N. AGARWAL

It was, perhaps, for the first time that the economic policy of India was discussed at length in the Parliament. Shri C. D. Deshmukh, who initiated the debate, made it quite clear that "the central objective of our economic policy from now on must be to create full employment conditions, within a reasonable period, say, ten years from now." This is by no means an over-ambitious goal. "In achieving this," said the Finance Minister, "there is ample scope for expansion both in the public and private sector." According to the calculations of Shri Deshmukh, some 24 million jobs would have to be created if our objective were full employment, and the total investment would have to be of the order of Rs. 1,000 crores a year. Considering the numbers involved, while the development of major industries must continue in national interest, the Finance Minister thought that it was necessary "to foster the development of small-scale and village industries with greater opportunities for employment and more and more chances of improving the resources of the population." Intervening in the debate, the Prime Minister reaffirmed his policy of bringing about a "casteless and classless society" through the "peaceful and co-operative method." It was also made clear that India's approach to Socialism was not a doctrinaire approach but a practical way of achieving the basic objectives of full employment, more production and economic justice. Shri Nehru pointed out that it was, more or less, meaningless to talk about conflict between the public and private sectors. In a socialistic pattern of society, the public sector was bound to be increasingly important. But there would be ample scope for the private sector as well with public control at "strategic points." After all, the biggest private sector in the country was "the private sector of the peasant with his small landholdings."

Both the Prime Minister and the Finance Minister declared that the Industrial Policy of India still conti-

nued to be, more or less, on the lines of the announcement of 1948, although there might be "shifts of emphasis from time to time." It should be clearly understood that though there was still enough scope for private enterprise, "the days of *laissez faire* are past."

"In modern conditions, particularly in a State which, like ours, has set before itself the ideal of a Welfare State, there can be no complete anti-thesis between public and private enterprise, nor any difference of opinion about the needs for the regulatory functions of the State."

What is most important, however, is the problem of increasing the rate of savings and investment. In order to ensure full employment to the people of India, it is estimated that the rate of investment should be 10 per cent of the annual national income. It should be understood, however, that economic planning in under-developed countries cannot depend on monetary resources only. The main problem is to organise and utilise the idle man-power of the nation. It is from this point of view that increasing attention will have to be paid to the development of small-scale and village industries.

The Finance Minister was on uncertain ground when he stated in the Parliament that additional jobs for providing fuller employment "must obviously be created in the non-agricultural sector." If 12 million new jobs are to be found in the country by the end of the Second Five-Year Plan, it would be impossible to do so in the urban areas alone. We have no doubt in our minds that additional employment on a large scale will have to be found in the direction of agro-industries like hand-pounding of rice, oil-pressing through village ghanis, hand-spinning and weaving of cotton, silk and wool, leather-making, animal husbandry, manufacture of *gur*, *khandsari*, etc. There is already enough congestion in our cities and the process of depopulation of our villages is almost continuous. If we attempt to

provide work to idle people in the urban areas through small-scale industries, there is bound to be greater congestion in the cities and a number of additional problems, social, economic and moral, will crop up. The best solution of the basic problem of fuller employment is, therefore, to provide work to the peasant or the artisan at his very door in the form of village and cottage industries. This plan could be achieved only if the State decides to avoid unhealthy competition between the large-scale and small-scale industries by reserving the fields of production for the small industries. For example, we see no reason why all edible oils should not be reserved for the village *ghani*. Hand-pounding of rice which has been providing gainful employment to several lakhs of our workers could be encouraged by banning the use of rice-hullers more specially in the countryside. In regard to leather manufacture, factories should not be permitted to prepare certain varieties of *deshi footwear* like chappals and sandals. It is only through such reservation or demarcation of spheres that the State could hope to afford greater employment facilities to millions of our people who are either totally unemployed or are partially employed for only a few months in the year. There is no other way out.

In trying to establish a socialistic pattern of economy in India it would be futile to regard Nationalisation of industries as the panacea for all evils. It is, of course, essential that basic or mother industries like iron and steel, coal, power, and heavy machinery ought to be State-owned and State-managed. But no attempt need be made to nationalise other existing industries which manufacture consumer goods like cloth, sugar, oil etc. Instead, all these large-scale consumption goods industries should be progressively decentralised in the form of Co-operatives. In short, the kind of Socialism that we desire to establish in this country would be very different from the Socialism of those countries where population is sparse and capital is plenty. In a country like ours, where population is dense and capital is scarce, a socialist economy must be in the nature of a decentralised economy. In India Socialism can only mean *Sarvodaya*.

There is one more point which Mahatma Gandhi used to emphasise repeatedly. *Sarvodaya* economy should not be based merely on the production and accumulation of more wealth and material articles. We must always bear in mind that man does not live by bread

alone. Along with the fulfilment of our material needs, we must try to raise our cultural and moral standards as well. That is why Gandhiji laid stress on the concept of "standard of *Life*" rather than on the "standard of living."

"I whole-heartedly detest," said Gandhiji, "this mad desire to destroy distance and time to increase animal appetites and go to the ends of the earth in search of their satisfaction."

"By going on increasing the volume or pitch of sound," wrote Gurudev Tagore, "we can get nothing but a shriek."

Kautilya, the distinguished Indian economist and thinker of the fourth century B.C., observed in his *Arthashastra* :

"Whoever is of reverse character, whoever has not his organs of sense under his control, will soon perish, though possessed of the whole earth bounded by the four quarters."

That is why our Vice-President, Dr. Radhakrishnan, has described the Indian way of life as "Ethical Socialism"

• Such a pure type of Socialism can be established in India only through the Gandhian technique of decentralised economy and "composite" democracy in the form of self-dependent and self-governing village communities or Panchayats. A bold decentralisation of political and economic power would go a long way in enabling us to establish a kind of social and economic order which could serve as a model to other countries of the world. A highly centralised State with a centralised economic system tends to become authoritarian or totalitarian with all the resultant evils. India must avoid such a regimented and over-centralised type of economy. Moreover, true Socialism could be established only if there is a visible and real change in the attitude of the individuals who compose the society.

"Socialism begins," said Gandhiji, "with the first convert." "If there is one such, you can add zeroes to the one and the first zero will account for ten and every addition will account for ten times the previous number. If, however, the beginner is a zero, multiplicity of zeroes will also produce zero value."

When individuals change, the society also changes. In order to bring about a *Sarvodaya* Society, therefore, all of us must "turn the searchlight inwards" and begin by reforming ourselves. There can be no short-cuts to true Socialism. It is not merely an economic doctrine but also a way of life.



# AGRARIAN REFORMS IN PAKISTAN

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## INTRODUCTION

With a total area of 361,000 sq. miles, Pakistan has got an estimated population of 74.437 millions.<sup>1</sup> The Western Pakistan, which comprises the Western Punjab, the North-West Frontier Province, Sind, Baluchistan and the tribal areas and some small States, has an area of 303,548 sq. miles and a population of about 32 millions. The Eastern Pakistan, comprising East Bengal and Sylhet, has an area of 54,100 sq. miles and an approximate population of 42 millions. Between these two regions, there is a wide divergence of topographical and climatic conditions. Eastern Pakistan abounds in perennial rivers and innumerable streams, large and small; there is an abundance of rainfall brought in by the monsoons and the soil is rich and fertile. In Western Pakistan, however, rainfall is inadequate and the soil is less fertile in comparison with Eastern Pakistan. As a result, agriculture is dependent on irrigation canals, and the region includes a fine net-work of irrigation canals. Not a little of the agricultural prosperity of West Pakistan is due to the good canal irrigation system. The density of population per sq. mile too varies greatly from 772 in East Pakistan (the highest density being 789 in East Bengal) to 133 in West Pakistan (the lowest being 9 in Baluchistan).

## LAND UTILIZATION

Out of an area of 115 million acres in Pakistan, only 54 million acres are cultivated. The following table will show how land is utilized<sup>2</sup>:

Classification of area	Area in million acres
Net sown	43
Current fallow	11
Total cultivated	54
Forests	5
Not available for cultivation	30
Other uncultivated land	26
Total uncultivated	61
Total land	115
Per capita sown area	0.60

## LAND TENURE SYSTEM

The present land tenure systems in Pakistan are the legacy of the British rule. When on August 14, 1947, the State of Pakistan was carved out from India, among other things, Pakistan inherited the land tenure systems then existing in the regions which were included in Pakistan.

Among the systems of land tenure in existence in various regions of Pakistan, the zamindari system

with permanent and temporary settlement is the most important and the most widely prevalent system. Permanently settled zamindari system is found in Sylhet and East Bengal over an area of 28.7 million acres; while temporarily settled zamindari and mahalwari systems are found in Sylhet, East Bengal, the North-West Frontier Province, West Punjab and Baluchistan, extending over an area of 54.3 million acres. Together, these two systems account for nearly 73 per cent of the total land. Ryotwari system is found in Sylhet and in Sind, covering an area of 30.9 million acres and accounting for 27 per cent of the total land. In addition, the State owns a substantial amount of land. In the North-West Frontier Province, a system called *bhaichara*, which resembles a kind of communal land tenure system, is still in existence.<sup>3</sup> Under this system, all the owners of the whole village brotherhood undertake a measure of responsibility for land revenue due from individual holders to the Government. In practice, however, the responsibility for payment of defaulters' revenue is not enforced.

In East Bengal, 76 per cent of the total area are under zamindari permanent settlement, 22 per cent under zamindari temporary settlement and 2 per cent under ryotwari tenure. The following table will show the acreage under different systems of land tenure in Pakistan:<sup>4</sup>

Province	Ryotwari (acres)	Zamindari permanently settled	Zamindari temporarily settled & mahalwari	Total area
Sylhet	755352	2099797	230251	3085400
E. Bengal	....	26683350	8307531	34991081
Sind	30180024	....	....	30180024
N.-W. F. P.	....	....	8577000	8577000
W. Punjab	....	....	37204621	37204621
Baluchistan	....	....	....	336000
Total	30935376	28783347	54319403	114011126
Percentage	27	25	48	100

The evils of the zamindari system of land tenure are many and the Government of Pakistan is aware of them. The Government recognizes that

"The permanent settlement (of Bengal) brought in its wake several ills. The Government lost all contact not only with the zamindars but also with the lot of the primary producer. The landlord and his underlings could do as they liked so long as the landlord paid revenue—which was grossly inadequate—to the Government on the date due. Sub-infeudation increased, and the tillers of the

1. According to the official figures in 1949.

2. *Economic Consequences of Divided India*: By C. N. Vakil.

3. *Economy of Pakistan*—Office of the Economic Adviser, Ministry of Economic Affairs, Government of Pakistan, 1950.

4. Dr. S. M. Akhtar: *Economics of Pakistan*.

soil became subject to many ill-defined liabilities. Absentee landlordism in West Pakistan similarly gave rise to several anti-social practices, such as *begar* (forced labour) and an unduly high share of the landlord in the produce of the land.<sup>5</sup>

#### CONCENTRATION OF LAND

The inevitable results of this kind of land tenure system are the concentration of land in the hands of absentee landlords, the increase of the number of tenant cultivators and agricultural labourers, and the preponderance of small uneconomic holdings. Although up-to-date consolidated statistics are not available regarding the distribution of land holdings in several provinces, it is safe to presume that in the absence of radical land reform measures, the concentration of land in the hands of a few absentee landlords has considerably increased as a whole, since the State of Pakistan came into being. In West Punjab, the number of part-tenant farmers with uneconomic holdings increased from 58.7 to 63.7 per cent between 1924 and 1939, while the number of peasant proprietors with economic holdings registered a decline from 32.1 to 29.5 per cent during the same period. In Sind, about 80 per cent of the area is cultivated by tenants called *Haris* who have no rights in land. The land-owners are all absentee landlords. The following table shows the distribution of holdings in Sind:<sup>6</sup>

Acres	Per cent of zamindars owning	Per cent of total land
3	30.2	1.62
10	30.2	5.42
20	14.29	5.18
50	17.96	16.19
300	4.49	23.33
1000 and more	2.86	48.26
	100.00=2,44,891	100.00=52,94,000 acres

Thus about half of the cultivated area is owned by only 3 per cent of the owners who own 1000 acres and more, each. About 72 per cent of the area is owned by 7 per cent of the owners who own 300 acres or more each. At the other end, 60 per cent of owners own only 7 per cent of the total land. The same situation is prevailing in other provinces of the State. In the landlord-ridden North-West Frontier Province, out of the total cultivated area of 25,25,713 acres, about 47 per cent (11,88,560 acres) is cultivated by tenants-at-will, i.e., held by large owners, and about 11 per cent (2,78,650 acres) is held by occupancy tenants. The following table will show the distribution of land holdings in West Punjab:<sup>7</sup>

#### Distribution of land holdings in West Punjab

	No. of owners (in lakhs)	Acres (in lakhs)
Up to 5 acres	9.06	18.0
5-10 "	2.27	16.0
10-15 "	0.52	8.0
15-25 "	0.64	13.5
Over 25 "	1.01	90.5
	13.50	146.0

From the above figures, the conclusion becomes inescapable that

"Considerably more than half of the cultivated area is owned by landlords who do not directly till the soil, who live on rent and who cannot, therefore, be called the producers of national wealth."<sup>8</sup>

#### CONDITIONS OF TENANCY

One of the predominant features of Pakistan agriculture is the tenant cultivation. There are two major types of tenants, viz., the occupancy tenant and the tenants-at-will. Occupancy tenants, however, are few and in all hold only 7 per cent of the total cultivated area. The bulk of the tenants are tenants-at-will who cultivate 80 per cent of the total area in Sind, about 50 per cent in West Punjab, 45 per cent in the North-West Frontier Province and about 50 per cent in Bahawalpur State. Besides, in East Bengal, land is frequently sublet to crop-sharers called *bargadars*. *Bargadars* are mostly landless labourers or occupancy tenants with very small holdings. The entire cost of production and risk are borne by the *bargadars* and yet they have to hand over 50 per cent of the gross produce to the ryot. *Bargadars* are mere tenants-at-will and enjoy absolutely no fixity of tenure. Among these tenants, the occupancy tenants enjoy the right of occupancy. They have got security of tenure. But the tenants-at-will, as the name implies, have absolutely no security. They can be ejected from the land at any moment without any reason whatsoever. They cultivate land only at the will of the landlord. Rents are usually very high—as high as 60 to 70 per cent of the gross produce. But in addition to the legal rents, which are usually very high, landlords exact illegal and unjustified payments from the tenants.

"Apart from the legal dues of the landlord, there are in most cases, particularly in Sind and the landlord dominated districts of Punjab (Pakistan) and Bahawalpur, a variety of legally unjustified dues and services which are sanctioned by custom and enforced by the superior bargaining power of the landlord. These dues and services, are extremely oppressive and include *begar*, *kurcha*, *munshiana*, *kamiana*, and *karaya*. In certain parts there are other taxes, which the landlords exact from the tenants; for instance, *faslana*, *khunga* and a tax per hearth, window or even for

5. United Nations: *Progress in Land Reform*.

6. Nabi Dux Uqaili: "Agricultural Finance in Sind," *Pakistan Economic Journal*, October, 1949.

7. Report of the Muslim League Agrarian Reforms Committee.

8. *Ibid.*

every domestic animal or chicken. Landlords in backward areas are even known to charge a homage on the marriage of their children and even a tax on the marriage of the tenant or his children.<sup>9</sup>

#### MUSLIM LEAGUE AGRARIAN REFORMS COMMITTEE REPORT

There has been a persistent demand in Pakistan for mitigating the evils of the existing land tenure systems. In East Bengal the zamindari system had been under fire for a long time, till the East Bengal State Acquisition and Tenancy Act of 1950 authorized the compulsory acquisition of big estates by the Government on payment of compensation. Similarly, in West Pakistan, the demand for land reform came from an intelligent section of the public and also from the oppressed peasantry. Ultimately, the need for introducing immediate land reform measures was recognized by the Muslim League Agrarian Reforms Committee which submitted its report in 1949. The report indeed is an important document, inasmuch as it contained several recommendations which were revolutionary in their significance and consequence. The chief recommendations of the Committee may be summarized below. In the first place, the Committee laid down the future principle of landownership in West Pakistan. It rejected landlordism and observed

"In our considered opinion a just and balanced agrarian economy can only be based on the unreserved acceptance of the principle that any interest in land can derive its justification solely from the direct contribution it makes to the cultivation of the soil and the production of national wealth. We, therefore, believe that an equitable and prosperous land system for Western Pakistan must be founded on a State-regulated ownership of holdings by self-cultivating peasant farmers, coupled with the economic enlargement of the size of holdings, promotion of scientific methods in intensive farming and co-operation in various aspects of agriculture through the intervention of village communities. This must involve the gradual elimination from our economy of landlordism and all superior but idle interests in land above the actual cultivator."<sup>10</sup>

On the question of the abolition of *jagirs* and *namas*, the Committee observed

"We recommend the immediate abolition and cessation of *jagirs* and *namas* without compensation. *Jagirs* were rewards given by British Imperialism for services rendered to it. Services rendered to Imperialism were almost invariably services rendered against the nation. The birth of freedom must abolish this stigma of the past. Moreover, the *jagirdars* and *namdars* contribute in no wise to the agrarian economy of the country

and are a parasitical burden on it. In extension of the above principles, we recommend that after due and detailed investigation the State should resume all grants of land made by the British Government in lieu of services which the present national government regards as anti-national and unpatriotic, irrespective of the distance in time at which such grants were made."

The Committee further recommended that the anomaly of a functionless landlordism in the case of occupancy tenants should be abolished forthwith and legislation should be brought forth to give 'full proprietary rights to occupancy tenants.' Compensation should be paid at the valuation of four times the annual rent. The occupancy tenants might acquire the proprietary right either by lumpsum payment to the landlords directly or by payments to the State in instalments spread over a period of four years.

The Committee was of the opinion that

"The most urgent social and economic need of the moment is to afford substantial and effective security of tenure to the tenants-at-will who form an overwhelming majority of the tillers of the soil and the producers of agricultural wealth in West Pakistan and whose present status, social position and economic condition is the gravest besetting evil of the existing system of tenure"

Among the measures which the Committee recommended to secure relative security of tenure for the tenants-at-will were Statutory measures to reduce all tenancy contracts in writing and to make it the responsibility of the landlord to draw up the tenancy contracts in writing, in the absence of such written deeds the minimum period of contract would be deemed to be 15 years. All contracts between a landlord and a tenant would be deemed to be for a minimum period of 15 years. The landlord's power to eject a tenant was to be curbed and specific grounds on which the latter could be ejected were laid down. The law was to provide for limited heritability of land and even if a tenant died during the period of the contract, his heirs would have the right to enjoy the benefit of the contract till the date of its expiration. Just as the landlord's right to eject his tenants was curbed, so was the tenant's right to transfer or sublet his tenancy without the permission of the landlord rejected, except under certain circumstances.

The Committee further recommended that the landlord may be permitted to reserve only 25 acres of land for self-cultivation either directly or by agricultural labour. The Committee was emphatic in its opinion that

"The present share in produce obtained by the tenant in most parts of West Pakistan, even if inequitable and illegal dues and services are totally and effectively abolished, is grossly inadequate and is an insufferable injustice to the labour and industry of the actual toiler."

9. *Ibid*, op. cit.

10. Reported in *Dawn*, July 20, 1949.

It, therefore, recommended the substitution of cash rent for rent in kind or *batai* which would make the tenant more independent of the landlord and would benefit him economically. Since the substitution of cash rent for rent in kind might take time, the Committee recommended immediate *batai* reforms, fixing the maximum share of the landlord at two-fifth of the gross produce. The Committee suggested that

"The sliding scale assessment of land revenue should be perfected so as to become closely reflective of the periodic fluctuations in price."

The Committee proposed that a ceiling on landholdings should be fixed at 150 acres of average irrigated land. All lands in the possession of landlords above this ceiling should be compulsorily acquired by the State. So far as the question of compensation is concerned, the Committee recognized the moral basis of paying compensation to the landlords. It observed:

"Landlordism in Pakistan is a historical accident which has already conferred vast advantages and profits on generations of its beneficiaries and it would be illogical to make that a justification for the conferment of further advantages. But we are inclined to the view that to dispossess and turn out of employment a whole class of people suddenly and without preparations, is to create an avoidable friction and maladjustment in our economic life."

The highest rate of compensation should not be more than six times the annual yield, and the final maximum limit of compensation should be fixed at 15 lakh rupees. A part of the compensation (not more than 20 per cent) might be paid in cash, while the rest might be paid in Government 4 per cent interest-bearing bonds.

#### TENANCY LEGISLATIONS

The League Agrarian Reforms Committee submitted its report in 1949. It was followed by a series of tenancy legislation in the various provinces in Pakistan. The Punjab (Pakistan) Protection and Restoration of Tenancy Act of 1950, the N.-W. F. P. Tenancy Act of 1950, and the Sind Tenancy Act of 1950 were passed in quick succession with a view to ameliorating the conditions of tenancy. It will be interesting to compare these Acts with the recommendations of the League Committee later, and see how far these Acts incorporate the recommendations of the League Committee.

The recent tenancy legislation in Pakistan aims at giving some amount of security of tenure to tenants. In West Punjab, tenants-at-will have been given permanent hereditary rights in land. The Punjab Protection and Restoration of Tenancy Act of 1950, lays down the conditions under which a tenant can be ejected.

"A tenant may be ejected only when he fails

to pay rent to the landlord or when he cultivates (his land) in a manner which renders the land unfit for cultivation. Moreover, his ejection is justified only in execution of a decree of such ejection passed by a competent revenue authority."

So far as the occupancy tenants in West Punjab are concerned, the Punjab Tenancy (Amendment) Act of 1952 confers on the occupancy tenant the ownership of the land worked by him provided he pays no rent except government dues. No compensation is to be paid to the landlord by such a tenant. Those who pay cash rent may become owners by paying compensation to the landlord. For this purpose they can borrow money from the government. Those who pay rent in kind will become owners without paying compensation "of that portion of the land which corresponds to their share of produce." But this legislation is expected to affect only 5.5 per cent of the total cultivated area of the Pakistan Punjab. The same Act fixes the tenants' share of the total produce at 60 per cent, but makes it compulsory for the tenant to bear a proportionate share of the tax burden.

The N.-W. F. P. Tenancy Act of 1950 confers full proprietary rights on those occupancy tenants who at the commencement of the Act paid no rent, except government dues, without payment of any compensation to the landlords. Tenants paying rents to the landlord may become owners after paying compensation to the landlords, as fixed by the government (ten times the annual rent) within a specified period. To the tenants-at-will, the Act guarantees three years of security of tenure under certain conditions. The Act also lays down the conditions under which a tenant may be ejected and prevents the landlords from increasing the rent except under certain conditions.

The Sind Tenancy Act of 1950 guarantees security of tenure to the *Haris* or the tenants-at-will only for one year. It lays down that a tenant cannot be ejected before the expiry of the cropping season. But the Haris Enquiry Committee which was appointed by the Government in 1947-48, suggested much more radical measures for the improvement of economic conditions of the *haris* by means of regulation of tenancy agreements, *batai* systems, improved methods of land utilization and the principle of collective farming. The Act, however, seeks to grant permanent tenancy rights under certain conditions, abolishes *abwabs*, provides for the regulation of *batai* system and for the settlement of disputes between *haris* and landlords though not to the extent recommended by the Committee.

But the conditions which must be satisfied before permanent tenancy rights can be granted according to the terms of the Act, are so difficult to be satisfied that the tenants are unlikely to derive any benefit

at all. Chief among these conditions are the following:

i. A tenant should have cultivated at least four acres of land for the same landlord for a continuous period of not less than four years;

ii. He should have cultivated the land personally;

iii. Such a piece or parcel of land should not exceed the area that can be efficiently cultivated with the help of one pair of bullocks;

iv. In case of shifting cultivation tenancy rights should not exist in respect of any particular piece of land defined by *metes* and bounds.

The Act not only makes the permanent tenancy rights difficult for a tenant to obtain, but also makes it rather easy for the landlord to deprive the tenant of his rights. A tenant can be deprived of his tenancy rights if (i) he does not work on the land himself for one year; (ii) makes a different use of land without the permission of the landlords; (iii) fails to cultivate the land personally; (iv) fails to pay the landlord his due share of the produce or (v) is convicted by a Court of Law of any offence, such as cattle theft, receiving stolen cattle, theft of crops and even abduction, etc. Moreover, the landlord has the power to terminate the tenancy of a permanent tenant by giving him one year's notice in writing, on the ground that he requires the land for 'bonafide' cultivation or for any non-agricultural purpose.

Similarly, the provisions concerning the sharing of produce with the tenant-at-will, are highly unsatisfactory. The tenant-at-will has to share half the burden of payment made to harvesters, winnowers, etc., and also has to bear the cost of implements, animals, labour, irrigation, etc. Moreover, a tenant is deprived of a substantial part of his share in straw, and some other varieties of grass. Finally, the Act empowers the landlord to deprive the tenant of his share in produce in realization of old debts.

#### THE EAST BENGAL STATE ACQUISITION AND TENANCY ACT, 1950

The East Bengal State Acquisition and Tenancy Act of 1950 seeks to replace the zamindari system of land tenure by the ryotwari system. In fact, one of the professed planks of the agrarian policy of the Pakistan Government has been to "perpetuate and to introduce in other parts of the country" the system of peasant landowners, or the ryotwari system, since "it formed a self-reliant and self-respecting peasant population which was, moreover, highly amenable to the introduction of improvements in agricultural techniques."<sup>11</sup> The above Act may be said to have been enacted in pursuance of this policy. The Act authorizes the State to acquire all rent-receiving

interests in land after payment of adequate compensation. All tenants previously under the zamindari tenure, therefore, will become the tenants of the State. For all practical purposes, they would acquire the rights of ownership with certain limitations. For example, they will have "permanent, heritable and transferable rights in their land and will be in a position to use it like an owner." but they will not have the right to sublet the land.

The Act places a ceiling on land that can be retained by a zamindar for personal cultivation at 100 bighas (or 30 acres) or "20 bighas per head in the family whichever is greater." The land in excess of this limit will be acquired and distributed among the cultivators with uneconomic holdings and landless agricultural labourers. In addition, "each family will be allowed to retain an additional area of land equal to the area covered by the homestead of the family subject to the maximum limit of 10 bighas." A sum of Rs. 620 millions will be required for the acquisition of the estates.

The Act also lays down that a tenant cannot be ejected from his holdings except in execution of a decree of a civil court passed on the ground that he has done any act in contravention of the provisions of the Act. The Act fixes the maximum rent for different types of land. Rent enhanced once cannot be enhanced again within a period of thirty years.

#### CONSOLIDATION OF LAND

Much importance is given to the problem of consolidation of fragmented holdings in Pakistan. Because of the operation of the Muslim Law of inheritance, which makes it possible for a large number of heirs to share the property, the size of the individual land holdings gradually tends to decrease, and ultimately they become uneconomic. This is one of the main reasons for the preponderance of small uneconomic holdings in Pakistan. The government attaches much importance to the consolidation of holdings; but because of the religious sanction behind the law of inheritance, it is difficult to prevent the fragmentation of land. Long before the partition of India, consolidation work had been started in Punjab; and it had achieved some success. After the partition the work had been taken over by the West Punjab Government and till 1949, an area of 480,765 acres in 406 villages was covered by the consolidation programme. In the North-West Frontier Province, the programme of the consolidation of holdings covers an area of 89,810 acres in 670 villages. Provisions for consolidation of holdings have also been included in the East Bengal State Acquisition Act.

#### CONCLUSION

It is an historical fact that much of the present ills of the agrarian economy of Pakistan owe their origin to the peculiar land tenure systems evolved and imposed by the Britishers with a view to perpe-

11. Quoted from the speech of Mr. Hadi Hussain, the Pak representative in the Unesco, delivered in the 535th meeting, 13th session of the Unesco and published in the Unesco official proceedings.

tuating their rule. But from this brief review of the recent agrarian legislations in Pakistan, it becomes evident that very little has been done so far to change the situation. If at all, over the last seven years since Pakistan came into being, the conditions of the cultivators and tenants have steadily deteriorated. It is true that the obstacles to land reform are many and the vested interests in land are offering great resistance to any reform measure. The Government of Pakistan has itself acknowledged these obstacles. In its reply to the land reform questionnaire of the U.N.O., the Government stated:

"One of the many obstacles to the adoption of land reform measures in Pakistan is the lack of sufficient funds. Vested interests are, of course, opposed to any attempt for adjusting the maldistribution of land. Most of the farms (holdings) are too small to pave their way. Credit facilities are inadequate, cultivators are generally speaking, illiterate and their number runs into millions. No satisfactory organization exists to carry technical information to the bulk of our rural population."

These obstacles, are, indeed by themselves, formidable. But the chief reason for the failure of carrying through land reform programme is to be found in the resistance of the vested interests both inside and outside the government, who want to maintain the *status quo* and do not want any radical land reform measures which may injure their interests. Because of the illiteracy and ignorance of the vast masses of the rural population (and illiteracy and ignorance are common enough among peasants all over the world and these have not come in the way of introducing agrarian reforms in other countries) it is all the more necessary to abolish the large estates of jagirs owned by a few people. But these jagirdars and zamindars wield an enormous influence over the political, economic and social structure of the country. The government is unwilling to initiate any reform which may set these influential, though economically parasitical, persons who are the pillars

of the Muslim League Party as well as the government, against itself.

The report of the Muslim League Agrarian Reforms Committee contains many proposals which are radical as well as practical. Had they been accepted by the Government, conditions of the peasantry would have considerably improved. For example, the League Committee recommend the immediate abolition of jagirdari tenure without compensation. But only two provinces, *viz.*, the West Punjab and the North-West Frontier Province, have so far abolished the jagirdari tenure. A promise to do likewise was given by the Sind Government; but no action has so far been taken to fulfil that promise. There are about 103 jagirdars in Sind, whose total area amounts to 1,014,000 acres, the largest of them being 216,156 acres.<sup>12</sup> The League Committee recommended the immediate abolition of landlordism in West Pakistan; but no action has been taken in West Pakistan to abolish landlordism. What more, the tenancy legislation in certain provinces, notably in Sind, is likely to perpetuate and strengthen landlordism in Pakistan.

So far as the question of providing security of tenure to the tenants-at-will is concerned, the recent legislation falls far short of the recommendations of the Muslim League Committee. The only piece of radical land reform legislation worth the name is the East Bengal State Acquisition and Tenancy Act. But here too, the Act has not been implemented fully. What with the deteriorating political situation and the cost involved in the process of land acquisition, the Act has not yet been given full effect to and only six estates out of hundreds, have so far been acquired by the Government. Due to the inaction of the Government, the Acts remain on paper as mere platitudes and Pakistan as a whole, remains a landlord's paradise.

12. *Problems of Economic Reform and Development in Pakistan*—by A. F. A. Hussain, Munzur Ahmed and others—Pakistan Institute of International Affairs.



# UNEMPLOYMENT IN URBAN AREAS

By K. B. DANGAYACH, M.A., B.Com., LL.B.

## INTRODUCTION

The problem of unemployment, i.e., the condition of involuntary idleness in which persons have to remain without jobs, has been quite serious and has attracted the attention of the public as well as of the Government. It was discussed at two All-India Conferences last year and much is said and written about it almost every day. In the words of Shri Nanda, our Minister of Planning,

"It is our foremost problem. The biggest task before us in this country is to find gainful, useful, productive work, opportunities for employment for our large and increasing force."

Important business bodies like the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry also passed unanimously resolutions stating:

"The Federation, therefore, urges upon Government to adopt a suitable economic policy that will enable expansion of fruitful activity both in the public and private sectors, and to that end modify both their plans of development and system of education to the extent that may be necessary."

This is not a new problem, this problem of unemployment is not a problem of today in this country. This is a symptom of the arrested economic growth of this country over a very long period, a long stagnation and neglect. It was, of course, not known to the world till the beginning of the present century. In India, official notice of this was taken in 1935-36 when the U.P. Government set up a committee with the late Shri Tej Bahadur Sapru as Chairman to enquire into the causes of growing unemployment among educated youths. Two other State Governments, Bengal and Bombay, drew up some schemes for the relief of unemployed young-men who wanted "white-collar" jobs. The problem went on for sometime but after the outbreak of World War II, it almost vanished as the war threw open many opportunities for employment in specially created War Departments and newly cropped-up Departments created for the administration of various Control orders and also for rationing. With the abolition of these temporary Departments, again the problem is coming into limelight. It has been further aggravated by falling prices and slackness in business up to a certain extent.

## PRESENT POSITION

Our subject here is restricted to the problem of urban unemployment. Millions of our countrymen in rural areas are unemployed or underemployed. Not

much reliable data about the greater part of our country are available so far as rural side is concerned. Surveys are now being conducted by some of the States.

Unemployment in urban areas can be classified under three categories:

- (1) Educated unemployed;
- (2) Workers—skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled;
- (3) A third category is of those engaged in business and trade but affected by general fall in prices, free trade and abolition of Controls, etc., etc.

Unfortunately complete data regarding unemployed persons in urban areas also, as found in many other countries are not available. The only data available are from the registrations and placings by the Employment Exchanges. Obviously these figures cannot and do not complete the picture, as registration is voluntary and even those employed register their names to seek better posts. All unemployed persons do not get themselves registered as possibly they think it would not help them much in getting jobs. However, the number on the live registers on 31st August, 1954, is about six lakhs registered with 127 Employment Exchanges. As mentioned before, this number is only a fraction of the total. Out of six lakhs of people on the live register of Employment Exchanges all over India seeking employment as many as 5.4 lakhs are suitable only for unskilled jobs in any industry or service. Next to unskilled workers the applicants' number was the highest in the clerical category. The clerical occupations are the most overcrowded ones. The supply has far outstripped the demand. The worst sufferers due to unemployment are the middle-class people who form one of the most vital elements and the backbone of our country as it is this class which has produced the intelligentsia of the country who have supplied political leadership and the bulk of the capital to public limited companies.

Only a few sample surveys were conducted in the past. In 1938-39, some enquiries were made in West Bengal by Shri Nabagopal Das.<sup>3</sup>

The Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics had conducted Urban Socio-Economic Surveys in Poona, Sholapur and Kolhapur. These surveys made it clear that unemployment is a menace to the society.

The Research Programmes Committee appointed by the Government of India on the recommendation of the Planning Commission has now sanctioned a few schemes for certain Universities for studies of unemployment in certain important cities. It is hoped that the results may be out say in about a year's time from now.

1. Shri C. L. Nanda replying in the debate on Unemployment in Lok Sabha on 4th December, 1953.

2. Proceedings of the Twenty-fifth Annual Meeting of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry, 1952, pp. 149-153.

3. Nabagopal Das : Unemployment, Full Employment and India, 1954, p. 51.

The Directorate General of Resettlement and Employment also conducted an *ad hoc* survey in 1952. The survey showed that the number of technical persons available for the jobs was three times the number of jobs available and for clerical jobs thirty times more persons were there as compared to vacancies. Everyday we read in papers about the number of applicants applying for the scanty jobs, proportion in some cases being as high as 150:1. This shows a very lamentable state of affairs and should be avoided by the "degree-manufacturing factories" (Universities) in the interest of the individuals as well as the nation.

The National Sample Survey Organisation conducted a sample survey based on the 'Live Register' of the Employment Exchange at Delhi to bring out the significance of the Employment Exchange data. They selected 800 registrants out of the total of 20,911 persons. The results are very instructive. Some of them are summarised below:

(i) *Group Categories*. Clerical 44 per cent, unskilled 30 per cent, technical 14 per cent, rest 12 per cent.

(ii) *Educational Qualifications*: 44 per cent were Matriculates, 6 per cent Intermediates and 10 per cent Graduates and Post-Graduates. Among the unemployed, 30 per cent had education up to the Middle Standard or below, 53 per cent were Matriculates and 17 per cent Under-graduates and Graduates.

(iii) *Duration of Unemployment* 31 per cent of the unemployed were without employment over a year.

(iv) *Employment Sought*: 58 per cent men and 26 per cent women were seeking administrative or clerical jobs.

(v) *Technical Qualification*: 54 per cent of the unemployed had no technical or professional qualification.

(vi) *Income Expected*: 49 per cent of the unemployed were prepared to work on Rs. 100 per month or less.

#### REASONS OF UNEMPLOYMENT

More emphasis is always laid on the question of the educated unemployed. This is because of the vocal character and political possibilities of this class. As we have already seen, there was unemployment in the thirties also but then the number affected was much less. Previously it mostly affected agriculturists, beggars and unskilled workers. These persons being mostly illiterate had no 'voice' to shout their miseries. They did not know about platform speeches, demonstrations before Assemblies, Secretariates, hunger-strikes before Raj-Bhawan and the like.

The problem of educated unemployment which confronts us today is in a way, a legacy of the system of education which has come down from the past so many decades; it is a "gift" of the British Government, a result of the system of education they introduced.

Our Universities are 'manufacturing' thousands of graduates every year. The number of these persons is increasing every year. There has been an increase in the number of Matriculates by 25 per cent and the number of Graduates by about 75 per cent compared to 47-48. And our economy had during this period not developed on that scale. These graduates cannot, for various reasons, too well-known to be explained, start their own industry or business and thus naturally become "job-hunters." So every year a major portion of the graduates, the "output" of our Universities, come out and glut the market already having more supplies than the demand. That is why more than 18 per cent of the total registrations at Employment Exchanges are for clerical jobs and this percentage is still increasing. Added to this is the abolition of several departments meant for administering Control and Rationing schemes, etc.

The general economic condition and lack of purchasing power in the hands of masses has also affected the petty shop-keepers and also the cottage workers and artisans to a certain extent. There has been a change from a seller's market to a buyer's market and also a downward trend in prices.

Then, our population is increasing every year at a very rapid speed—14 per cent every year.<sup>5</sup> The area of land per capita is steadily dropping. It was 111 cents in 1921 and has now come to 84 cents. Means of absorption are not increasing in the same proportions. There has been a wide gap between the industrial development of the country and the rate in the increase of persons seeking for "white collar" jobs. In certain cases, e.g., the textile industry, although the production has increased still the number of persons employed has not only not increased but has decreased.

#### STEPS TAKEN BY THE GOVERNMENT

The comprehensive Five-Year Plans aiming all-round development of the country and the most useful work relating to Community Projects and National Extension Services Bloes in the rural areas have thrown open several vistas of employment directly as well as indirectly. Then there are different special schemes for helping the various cottage industries being operated by the All-India Handloom Board, All-India Khadi and Village Industries Boards, etc., throughout the country. A sum of Rs. 15 crores was provided for a programme of cottage and small-scale industries. These would also solve the problem of disguised unemployment commonly known as underemployment to a great extent and would also offer jobs to hundreds. Very roughly about 75 lakhs of people would be employed during the period of completion of the first Five-Year Plan.

5. For detailed information see the writer's paper submitted to the Indian Economic Association for 1954 Session on "Growth of Population in India : A Warning for the Future."

The Planning Commission sanctioned an amount of several crores of rupees for opening one-teacher schools for giving relief to the unemployed. The Government wants to absorb 80,000 additional teachers in the way.

The Government of India is also taking the following steps for removing unemployment:

1. Development of refugee townships with a view to give some relief for displaced persons who have settled there.
2. Other schemes, e.g., office and residential accommodation; some schemes for Health, Ports, Survey of India, National Research, Development Corporation have been taken up in hand.
3. Repair and construction of tanks, roads, etc., in the States particularly in scarcity areas.
4. Additional schemes for small-scale and cottage industries, vocational and technical training, etc., of additional thermal capacity, road development and development of road transport service, etc.

#### SOLUTION

(i) *Collection of Data*: The first and foremost thing the Government should do is to collect definite and complete data regarding the unemployed. Complete and detailed statistics of unemployment should be collected. There should be more and more studies and sample surveys. These should be repeated from time to time so that data may always remain complete and up-to-date. Without this we may not be able to know the full details and magnitude of the disease we want to cure.

#### (ii) *Overhauling the System of Education*:

Much requires to be done for changing the method of education. The present bookish-knowledge education leaves no alternative for our youngmen and women except to try for jobs the moment they are out from colleges and Universities. Our present-day education is full of several defects and it is isolated from life. When the students come out of schools they feel ill-adjusted and cannot take their place confidently and competently in the community. It is narrow and one-sided and fails to train the whole personality of the student. Only subjects of academic interests are taught ignoring all other considerations. It caters only for a segment of the student's whole personality. The medium of instruction, till very recently, was English on the teaching of which naturally more emphasis was always laid. Other subjects which were psychologically and socially more important were almost ignored. The method of teaching fails to develop independence of thought or initiative in action. Lessons are imparted in a mechanical manner and students memorise the necessary portion of the course useful for their examination. Then there is no personal contact between the teacher and the taught. Above all, the examination system has curbed the teacher's initiative, stereotyped the curriculum and placed stress on wrong facts in education.<sup>9</sup>

Due to all the abovementioned reasons students cannot and do not undertake any independent work of their own. Our emphasis should be, of course, not towards providing college and such higher general education to all and sundry but to increase literacy amongst the masses. University education should be restricted to only very intelligent persons out of the lot.

(iii) *Opening of Technical Institutions*: There should be more technical institutions than ordinary colleges. Due emphasis should be laid on providing technical education even in higher school classes. The recommendations of the Higher Secondary Education Commission should be implemented. Several "multi-purpose" schools should be opened. Vocational subjects should be as important, if not more, as subjects of academic interest. On the one hand there is a growing unemployment and on the other hand there is a great dearth of people for technical jobs. Diversification of education and correlating it with our needs is essential with a view to check mal-adjustments. These revolutionary changes in the system of education are long over-due and the sooner these are implemented the better.

There is a shortage of technical personnel like skilled mechanics and operators, civil engineers, overseers, surveyors, and draftsmen etc. Adequate facilities should be provided for the technical training of the personnel. This would result in not only solving the unemployment problem to a great extent but also in facilitating the implementation of Development Plans. More and more technical institutes should be opened by the Government and the private philanthropic organisations. The University Education Commission also recommended that occupational institutes should be set up in each district.

These Government-sponsored institutes should provide training and demonstrate the working of the most efficient and the most up-to-date tools and implements of the trade concerned. Small-scale power-driven Japanese machines should also be utilised for the purpose. We should have scores of institutes like Sri Jayachamarajendra Occupational Institute, Bangalore, which imparts training in various modern scientific industries. The Sri Krishnarajendra Silver Jubilee Technological Institute, Bangalore, gives training leading to Diplomas and Degrees in the main branches of textile industry. The number of such technical and technological institutes should be increased considerably. Each major State should have at least one each of these types. A number of smaller industrial schools like Sri Chamarajendra Technical Institute, Mysore, should be opened in each district for imparting training to students in various crafts peculiar to each State. Production-cum-training centres should be

started by the Government for specialised crafts in different parts of the country.

(iv) *Establishment of Large-scale Industries*: More large-scale industries should be established wherever scope exists and wherever the installed production capacity is less than the country's increasing demands, e.g., sugar factories, etc. There is no reason why we should not export certain commodities which we can spare to foreign countries as we have been exporting cotton textile goods, etc. But one important fact that rationalisation may again throw out certain workers out of job should not be ignored. Any way, without going into *pros* and *cons* of rationalisation we may suggest that the new large-scale industries can also be one of the direct sources of employment; the degree and extent is not, of course, as much as the small-scale and cottage industries.

(v) *Development and Encouragement of Small-Scale and Cottage Industries*: The small-scale and cottage industries deserve utmost patronage and help including financial assistance. Help should also be given in their marketing. New entrants in these industries should be welcomed by giving every sort of aid including technical advice and some finance to start with. This will mean not only more employment but also more productivity and thus greater national wealth for our country.

There should be an export drive for cottage industries products outside India. Our trade representatives abroad should find out local tastes of the people concerned and cottage workers should be induced to produce things with adjustments to tastes of foreigners. State Governments should give encouragement to Indian industries in their purchases. Preferences, including certain amount of price preference, should be given to cottage industry products in Store Purchase work by the Central as well as State Governments for meeting their civil and military requirements.

(vi) *Development of Road Transport*: Development of road transport constitutes another important and growing source of employment. Road transportation of goods by private enterprises should be encouraged.

(vii) *One-Teacher Schools*: One-teacher schools should be started for primary as well as adult education. This would, besides giving jobs to the unemployed, also increase literacy which is so very essential for our rural masses.

(viii) *Building Programmes*: Slum clearance schemes and construction of houses for low income groups is another useful avenue which Government should take up.

(ix) *Work and Training Camp*: Work and training camps should be opened at several places. Both

the Government and private enterprises should pay attention to this and offer apprenticeship or other training courses to educated youths and pay them something so that they may earn while they learn. This should be done on a sufficiently vast scale to combat the problem in full.

(x) *Family Planning*: Then there should be a "security value" for men. Steps however comprehensive regarding the solution of the unemployment problem may be taken, an incessant increase in our numbers would always make the supply of human beings greater as compared to the demand with the result that men would be "cheap" and sometimes not in demand. To avoid this we should have recourse to family planning. We should have children of choice and not of accident and unwanted.

(xi) *Foreign Training*: Only experienced and settled persons in Government service should be sent for training overseas or for refresher courses in the line in which they are working. On return they should be absorbed in their own line in which they have specialised. Unfortunately, this was not done in the past, some of them are either not employed or many are square pegs in round holes. They are not usefully employed in the lines in which they got training from public funds. This money has not brought, in such cases, to say the least, useful returns to the nation. This should guide us for future.

#### CONCLUSION

With these steps it is hoped the problem of at least white-collar unemployment may vanish; the nation may gain by an increase in national wealth and our aggregate income may increase. Some practical steps should at once be taken to remove this curse of modern society. The country has a very high responsibility of providing work to those who can work and who want work. These solutions may cost a lot to the nation, "but no amount of sacrifice will be too much for securing progressive diminution in unemployment and for creating more employment facilities and opportunities." The Government as well as the people have a very important role to play and it is hoped that the best possible thing would be done at the earliest possible moment.

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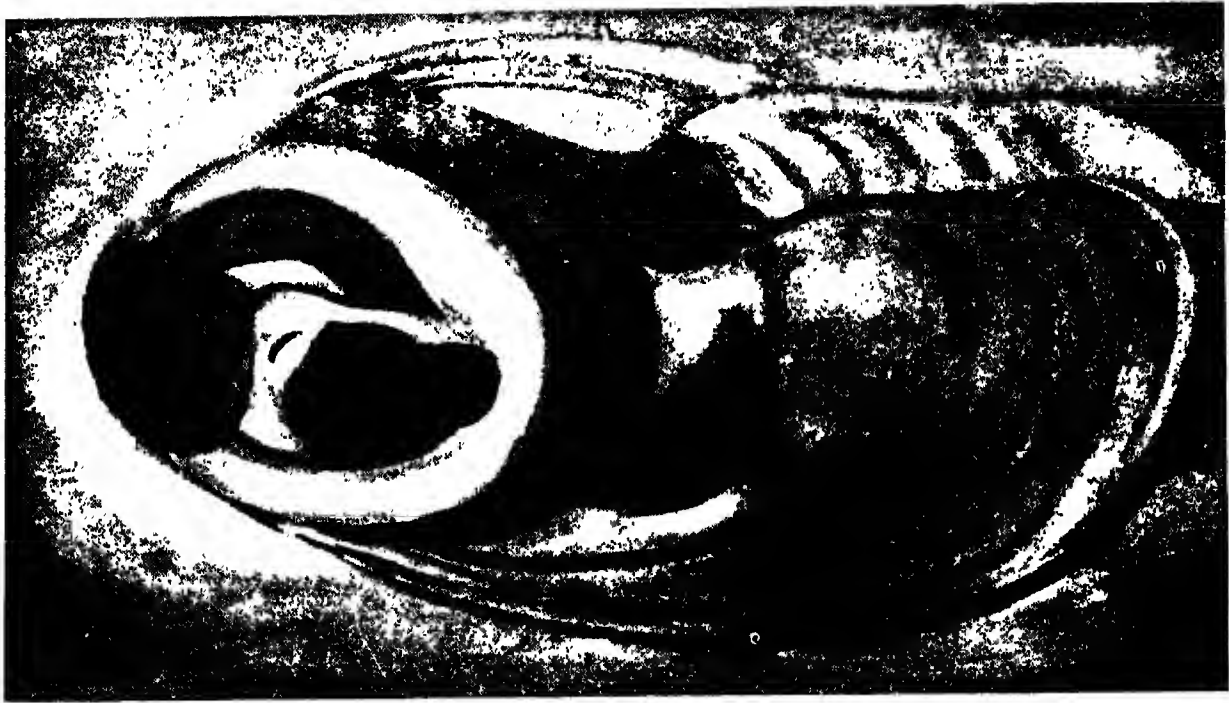
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# THE NEED FOR A SPIRITUAL REVIVAL

BY SWAMI NIKHILANANDA,

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HUMANITY is suffering today from a spiritual malady. Political friction, economic unrest, and moral confusion are but its outer symptoms. Man is not at peace with himself, with nature, with his fellow-beings, or with his Creator. Agnosticism or atheism is not the real enemy of religion. Their challenge can be met by reason. But the foundation of religion is being undermined by the serene indifference shown towards spiritual values by the sophisticated leaders of society, who deem it unnecessary to believe in God, soul, and the hereafter in order to lead a happy and useful life. When asked by Napoleon about the function of God in His celestial mechanics, La Place is reported to have answered that such a hypothesis was unnecessary. Likewise, many educated people of today naively accept the mechanistic interpretation of life and the universe, emphasised by science and technology.

The universe conceived in terms of matter implies diversity or multiplicity, which, without an underlying oneness, begets friction, hatred, secretiveness, and fear. This is why the world today is in the firm grasp of an aggressive evil, whose challenge can only be met by the power of aggressive good. The physical sciences cannot control greed, lust for power, or sensuality, which are the off-spring of aggressive evil. The transformation of man's lower nature is possible only through the knowledge of God, the non-duality of the soul, and the oneness of existence, all of which belong to the realm of religion. Political, economic, or social organization, when inspired by the spirit, can be conducive to our highest good. The transcendental experience of religion alone can breathe new life in the thought and action of a weary and distracted humanity. Therefore, the human situation today calls for an intense spiritual revival, on a broad, humanistic, ethical, and rational basis.

Religion has played a vital part in the life of the individual and of society from the very beginning of creation. Man has been able to transcend the limitations of the body and senses, and attain freedom and bliss through the knowledge of the eternal relationship between his eternal soul and eternal Creator. Through the practice of spiritual disciplines, he has succeeded in suppressing his lower nature and in realizing his heritage of divinity.

In the evolution of both Indian and Western culture the contribution of religion has been invaluable. The great cathedrals of Europe, the painting of Raphael, the sculpture of Michelangelo, the music of Bach and Palestrina, and the writings of Milton, Wordsworth, Browning, Dante, and Goethe have been inspired by religious concepts. Equality and justice,

which form the keynote of the American Constitution and Bill of Rights, have received their impetus from the teachings of Christ. The ethics of the Bible, to a large extent, regulate the human relationships of Christians and Jews. The Holy Koran, more than anything else, has moulded the history of the Islamic people.

The part played by religion and philosophy in the creation and preservation of the Hindu race has been recorded in history. The vast bulk of Indian literature, the delicate chiselling in the Hindu, Buddhist, and Jain temples, the breath-taking beauty of Ellora and Ajanta, the unsurpassed grandeur of the Elephanta caves—all bear the impress of religion. India's national heroes are mystics and saints. The national ideals of India have always been renunciation and service. The picturesque tapestry of Indian culture had been created out of the warp and woof of religion and philosophy.

Religion has given India national unity, which has remained unshaken through many a millennium, in spite of powerful foreign aggression. Many of the foreigners who entered India have been absorbed in the melting pot of Hindu society. Those who have kept their individual characteristics have been influenced by the general flavour of India's spiritual culture, like the fruits and vegetables in a salad bowl. The life and activities of three hundred millions of Hindus from the cradle to the grave, are moulded today by certain eternal principles of the Vedas. The Ganga, on whose banks the Vedic culture developed; the Gita, which contains the essence of Vedic philosophy; and the *yajur*, which opens the door to the realization of the Vedic wisdom, are held in high respect by the Hindus throughout the length and breadth of India. In ritualistic worship, the recital of the names of certain holy men, women, and rivers, bring before the worshippers' minds the spiritual unity of India. To a Hindu, the mother and mother country are superior to heaven itself. The Virgin Goddess at Kanyakumari, absorbed in meditation on Siva, holding the Lakshmi wreath in her hand, and Siva, in the Himalayas, absorbed in meditation on the Supreme Spirit, conjure before the minds of the Hindus a fundamental unity, undisturbed by any political or economic turmoil.

It is true that political unity was not achieved in India as in the Western countries. In a sense, this has been a Godsend. It has saved India from national disintegration. The one great defect of political unity is that when a blow is struck at the centre of the political power, the whole nation perishes. Thus the unity of many European nations could not bear the

heavy strain created by the disruption of the central political authority. They went to pieces right away. The history of central Europe and the Empire of the Caesars bears testimony to this fact. But the people of India still hold together because of a common spiritual bond, which, though intangible, is much stronger than allegiance to a common political or economic system. India, however, must today evolve a political unity, without which she may not survive in the struggle for existence in a competitive and aggressive world. Our political leaders are conscious of it. The Constitution of Free India is dedicated to this purpose, but our leaders must not ignore the existing spiritual unity of the country. They should use this unity as the foundation on which the superstructure of political and economic unity is to be built. If the spiritual unity of India is rejected or ignored, nothing will be able to hold the Indian people together. The presence of various religious denominations should not be a detriment to the achievement of India's national unity. Hinduism, which is the major religion of India, is not a communal religion. Based upon universal truths, it has shown tolerance and respect for other faiths. Sri Ramakrishna, by his direct experience, has reestablished the old Vedic truth that all religions are but pathways to the realization of the same Godhead. In order to strengthen the national unity of India, the negative method of non-identification of the Government with any particular faith is not adequate. On the other hand, religion should receive the support of the Government. Religion must be studied in schools and colleges, with respect and warmth of feeling. The Bhagvad Gita says in its last verse that the welfare, success, and good fortune of India depends entirely upon the co-operation of Sri Krishna and Arjuna, who are the symbols of the spiritual and the military power. May our leaders, political, civic, and educational, never forget this point.

Why is religion losing its power over the minds of modern people? The development of physical science is a secondary cause. The contributions of science are twofold, namely, the scientific method of thinking and the growth of technology. The former has created a revolution in the thought world of today by substituting reason and experimentation for blind faith in the ascertaining of truth. Technology, besides adding to the many physical amenities of life, has broken down the barriers between countries and peoples by means of such devices as radio, wireless, steamship and airplane. It has further helped in the spread of education, the increase of human longevity, and the elimination of avoidable diseases. The results of technology are vivid and effective.

But when properly understood, science and religion do not show any clash. Science deals with the outer world of matter, and religion with the inner

world of man. Both matter and soul are the manifestations of the same reality. The laws of science and religion are the different aspects of the same eternal law. The laws of science are discovered through reason and the laws of religion, through introspection. There need not be any conflict between reason and introspection. Both are tools for the apprehension of reality. The Upanishads repeatedly ask us to cultivate the knowledge of both the world of matter and the world of spirit, without which our doubts cannot be resolved. Religion enables us to discover the jewels of truth, and through science we create the jewel box to preserve them. The Upanishads never repudiated the physical world. The material degradation of India started when the Hindus began to explain it away as *maya*. The universe is certainly real for those who still dwell on the relative plane and regard the individual body and the universe as real. Sri Ramakrishna, through the worship of *Sakti* or the creative energy, gave a spiritual status to creation. Swami Vivekananda went to America to bring to India the knowledge of science and technology in order to improve the material condition of the masses. Through the co-operation of science and religion the world will witness the birth of its unborn soul.

But the primary cause for the decline of religion in modern times is to be sought elsewhere, within religion itself. Every great religion contains two elements: a body of eternal truths and also certain rituals and dogmas. The former is the kernel of religion, and the latter is the protecting husk. Rituals and dogmas are non-essential but necessary parts of religion and they should change with the changing conditions of time; otherwise they act as a dead weight and stifle the inner spirit. Further, dogmas and rituals are means to an end, and not an end in themselves. A religion which clings to the rituals of the past cannot appeal to modern minds. Further, when rituals are emphasized at the cost of truth, religion loses its vitality. We often quarrel over the empty basket while its contents have slipped into the ditch. This is mainly responsible for the decline of spiritual values. For the vindication of the eternal truths of religion, we have a new incarnation in the person of Sri Ramakrishna. While acting as priest in the Kali Temple, he was not satisfied by the mere formalities of worship. The stone image as such, did not appeal to his mind. He wanted to commune directly with the spirit which animated the image. Not satisfied by mere belief in religion, he became eager to realize the spirit of religion and succeeded in seeing God face to face. Through his experience, God has become a living reality to us, and religion vivid. He has demonstrated that in this very life a man can be perfect, that is to say, he can completely control his lower nature and manifest his inner divinity. This is, perhaps, the most important contri-

bution of the new avatar for the future revival of religion.

The need of a spiritual revival is imperative today to give back to humanity its lost bearings. The rehabilitation of man after the devastation of two great wars will not be possible by merely giving food to his empty stomach or by filling his mind with wild ideas. Science and technology may endow him with great power, which, if not illumined by deep spiritual truths, will destroy society. What shall it profit a man if he gains the whole world but loses his own soul? Power without compassion becomes Moloch which takes delight in human blood. How to utilise the power released by science and technology for the total welfare of man is the problem of today.

The sign of a healthy religion is its flexibility in adapting itself to changing conditions. In this connexion the following points may be considered:

(1) The revival of religion must be based on the four cardinal Vedantic truths: namely, the divinity of the soul, the oneness of existence, the non-duality of the Godhead and the harmony of religions. Man is not born in sin and shapen in iniquity. He is created after the image of God. Every soul is potentially divine. Man should not be judged by the colour of his skin or his economic status or his intellectual power. In our human relationships the divinity of the soul should be constantly remembered. This should be the spiritual basis of democracy and freedom. The solidarity and oneness of mankind is the spiritual basis of ethics. The impetus for self-sacrifice and compassion should be derived from the fact that in helping others we only help ourselves. Hatred shown to any human being however far away he may live ultimately injures the hater. The religious conflict which has befouled the fair name of religion can be resolved only by accepting the non-duality of the Godhead and the harmony of religions.

(2) Religion is a transcendental experience, revealing the eternal relationship between the eternal soul and its eternal creator. Its ultimate utility cannot be measured by its effect on the five minutes of human life. One should remember in regard to every material achievement the wise saying of Abraham Lincoln "Even this shall pass away." The instantaneous destruction in modern warfare of a city or a monumental building which required the labour and skill of centuries to construct, proves how right Christ was when he warned his followers against laying up treasure on earth.

(3) Though the final religious experience transcends time and space, yet its application lies in the realm of the temporal. "The earth is His footstool." Even the mystic, coming down from his exalted experience does not explain away the universe. All that exists is pervaded by the spirit of God. The embodied soul is a mixture of dust and deity. His baser nature cannot be ignored,

but is to be transformed into the divine. Man's craving for moral perfection, economic security, and sensual enjoyment are legitimate. Through them he ultimately learns to commune with the infinite. Both meditation and work are effective spiritual disciplines. Through meditation one subdues the restlessness of the mind and gains inner serenity. Without work, contemplation may degenerate into laziness and self-deception. The essence of God is pure spirit, but He unfolds Himself in the world process. One and many are the two manifestations of the Supreme Reality. God can be seen both with closed and open eyes. Intellect, emotion, and meditation when harmonized create a balanced life.

(4) Twenty-five hundred years ago Buddha said: "Do not believe in what you have heard; do not believe in traditions because they have been handed down for many generations; do not believe anything because it is rumoured and spoken of by many; do not believe in that as truth to which you have become attached by habit; do not believe in anything on the authority of your teachers and elders. After observation and analysis, when it agrees with reason and is conducive to the good and benefit of all then accept it and live up to it."

The above is a neat statement revealing the very soul of the scientific method; but it adds something more to the aim of science in that it brings in the factor of human welfare which some of the scientists, in their zeal for the impersonality of science are apt to forget. The Yoga system of Hinduism also insists on arriving at truth through experimentation, observation and verification. A spiritual truth is valid only when it does not contradict universal reason, one's inner experience and the experience of other seers of truth.

The divorce of science from religion has been the major tragedy of our times. A statement of the Vedas says that he who worships science alone enters into a blind darkness; but into a greater darkness enters he who worships super-science only. The knowledge of science must be combined with the knowledge of super-science. Through the former one overcomes the physical handicaps of disease and suffering, and through the latter one attains to immortality.

God reveals Himself in nature as well as through the inner spirit. Both natural theology and mystical theology bring us the knowledge of God. In future, science will be religious and religion scientific. Which means religion will not proclaim any truth that will be opposed to reason and the power released by science will not be exploited for unethical and unspiritual purposes.

Spiritual life must be built on the solid foundation of moral laws. Ethics is not a mere device to remove friction from the apparently incompatible human natures. Its validity does not rest on the

words of a prophet or a scripture. It must derive its mandate from the universal experience of humanity, irrespective of creed or race or caste. The double standard of ethics often practised in society has been a potent cause of war. The ultimate sanction of ethics lies in such spiritual perceptions as the divinity of the soul and the unity of existence. We must love our neighbour because he is non-different from ourselves. The Bhagavad Gita says that he who sees himself in all and all in himself does not injure others, because by injuring them he only injures himself. The concept of the oneness of existence must be the basis of all human relationships.

A religion is kept alive not by the learned theologians but by the genuine mystics. Religion has never come into existence by the power of intellect but has been founded on the bed-rock of the experience of prophets. A tall edifice, a big congregation, delectable social activities, and material grandeur are but the trimmings of religion and not its soul. Too much emphasis on organization often kills the spirit. In order to corrupt truth Satan tempts man to organize it. Every man must be born in a church but no one should die in it.

In the healthy religion of the future there will be no room for bigotry, intolerance, and exclusiveness. There is no such thing as a single scheme of salvation. Salvation is not the monopoly of any church. All paths lead to the hill-top of one and the same God-consciousness. Different religions are suited to different aspirants in their various stages of progress. All religions are but the manifestations in time and space of the Eternal Religion which is a transcendental experience. A man should cherish single-minded devotion to his own faith and respect for the faith of others. One religion is not the enemy of another. The real enemy of all religions is the rising tide of atheism and cynicism. If religions do not hang together they will hang separately.

Man longs for a Universal Religion which all can subscribe to. Where will one find it? Certainly it cannot be an eclectic faith created by gathering the beautiful features of different faiths. That method has been tried, but has failed. An eclectic faith, created by man's intellect may look beautiful like a bouquet of flowers, but it soon withers away for want of roots. Religion is based upon the experiences of saints and seers. They preach religious truths by the command of God. Furthermore, a Universal Religion is not created by the sword or money, or political power. The major religions of the world—Hinduism, Christianity, Islam, Judaism, and Buddhism—by the test of the survival of the fittest, have

demonstrated their usefulness for mankind. They have come to stay; one cannot thrive at the expense of the others.

Where is then the Universal Religion? It is not to be created. It exists and needs to be discovered. It forms the core of all religions. One does not find it in religious myths and rituals which can never be universal. It lies in the essence which alone is universal. Rituals and mythologies, which are the concretisation of the transcendental truth, are necessary for the beginners. They cannot be dispensed with. Through these man prepares the mood for the realization of the ultimate truth.

Variety in unity is the pattern of the universe. John is different from James. But from the standpoint of humanity, they are one. A man is different from an animal. But as living beings, animals, birds, and plants are all non-different. As Existence Absolute, all things are one. God is the Absolute Existence. In Him the whole universe discovers its unity. This unity exists; it is only to be found out. Let a Christian follow the precepts of his own faith, let a Hindu and a Jew follow theirs. If they strive long enough they will all ultimately discover God, who runs like the thread in a necklace. Or to change the illustration: God is the centre and different faiths are the radii which converge in Him. As one moves away from the centre, the distance between one radius and another becomes greater. As one comes closer to the centre, the distance between the radii is gradually reduced. When one reaches the centre, one finds unity with all in God.

Let not a man speak malicious words against another's faith. Let us not destroy or pull down. Iconoclasts never do any good to anybody. Take a man where he stands and from there give him a lift. Deepen by all means his aspiration, but leave him free to follow his path. Ultimately everyone will reach God and attain to perfection.

A healthy religious revival will reinvigorate man's weary body and cheer up his distracted spirit. The immensity of the present difficulties need not frighten us. They are a challenge to bring forth the best in man. Great things have been accomplished at times of stress and strife. Hamlet was not written at a time of peace nor the Cathedral of Chartres built when society was normal. As the towers of the Chartres Cathedral stood above the confusion of the eleventh century, so also may the spirit of man stand triumphant over the turmoil of the present time.\*

\* Read at the Holy Mother Birth Centenary Women's Cultural Conference.

## HAND-POUNDING OF RICE

By MANKUMAR SEN

THE Rice Milling Committee appointed by the Government of India under the Chairmanship of Sri C. P. Karunakar Menon recently visited West Bengal to collect information and listen to representations by experts in the field of paddy-processing or village industries in general. Selection of West Bengal as the first State on the tour programme of the Committee attaches more than ordinary significance in view of the fact that West Bengal consumes per capita the highest quantity of rice and is also 'believed' to be one of the areas most troubled by Rice Mills. We deliberately use the term 'believed', because our State Government does not possess, even in their vast statistical puzzle, dependable data regarding the rapid elimination of *Dhenkis* (country-made wooden process for dehussing), loss of employment and the emergence of the huller type of Rice Mills. According to Sri Menon, "the West Bengal Government had been collecting all relevant figures." Let alone the loud protests from responsible quarters against this pernicious milling of paddy which ought to have induced any responsible authority to probe deep into the problem, the recommendations of the Planning Commission too are now more than two-and-a-half years old. Hence, our resentment at the utter unpreparedness of our Government: A large section of the people however goes a step further and accuses the government of shielding the Mills to the wanton waste of food and employment opportunities assured by the weaker wing, viz. the 'Dhenkis' or 'Chakkis.'

Reportedly, the Committee is out to enquire among other things how best hand-pounding could be encouraged, the effects of husking machines on village economy, the scope and capacity of hand-pounding in meeting the demands of the country, and a general evaluation of the milling industry. So far so good. But one thing passes our ordinary comprehension and logic: After what the Planning Commission emphatically stated in black and white in the First Five-Year Plan why the Government still lacks in a clear-cut policy regarding this industry? Two-and-a-half years are by no means an insufficient time within the planned period of five years? It still remains to be seen whether the Government has accepted or rejected the recommendations so categorically put forward: has not the milling industry in most of the States, continued to expand despite the contrary remarks of the Commission? That a thorough purge of the 'hullers', even if intended, and the resuscitation of *Dhenkis* cannot be brought about overnight is understandable; but that should be no plea for sitting tight

over the *status quo* and thus allow the status of the Planning Commission go down in the estimation of the public. Well, what the Commission says? We reproduce the following remarkable paragraph from their report under the head, 'Village Industries':

'In the sphere of food-processing industries the stage appears to have been reached when further expansion of large-scale industry should not be permitted, except under certain conditions, such as, for instance, establishment of a Unit by the Government or by a co-operative organization. Rural employment has been affected directly by the growth of privately owned units in this field. For example, in the paddy-growing areas rice-pounding was always a substantial source of employment both whole-time and part-time, especially for women. The recovery of rice from paddy by hand-processes was also satisfactory. The introduction of rice mill of the huller type greatly diminished this employment and was also wasteful in various ways. It appears to us that in the interest of rural employment and to ensure better nutrition the Government should now formulate a programme for replacing the huller type of rice mills by organized hand-pounding of rice' (p. 319, First Five-Year Plan).

It is not at all clear from the Rice Mill Committees' terms of reference if the Government has in view the formulation of 'a programme for replacing the huller type of rice mill'. Then has this Committee been appointed to re-examine the position? Will it be within the jurisdiction of the Committee if the worst comes out we mean the Committee sets at naught the ideas of the Commission say by a majority of votes? Is there any guarantee that the Menon Committee shall not fall in line with the inglorious and invidious way of the Kanungo Textile Enquiry Committee that recommended virtual elimination of the handloom weaving? Would it not be more in accord with the Commission's wishes if the Menon Committee were simply asked but in unambiguous terms to devise ways and means,—a programme—'for replacing the rice mills' by hand-processes of husking all over the field?

It goes to the credit and wisdom of the Planning Commission that it made no secret of the baneful effect of the rice mills on the employment outturn and nutrition. We may briefly substantiate the Commission's observations.

The decentralized hand-pounding industry is by nature employment-intensive, while being laid extensively in Rural India, and offers employment to women, often of the downtrodden sections of the society, and even to little girls and crippled children sometimes. We need only remember on what a terri-

fic scale unemployment and under-employment have been rising in the rural areas. Artisans' profession has, in the face of gagging competition from the machine-made standardized goods and scarcity or non-regularised supply of raw materials, been fetching hardly one meal a day. Hand-pounding with similar other occupations offers scope for spare-time or part-time earning to the artisans or their family-members. Commercialised method of production through the 'hullers' pitted dead machines against the 'living ones' and the coffers of a few have been filling up at the cost of lakhs in the trade. Some four years back we came across a report which was as revealing as it was shocking: In a rural area of the district of Bhagalpur comprising of nine villages some 4200 'Dhenkis' were working giving employment to 64,000 men and 23,000 women the daily outturn being 21,000 maunds of rice. The industry plied throughout the year barring the three raining months. The avaricious eyes of the millers soon fell on this fertile area, and hullers, big and small, raised their heads, began to swallow the paddy, and drive the dhenki-working villagers out of employment almost totally. The mills were apparently sermonising on 'refined taste' which polished rice alone could guarantee, though, however, villagers rudely shaken from the source of employment and with empty stomachs, had not much to worry about 'taste'! We would probably risk no contradiction if we state that Bhagalpur is no exception, - this woeful process of unemploying the employed, even on a modest level, has gone on as a general rule in many States of India. Sri N. R. Malkani makes a fair and impressive calculation on the employment aspect of this industry in the *Harijan Weekly*. He says, "At present 60 per cent of the total paddy of India is hand-pounded. On the basis of 20 million tons of paddy being dehusked (production was little less than 24 mil tons in 1952-53 -but we have to make allowances for sowings, wastes, etc.) the hand-pounding industry would account for nearly 12 mil. tons, at the rate of 2 tons of paddy processed per person working for six months in a year this would provide partial employment to nearly 60 lakhs of persons. If the entire quantity of paddy were hand-pounded, there would be work for another 40 lakhs. So also the wage-bill paid to hand-pounders would rise from, say, Rs. 50 crores to Rs. 80 crores." We need not elaborate this point. Coming to the point of outturn of rice from paddy: According to Sri S. Varma, an adviser in the Ministry of Food, Government of India, the huller type of rice mills gives an outturn of 63 to 66 per cent on raw paddy, whereas average paddy grain consists of 23 per cent to 25 per cent husk, 1 or 2 per cent chitile and germ and 74 to 76 per cent kernel, thus the wastage calculating at near about 7 per cent of

the paddy processed. Besides, transportation of paddy from the peasant's home to the mill-gate also involves waste, that is to a great extent avoided when the dehushing is done near at hand by Dhenkis.

About the disastrous effects of polishing on rice the less said the better. Expert study reveals that while in the unpolished rice there is no loss of the nutritive element, rice once-polished loses 55.0 per cent of its nutritive value, twice-polished 75 per cent and thrice-polished 82.5 per cent! Then what do we eat, and what we eat for? No fewer than 20,000 mills all over India and nearly 4000 in West Bengal alone have been doing this noble job—before our very eyes and with our patronage! If one shudders to look at the skeleton-like body of his own self, his relations, his sons and daughters, specially in course of the last ten years or so, one has only to thank these 'defooding' machines to a great degree! Gandhi once painfully observed, "For the villagers to pound their own rice and eat it unpolished whole, means saving at least 30 crores of rupees per year and promoting health." Dr. Radhakamal Mukherjee, the eminent thinker and economist quotes, in his famous work *Food Planning for Four Hundred Millions*, a Census Report of Bihar and Orissa to show that 'beri-beri' (a fell disease) broke out in those sections of the people that were accustomed to polished rice. So, he it from the standpoint of employment, or production or nutrition. Rice Mills have no grounds to stand upon—actually they stand self-condemned. Why, then the Central Government falters to enforce with courage and determination through the agency of the States Government a uniform law prohibiting their expansion forthwith and replacing them ultimately with hand-processes within a stipulated period? This prohibitive action ought to have been taken long before in view of the clear recommendations of the Planning Commission, and should not be delayed now on the plea that the Rice Milling Committee is engaged in studying the actual state of affairs for an ultimate step on the part of the Government.

In this otherwise disappointing picture we note with much gratification the example that the Bihar Assembly set up in this regard. On July 29, 1953, the Assembly passed a comprehensive resolution banning new mills, limiting the output of existing Rice Mills, levying a cess on them and purchasing all Government supplies from the hand-pounders only. Let the other States emulate it—here and now. With the abolition of control and rationing the system of centralized production and distribution of rice has outlived its utility and with it the milling of rice too. Over and above the restoration of the normal pre-control working, the Government can also profitably organize hand-pounding co-operatives and instil a new sense of optimism and awakening of freedom in the hearts of the millions now sunk in a sub-human level.

## WHITHER NEPALI RUPEE ?

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DURING the last few years the Nepali currency has been passing through certain critical period, since it has been experienced that the deteriorating value of the Nepali rupee in relation to the Indian rupee has come to be a serious blow to the entire economic life of the Nepalese people. So far, the remedial measures implemented by the Government from time to time have not met with success. Recently, till Oct. 15 there was a rate fixed by the Government for transactions as 100 Indian rupees equivalent to 149½ Nepali rupees and the rate was in force only for about a month. However it has been the experience of the public that the Government rate was only nominal and that for transaction purposes the people had to take resort to unofficial rate, which was never lower than 165 during the last two months. In spite of this, people had hopes that the Government would do something and even the Prime Minister had blamed the dealers for manipulating the rate and had also promised to the public to take stern action. But with the withdrawal of even that nominal restriction on 15th October last all the aspirations and confidence of the public in general that the Government would do something seem to have been melted into thin air. It is surprising that on the contrary, a communique issued by the Finance Ministry on October 19 reads at one place that the deterioration of the value of the Nepali rupee in terms of the Indian rupee is altogether due to *imaginary* fear. No doubt, this is one of the many factors; but the entire problem cannot be attributed to this. It may be recalled that by the end of 1946 at one time the exchange rate varied between 65 and 70 Nepali rupees for 100 Indian rupees, while to-day the rate has shot up to 100 Indian rupees equivalent to 170 Nepali rupees. Is this merely psychological or even speculative? In the present article an endeavour has been made toward the solution of the adverse exchange rate of the Nepali Rupee and thereby the entire currency situation (both on the long-term and short-term basis) against the background of the country's backward currency management and circulation.

### THE BACKGROUND

Nepal has come to the international picture only some four years ago and to the outside world the basic problems of her economy are not properly known even to-day. So far as the currency situation is concerned, very many pitfalls and limitations still exist. First, the circulation of the Nepali currency, still governed by custom, is confined to the Kathmandu valley and its neighbouring hilly regions while in *tarain* and other parts of the country covering more than half of the total area, only Indian rupees circulate as currency, and it is wonderful that the Government also collects its revenue in these parts only in Indian rupees. This dual system of currency has come to be the real crux of

the problem in any attempt to regulate the rate of exchange, which fluctuates so widely in these days.

Second, Nepal does not have so far any system of currency management worth the name in the modern sense. True there is the Finance Ministry with a financial code, and that there is a substantial difference between the state funds and the privy purse of the ruling prime minister (this was not so during the Rana Rule), but the system of note issue is neither subject to any limits or reserves nor does the Government possess any authority so far either for controlling and regulating currency or for keeping the exchange rate within limits in even any elastic basis. Therefore a study of the composition of monetary circulation is difficult, if not totally impossible, because there are no reliable statistics of the important items of circulation. Reliance has to be placed on such information as is at hand and on the estimates that have been made by knowledgeable people. It has been estimated that the total of Nepali currency notes in circulation till recently was about four crores while the circulation of Nepali coins is placed around rupees five crores.

A brief reference to the trends of fluctuations of exchange rate is relevant in the proper understanding of the present currency chaos of Nepal to-day. It is said that prior to the 'thirties, the exchange rate used to be fairly stable around 100 Indian rupees for 125 Nepali rupees, as in those days Nepali currency consisted entirely of silver coins of various denominations, and the demand for Indian currency was small, as imports from India were extremely limited and confined to certain essential commodities. Later toward the onset of the Second World War with the increase of imports from India, by 1939 the rate of exchange was 145 Nepali rupees for 100 Indian rupees. During the war by 1943-44 with the drop in imports, the value of the Nepali rupee tended to rise, 80 Nepali rupees being exchanged for 100 Indian rupees. Till the culmination of the war, the exchange rate fluctuated between 80 and 85 Nepali rupees for 100 Indian rupees, and the tendency toward the appreciation of the Nepali rupee continued all through. The appreciation continued so much that with a view to arrest further appreciation of the Nepali currency, paper notes were issued for the first time. Later on with the increase of imports and the result of all these measures, however scanty, by the end of 1950 the rate of exchange reached 100 to 112 Nepali rupees for 100 Indian rupees. After the interim set-up (Feb. 1951) the exchange rate began to suffer from violent fluctuations. In September 1952, when the rate reached 145, the Government fixed 128 Nepali rupees for 100 Indian rupees as the official rate, which became simply official in declaration, as the recent official

restriction of some three weeks proved to be. Thus the fluctuations in the value of the Nepali rupee not only affect foreign transactions, but they also directly affect internal transactions.

#### BASIC CAUSES OF FLUCTUATIONS IN EXCHANGE RATES

What are the basic factors working for the fluctuations and more particularly against the value of the Nepali rupee? Firstly, the general trends expressed above, make it abundantly clear that from early times the exchange rate has varied with the volume of imports into the Kathmandu Valley and other adjoining regions using Nepali currency. The Tarai region is said to be exporting substantial quantities of foodgrains (chiefly paddy) to India and the impact of this trade is not directly felt on the rate of exchange of the Nepali rupee. In recent times other factors also have begun to operate more violently, though in many cases they are the legacies of the one century rule of the family autocracy. The system of note issue and currency regulation also has its indirect bearing on the situation. Thirdly, speculative dealings and manipulation by private dealers, which had begun a few years earlier, now have become rampant because of the slackening of various restrictions and the growing volume of imports, specially of luxury articles. Another factor is more important. The flight of certain big Ranas along with their movable properties and other landlords (who had large incomes in Indian currencies) to India to settle down permanently has meant not only a fall in foreign receipts but also substantial flight of capital from the country. A fourth factor has been the process of creation of currency for meeting budgetary deficits. This last factor, however, had a markedly adverse effect on the confidence of the people in the Nepali currency. The depreciation of the exchange, therefore, has continued steadily, the exchange dealings being marked by almost daily fluctuations.

#### LONG-TERM REMEDIAL MEASURES

Then what are the remedies? Such solutions can be considered from two different standpoints—those measures which mature after some years or so and cannot give necessary relief to the present deficit though they can cure the disease permanently and such measures which mature as soon as they are implemented and thus are helpful in bringing to a halt any further depreciation. To consider the long-term measures first: (1) Overall Reform in the present financial position:—It is obvious that in certain respects the existing financial situation is also responsible for the adverse exchange rate. Therefore, what I would suggest is a co-ordinated management of the currency system of the country. Minting arrangements should be modernised and paper currency should be regulated in conformity with such functions of more advanced democratic governments.

(2) Establishment of a Central Bank:—A State Bank with all the central banking functions for regulating exchange rate, issuing notes, and administering all the controls relating to dealings in coin, bul-

lion, securities, etc., should be instituted without any further delay. Such a bank is indispensable for adopting a co-ordinated policy. At one time on the Governmental level the decision of the establishment of such a bank was continuously reiterated, but on the basis of the available information the very idea seems to have been dropped.

(3) Balancing the Budget:—The budgets presented so far show an overall deficit to the tune of more than one crore of rupees annually. How to adjust the exchange rate favourably to the country without balancing the budget? Deficit financing is desirable in a backward country only for financing developmental programmes. But in Nepal there is deficit even for meeting the current expenditure. Therefore, there is an immediate need for stabilising the country's economy on a distinctly lower level of prices than that obtaining to-day by adjusting expenditure to income.

(4) Monetary Regulation:—The dual system of currency is also detrimental to the rate of exchange to the country's balance of payment. In spite of the fact that Nepal's annual exports are estimated at Rs. 27 crores and imports at only Rs. 11 crores, the Nepali rupee is going down and down. This can be explained because the Valley and certain *tarai* regions depend on imports from India which have to be paid for in Indian rupees. Therefore the monetary regulation should be directed toward the country-wide circulation of the Nepali currency with the fundamental ends of the economic policy. For the success of this policy, however, the transport system will also have to be properly integrated to connect all the parts of the country.

#### SEVEN-POINT MEASURES FOR IMMEDIATE IMPLEMENTATION

However, for immediate control of the downfall of the exchange rate, short-term measures are more important since they are instrumental in stabilising the rate and thus appreciating the value of the Nepali currency, as soon as the measures are put into practice on a co-ordinated basis. On the basis of the available fact and information, I consider that a 7-point Programme, if followed by the Government would be really helpful in saving the country from the impending financial crisis.

(1) A Practicable Official Rate: Mere communications or even sporadic interferences are impracticable about the fixation of the exchange rate, unless preceded by some fundamental policies. So many times the Government has fixed its official rate. But to what effect they have led? Simply the rates without practical value. The recent restriction on the exchange rate by the Government, as experience has shown, simply became a rate without its bearing on transaction purposes. About a month ago, the Prime Minister had promised a deputation of Janadhikari Suraksha Samiti that the rate would be brought down to 100 Indian rupees equivalent to 128 Nepali rupees. But the recent withdrawal of the restriction by the Government has totally been against that decision. Therefore, the Government should take active steps to control and

fix the rate by offering to exchange Nepali rupees for Indian rupees for approved purposes. Be it noted, that this policy is altogether dependent on the establishment of a government authority for the purpose though in the initial stages the Government may have to encounter some losses.

(2) Clarification of the basic facts of note issue and circulation of coins in the country:—This is important not because it will in itself solve the problem, but because it will revive the confidence of the public, which in ignorance of such information are losing the confidence in the Nepali currency. Definitely, this declining nature of confidence in the national currency has had its repercussion on the exchange rate to a sufficient degree.

(3) Temporary curtailment of Imports:—It is evident that the exchange rate has varied with the volume of imports. Therefore, another immediate solution toward the problem should be altogether a stoppage of imports of certain commodities (like cigarettes, alcohol, and other extra luxurious articles) and restrictions, for certain essential purposes, of imports of certain commodities like clothes, petrol, etc., for some months to come, with a view to curtailing the demand for Indian rupees. Such a policy would have a double-edged effect, since it will not only appreciate the exchange rate but would also encourage the development of indigenous industries connected with them.

(4) Prevention of Speculative Dealings:—It is generally believed that near about 20 per cent of the fluctuation is due to such anti-national practices. Therefore, such practices should be made an offence and drastic steps should be taken to punish persons found guilty along with a country-wide drive to detect hoarders of Indian currency.

(5) Curtailment of the State Expenditure:—Though it is not feasible to take to retrenchment measures all at once, still a concrete announcement by the Government toward that purpose on a planned basis will definitely result in the revival of public confidence in the beginning and later on in bridging the budgetary deficits as and when the policy is implemented.

(6) Setting up of an Exchange Control Board: This board representing the views of various sections of the public and the Government about the market condition will be very useful so long as the Central Bank is not established. The main task of the board should be to keep the Government informed of the factors influencing the exchange rate, and gain a proper perspective of the existing rate in the money market and follow a level-headed policy.

(7) Establishment of an Exchange Equalisation Fund: At the outset such a fund can be established with a reserve of the Indian rupee under the supervision of the Reserve Bank of India with the object of ironing out short period exchange fluctuations, restricting short-term movements of funds and undesirable forward exchange transactions, so that only 'real' causes are left

to influence the long-term trend of foreign exchanges. Later on, it is also feasible for Nepal to have trade relations connected with either sterling or dollar areas, so that she may be able to get commodities reasonably at the international prices. It should be borne in mind that this is a thing which can be possibly introduced after a sufficiently long time.

#### GENERAL OUTLOOK

However, it is not certain that the above measures will be quite sufficient to improve the exchange rate in the country, since our knowledge about the basic facts and materials is few and far between. The exchange rate and its fluctuation in Nepal in these days being complicated affairs, it is quite necessary that every step that the Government may consider desirable should be taken after considering it twice or even thrice, and that the method that can be pursued should be of trial and error; the measures put forth above may have to be tried and changed, if necessary, according to results obtained.

There is one section of opinion both inside and outside Nepal that a policy of making Nepali coins circulate throughout the country (my measures also cling toward that objective) is based on mere sentimental nationalism and that such a policy of undue interference of the natural process of gradually expanding the rupee area would mean hardship for the people and heavy burden on the administration. Why not allow the present process to reach its logical consummation? Thus, in other words, they suggest that the Indian rupee should be circulated in the various parts of the country. But while putting forth this solution, they altogether forget that at present the country's economy (its budgetary provisions) is altogether based on the Nepali currency. Again, how to ascertain the national income of a particular country, if its currency is not its own? The very study of the import and export trades will be absolutely difficult. Therefore, I would suggest that the dual currency system being the real crux of the problem in any attempt for regulating the rate of exchange, all possible measures, of course, from a long-period standpoint, should be directed toward the country-wide circulation of the Nepali currency.

Is it not time for taking up a serious and well-founded step to regulate and stabilise the exchange rate of the Nepali currency in terms of the Indian currency? The withdrawal of the restrictions on the exchange rate imposed by the government a short time ago has been really a shock to the country's future economy and it appears to be a pointer that the Government is thinking of doing nothing for improving the situation. If no interference is made with the *natural process*, Nepal's finance in due course may lapse into that kind of paralysis from which no recovery is possible.

# THE ART OF GANDHARA

## A General Review

By S. C. CHANDRA

THE province of Gandhara situated on the north-western fringes of India naturally became the meeting-ground of at least three civilizations—Indian, Hellenistic and Iranian. The result was the birth of a hybrid culture that found its expression in an eclectic school of art more or less contemporary with the flourishing period of the indigenous school at Mathura. In centuries preceding the Christian era, the Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian kings of Gandhara and the Punjab had



An Atlante from Gandhara

already come under the influence of Indian religions. The art that was brought forth to serve the Indian religions however employed a technique unquestionably borrowed from the Hellenistic standards as modified by the different trends (Iranian, Hellenistic, etc.) with which they came into contact in their eastward expansion. "It may be considered from one point of view as representing an outward expansion of the Hellenistic civilization mixed with Iranian elements; from another as a westward extension of the Indian culture in a Western garb." As Dr. Kramersch rightly observes :

"If it is Indian and colonial from a Hellenistic point of view, it is Hellenistic and colonial when viewed from India."

The Iranian elements noticed in the sculptures of the Gandhara school have been assumed by some scholars to have found their way into Indian art at the time when the Achaemenian Empire extended over the north-west, the Hellenic elements following later. Marshall however is of the opinion that the fusion of Iranian with Hellenistic ideas took place in Bactria and the neighbouring countries after their colonisation by Alexander the Great and that the hybrid art that was evolved was introduced into India either as a result of peaceful intercourse between the Maurya Empire and Western Asia or as the result of the subsequent invasions of the Bactrian Greeks, Scythians, Parthians and Kushans who must have been imbued to a greater or less degree with the Graeco-Persian culture. Latest discoveries from Begram in Afghanistan however go to show that that Iranian influence also found its way into Indian art on the frontiers of Central Asia between the 3rd and 5th centuries A.D. when the Sassanians were ruling over Bactria.

The classical or the Hellenistic elements so characteristic of this art are manifest in a variety of motifs and technical details. The earliest evidences of this influence may be noticed on coins as early as the 2nd or 1st Century B.C. both in weight and fabric and as well as in the treatment of the figures of kings and deities. Neither does this numismatic evidence stand alone. It is corroborated by other antiquities of this region, though such antiquities are not as early as the coins themselves. No evidence of plastic art or arts of architectural form of this early period showing Hellenistic influence has come to light. The earliest such discovery is perhaps not earlier than the 1st century B.C. when the Scytho-Parthian dynasties had established themselves in Gandhara. A temple with Ionic columns having a front porch, a sanctuary and a back porch and a shrine, with the facade decorated with Corinthian pilasters and pedimental forms had been discovered at Taxila. In later period, especially during the regime of the Kushans, the Corinthian capital becomes a regular feature throughout Gandhara. Another classical motif in architecture may be noticed in the acanthus foliage. It should be remembered with reference to the Gandhara school that though the form is strongly Hellenistic, the subject-matter and content are Indian and consequently we find that many older motifs of the early indigenous school remained practically unchanged. Some are however modified and a few entirely transformed. To the already numerous Indian and Indianised motifs—Atlantes, fantastic creatures, griffins, etc.—the new schools brought also the vine, the acanthus, the frieze of garland bearers, fabulous creatures, viz., the Triton, the marine horse, etc., all common to different western Asiatic countries. The ceramic wares from the neighbourhood of Peshawar

exhibit designs singularly Hellenic in sentiment, e.g., the Little Amorini at Play, a child reaching for a bunch of grapes, Haemon supplicating his father for the life of his affianced bride, an ivory pendant adorned with two-bearded heads and the vine-wreathed head of Dionysus in silver repousse from Taxila are not only Hellenistic in design but also in execution. Hellenistic execution is also apparent in the engraved gems that have been found throughout the region. But after a lapse of time Indian forms generally begin to appear and in course of time they predominate to the corresponding elimination of Hellenistic forms and workmanship. Not only in the domain of minor arts but also in that of the plastic, this tendency offers a somewhat approximate basis for chronological sequence of the different specimens of this school.

#### DATING OF THE GANDHARA SCULPTURES

The dating of the Gandhara sculptures however is a matter of great uncertainty and still remains a vexing problem owing largely to the absence of any definitely datable monuments.

"Not one of the thousands of known images bears a date in any known era, nor do considerations of style permit to determine their chronological sequence with any sure approach to accuracy."

It is definite that it was under the Kushana Kings that the majority of the works were produced and the most prolific period of activity of this school must be assigned to them. It is also permissible to assume that the school had begun to take shape long before the Kushans came upon the scene. The evolution of the types that we find already standardised with the Kushans presupposes a fairly long period of earlier achievement. Hence all that can be definitely said is that the Gandhara school may date from the 1st century B.C., probably antedates Kanishka and definitely attains its greatest expansion in his reign. It may be taken as a general maxim that the more nearly they approach in style to the Hellenistic standards the earlier they are in date.

It should also be observed that the Gandhara art though Hellenistic in form and execution is certainly Indian in content and subject-matter and hence it follows the Indian tradition both verbal and plastic in every essential of its iconography. The whole conception of the seated *yogi* and teacher is Indian. The *ushnisa*, the *mudras*, the *asana*, etc., cannot be anything but Indian. All that is really Hellenistic is the plasticity, so also the treatment of the drapery. In Gandhara, the translation of the Buddhist iconography into foreign patterns is essentially the same process that took place in the formation of the Early Christian Art and as such it is not surprising to find amongst the earliest Gandhara Buddhas, Sakyammuni with the head of a Greek Apollo suggesting the Roman statues of the Augustan period. In exactly the same fashion the earliest representation of Christ shows him with the head of the Greek Sun-God. The foreign craftsmen

responsible for this school adopted the Roman iconographical and technical methods to meet the requirements of their Kushan Buddhist employes.



Gandhara Bodhisattva

The Buddha type of Gandhara and that of Mathura are equally based on a common literary and oral tradition. Again, on account of a long practice of this extraneous style to serve the purpose of an Indian religion, the Indian standard of modelling, proportion and pose gradually began to be accepted inconsistently and therefore haphazardly. A certain amplitude of facial features (play of curves), curving eyebrows, soft modelling of the eyes, drooping eyelids, fuller cheeks, smoother transition from physiognomy to physiognomy, thinning down of the volume of the drapery and demeanour of

subsequent Gandhara figures are the local symptoms of Indian heritage

#### ORIGIN OF THE BUDDHA IMAGE

In the early Buddhist art of Bharhut, Sanchi, Bodhi Gaya and Amaravati Buddha is not represented in anthropomorphic form but wherever his presence was needed it was indicated by symbols. This was due to the peculiar bent of the Aryan mind which did not as yet favour the anthropomorphic shape of their gods

and the image occupied its place in the art of the country. In the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D. Buddha images appear simultaneously in the Hellenistic art of Gandhara on the one hand and the indigenous schools of Mathura and Amaravati on the other. The Gandharan Buddha image has been taken to be the first in point of date so far as extant remains are concerned and on this account some scholars have sought to deduce a theory of Hellenic origin for the Buddha image. But, as already



A typical Gandharan Buddha

But there was a strong element of anthropomorphism in the religious beliefs of the non-Aryan and Pre-Aryan population of the country and as a result of the contact with these people the tendency to image worship was gradually gaining ground. With the emergence of the doctrine of *bhakti* or the devotional cult of a personal God images began to appear more and more in worship and came to be established in the religious beliefs of the Indian people as a whole. The fusion of the non-Aryan, pre-Aryan and Aryan tendencies brought about a change in the psychology of the Indian mind



Hindu and Pahlava from Gandhara

observed the tendency towards image worship was already gaining ground in India even without the Hellenic inspiration and as Dr. Kramersch says 'Under no circumstances can priority lay a claim for the Gandharan Buddha as the originator of the Buddha image it may have been due to an accident of preservation. Racially and psychologically the two types of Buddha image one from Mathura and the other from Gandhara have different origins.' The Gandharan Buddha may be said to be stylistically Hellenistic and iconographically Indian. 'The Gandharan sculptor did not make an Apollo into a Buddha but a Buddha into an Apollo.' The Mathura Buddha on the other hand is a direct evolution of the early primitive trend of India essentially a product of the Indian school, it follows up the ancient tradition of pre-Kushana Yakshas and Yakshinis and as such set the standard for all future Buddha images. The Gandharan Buddha which was an exotic adaptation of Indian notions by the syncretistic craftsmen of Gandhara could not long survive but died a natural death.

#### THE ROLE OF THE HELLENISTIC SCHOOL IN INDIAN ART

The question of the role played by the Hellenistic school in India has been a much disputed one. Some

authorities maintain that it was almost a negligible factor, others that it underlay the whole fabric of Indian art. "The Hellenistic art could not and never got a real and lasting hold upon India for the reason that the temperament and mental equipment of the two people are fundamentally dissimilar." Though Hellenistic in form and style, the Gandhara school served an Indian religion and was based on Indian tradition. The Indian and local elements in Gandhara are thus many and varied. "Indian in theme, based on Indian tradition it may even be said to be Indian to all intents and purposes, practically an offshoot of Early Indian school transformed by powerful extraneous influence." In the history of Indian art taken as a whole, the Gandhara school represents nothing more than a mere passing phase. We are hardly justified in placing its products side by side with those of the indigenous schools of Bharhut, Sanchi, Amaravati, etc., which we know supplied the basic foundations on which the future artistic activities of India rested; nor can they be compared with the products of the Classical period of Indian art as culmi-

nating in the Gupta school. It did not leave any permanent result; what it did contribute to the field of Indian art amounts to only a very few motifs which again were speedily transformed. Although the period of efflorescence of the Gandhara school follows after the Early Indian schools of Maurya, Sunga and Andhra dynasties, the artistic activity is in no way a continuation of the indigenous tradition. There was no true fusion of the Indian and Western ideals in Gandhara. The arts of India and Gandhara advanced along separate paths in different directions and the imported style disappears with the development of the true Early Indian ideals of the Gupta period. As René Grousset observes, "It is obvious that the Gandhara school with its faces which are often weak and lacking in character, its conventional motifs adopted to order, we may add its commonplace cannot possibly be compared to the school of Sanchi in sincerity of faith and emotion or spontaneity of inspiration, still less with the later schools of the Gupta and Pallava periods."

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## REVIEW OF EXHIBITION OF ACADEMY OF FINE ARTS, 1954

BY PROF. O. C. GANGOLY

AMIDST the series of Music Conferences of this city (Calcutta), the champions of visual arts bravely throw out the challenge that painting and sculpture are no less powerful instruments of human culture than music and deserve the equal attention of the dwellers of this great city.

Of these champions of the visual arts the most important is the Academy of Fine Arts which opened its 19th Exhibition a few days ago maintaining very creditably its claim of presenting the most representative pieces of painting and sculpture produced during the current year. This claim has been steadily maintained with commendable consistency through its career of nineteen years of brilliant and well-planned activity.

A collection of about 650 pieces and 35 well-chosen pieces of sculpture is too formidable an assembly to be fairly reviewed in the course of ten minutes and one can only indicate the highlights and the outstanding pieces, which stick out their heads over the assembled crowds. It can be said without contradiction that the exhibits in their variety of subjects, tempers and temperaments will appeal to all kinds of tastes and all manners of demands from those of the man in the street, the ignorant amateurs of pictures, "who know that they like," to the learned and sophisticated critics and connoisseurs. The

Academy divides, as usual, its brave array of exhibits into different sections, of oils, water-colours, the black and whites and the graphic arts, but it happily allocates two separate sections to the National Indian schools and to the Modern and modernistic painters. It is a happy policy to afford a special opportunity to study the progress and the change in the outlook of artists, devoted to the traditional National Art of India which Abanindranath Tagore placed on a sound foundation, a few years ago. The banner he held aloft has not been honourably upheld by his recent followers, who have devoted themselves to the interpretation of the ideals and principles of the national language of pictorial art, having five thousand years of history behind it. In order to provide convenient standards at hand, the Academy has exhibited a few specimens for comparison from the brush of Abanindranath Tagore and Nandalal Bose, the latter by three pieces of which the *Dolan-Champa* is the best. The other highlights of the section are represented by three excellent flower-pieces and a superb forest scene by Rathindra Tagore and by two pictures by Dharendra Varman and several by Indra Dugar. The former's *Village Maid*, and the latter's *On the Watch* very well maintain the claim of "Indian" painting. Bireswar Sen's study of a nude in his *Who Comes There* is a carefully executed land-

escape, not very well maintaining the best traditions of the school. Other outstanding pieces are Azmales' *Sorrow of Radha*, emphasized by a dancing peacock, and Samar Ghose's *Chaitra Samkranti*, which does not justify the title. Other talented interpretations of

develop later, into trained observers and lovers of pictures, the much-hoped-for potential patrons. For, with the tragic liquidation of the rich aristocracy of the Maharajas and the Princely orders, the duty of patronizing and keeping alive the artists and interpreters of beauty have devolved on the average individual citizens of our "Social democracy" and on the collective patronage of the State.

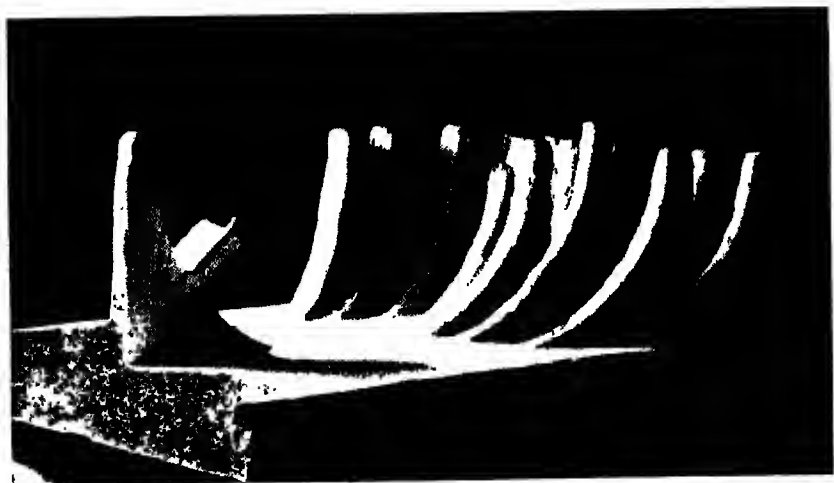


The Window  
By Makham Dutta Gupta

Indian painting are represented by Tuhinga Roy's *Tana*, Satya-vrata Bhowmik's *Swayam-duta Nayaka*, a successful modern interpretation of a very ancient topic, frequently treated in Rajasthani paintings, and, a tiny little masterpiece, *Satpi* by Gouri Dutt Roy. Gopal Ghose's *Bud-World*, though an excellent piece of superb technique and penetrating vision, is out of place in the section as it cannot claim any feature of the traditions of Indian painting.

The section of oil paintings, rich in subject-matters and in a large variety of techniques, interpreting an extensive range of realistic vision, from the photographic, prosaic, romantic, descriptive, and narrative, to the hazy heights of Impressionism, is the most useful section to teach the novice and the man in the street the A. B. C. of pictorial art, and indeed the large group of visiting novices, assimilating and discussing their first lessons and experiences of pictorial art, demonstrated that the average citizens, with no pretensions for Art, are being slowly initiated into the mystery of picture-making, who are sure to

The oil section is distinctly poor in portraiture, though with some rare exceptions here and there, as in the two pieces contributed by Kisory Roy and Arun Mantra. Of light-effects and sentimental studies the *Window* by Dutta-Gupta, a tiny little piece, easily beats other ambitious pieces, such as the same artist's study of *A Woman Examining Her Face in a Mirror*. The traditions of portrait-painting are well maintained by several painters, notably by Atul Bose whose specimens in the show, however, do not maintain his high reputation. A large number of our leaders, patrons, and famous men of letters are



Prayer Meeting  
By Robin Roy

erving for worthy memorial portraits, but our memorial committees seldom select talented painters to build up our National portrait-gallery.

There are numerous presentations of natural scenes, topographical landscapes and characteristic village scenes and glimpses of rural beauties, but none of them attain a very high level. Special prizes should be awarded to encourage our landscape painters to present the beauty of Bengal villages, now fading out

of existence, due to many tragic causes, which are ruining our village life. Chintamani Kar's *Peasant Women*, in its rhythmic beauty and superb breadth of vision and impressionistic treatment, has well deserved the Governor's gold medal awarded by the judges.

If the oil section is weak in many outstanding highlights, this is more than compensated for by the brilliance and variety of the section devoted to the Moderns and the bold experiments in all varieties of "Isms." Indeed, the Academy's presentation of the Moderns is a very creditable attempt to strengthen a phase of pictorial art, which is gaining in importance, year after year, the lead to the movement, in India, being given by the Modernists of Bombay. But in this show the credit is well shared by two local artists, Rathin Morita and Desmond Doig. It is said that it is the unsuccessful artist, who invariably develops into a critic. But this adage has been falsified in the case of one of our most brilliant art-critics who has achieved a signal success with brush and colour, which threaten to obscure his adventures with his pen. We have to welcome his *Night Beach* as one of the finest oils in the show, but it is also one of the outstanding and daring pieces in the modernistic manner, deserving the highest praise. His larger canvas, a problem picture, *Then Nothing*, though less successful, contributes to the strength of the section, supported by a few other larger pieces, illustrating Cubist principles. The maxim that "Post-Impressionists do not seek to imitate Form, but to create Form" is illustrated in several specimens. And the rival claims of imitation and creation are brilliantly interpreted by Rathin Morita, whose three remarkable pieces constitute the backbone of the section. His blue and reddish grey *Pair of Cats* do not violate the claims of representation, but is a superb example of emphatic and highly original presentation of Form. His *Leader*, representing a horse and its groom, a surprising essay in red and blue, is also an original essay in balance

and proportions, inherent in its purposeful deviation from the normal standards of proportion. But his symbolic study of *Union* a modern interpretation of the traditional *Mithuna*, is an original and daring study of the union of the blue and the yellow. Pannikar's *Green Bull* and *Malayalee Mother* are important supports to the section, which easily hits the eyes of even the colour-blind visitors. Hazari's *Fishes* have justly won a gold medal, though there are many claimants to this honour in the same section. Sushil Mukherjee's *Christ bearing the Cross*, well deserves honourable mention and appropriately honours the current Christmas celebration as a valuable Hindu tribute to the Message of Christ. Pratap Sen's *Mural Design for a Maternity Home* deserves high praise for its twin quality of symbolism and pattern-making.

Gopal Ghose's *Southal Land* not only sustains his own reputation, but also lends substantial support and strength to the section. Blackburn's *Jama Sasthi* is not only a vigorous piece of brush-work, but a symbolic presentation of a well-known Bengali social ritual, treated with great sympathy and penetrating vision.

The water-colour section does not present many notables, though there are several picturesque and a few profound presentations. Sankar Nandy's *Jagdish Temple* has more than topographical values. But Ranen Ayan Dutt's *Load and Labour* is a really thoughtful piece with high technical quality. The black and white section is illuminated by Mukul Dev's familiar etchings and Huen Das's coloured woodcuts.

In the sculpture section, there are many distinguished pieces, such as Ajit Chakravarty's *Composition A*, Pansare's *Obstacle Bay* and Robin Roy's excellent abstraction, a *Priapic Meeting*.\*

\* By the courtesy of All India Radio, Calcutta.



# WHERE STONES SPEAK

## Khajuraho

By JYOTI P. SAXENA, M.A.

If Mohenjodaro, Harappa and Nalanda depict India at her best, Kutub Minar, Fatehpur Sikri, etc., stand as living monuments to the Muhammedan monarchs, Ajanta and Ellora glorify Indian art, culture and civilization,

Vindhya Pradesh, it is about 28 miles from Chhatarpur which itself is 32 miles each from Harpalpur and Mahoba, both Central Railway Stations on the Jhansi-Manikpur route. Presenting a galaxy of Hindu and



Vishwanath Temple



Kandhariya Mahadev Temple



Kandhariya Mahadev and Devi Jagadambi Temples



Colossal image of Nandi in front of Vishwanath Temple

Jain temples, it is a place worth a visit a thousand times and is replete with things which please the eye as well as elevate the soul.



Kandhariya Temple. Details depicting sex carvings

«Khajuraho, too, in its right perspective, can be dubbed as 'Pride of India' where the soul of the Vindhya does rest. A place of pilgrimage situated in the heart of

Now reduced to a small hamlet accommodating some five hundred souls, it was in its hey-day a large city

with about one hundred temples built by the Chandel Kings between A.D. 950 to 1050. But with the passing of time, most of the temples have crumbled and only about twenty-five are intact now which provide us with a huge images of gods and goddesses—all bring forth the splendour of Indian architecture of the perfect Indo-Aryan type. In short, in beauty and grandeur they reign supreme.



Colossal image of Venu in front of Lakshmanji Temple



Marangeshwar and Lakshmanji Temples

yardstick to measure the greatness and glamorous glory of Khajuraho at her glorious best.

The temples are fine specimens of engineering and artistic skill. Their architectural beauty is superb. The gigantic 'Shikhars' which appear to kiss the blue, the fine sculptures, the intricate geometrical designs, the

Khajuraho gives immense pleasure to the lover of art and architecture. It infuses the seeker of religious truths with a spirit of serenity and sacredness. It instils poetry in the heart of the poet. For the historian, it is a treasure-house of material to research upon the glories of India's past. Even to the lay man it has got a message of its own.

—:O:—

## THINGS OF BEAUTY FROM TRAVANCORE-COCHIN

THE beautiful pieces of ivory work that adorn your drawing room have come from Travancore-Cochin. So has the coloured door mat that welcomes your visitors every day.



The door mats in various colours are products of the coir industry. A worker is clipping off fibre tips to give the mat a uniform shape

For centuries Travancore-Cochin has been famous for its exquisite artistic handicrafts, such as ivory, horn and wood carving, brass and metal ware, handloom goods, lace work and embroidery and screwpine mats and

bags. Equally important are the products of its Cottage Industries—articles of great utility and value. Coir industry, lemon grass oil industry, marine oil industry and ferrous and non-ferrous metal industries are some of the more important ones. These articles have earned for Travancore-Cochin a reputation in the world market.

The State's Cottage and rural industries provide opportunities to the largest number of persons to earn their livelihood amid natural surroundings. The Central and State Governments have, therefore, given special attention to the development of cottage industries so that they can benefit from modern technological advancement on a planned basis.

## TRAVANCORE-COCHIN GOVERNMENT PLAN

The Travancore-Cochin Government proposes to spend Rs. 64 lakhs during the five years ending 1955-56 for increasing the number of industrial co-operatives to manage the industries.



Apparently blind, the worker's trained hands cannot make a single slip in manufacturing a beautiful basket

The State has already made some progress in regard to a few cottage industries, such as handloom textiles, coir and coir mattings, grass and screw-pine

mats, ivory, horn and wood products. There are over 80,000 handlooms and 10 powerlooms in the State which has a network of 117 industrial co-operatives to cover all the cottage industries.

The Central Government have launched a sum of Rs. 33.25 lakhs sanctioned during the year 1953-54 for various schemes of State Governments relating to small scale industries, including the Coir industry.

## COIR INDUSTRY

Coir is used chiefly in the manufacture of mattings.

Coir and coir goods are exported in appreciable quantities.

In 1953-54 India exported coir yarn, coir matting and coir in other forms to the value of over Rs. 8 crores.

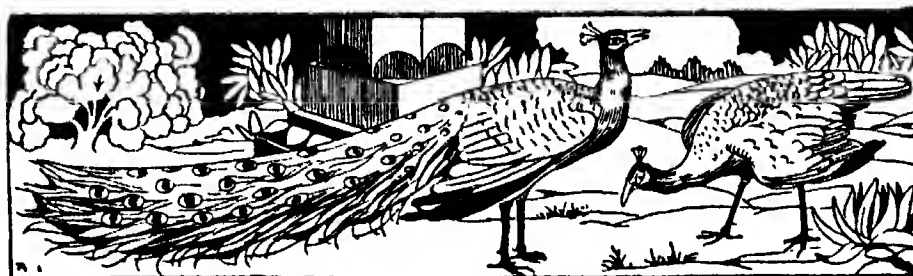
## THE ART OF CARVING

Ivory carving is an important handicraft in many States of India, chiefly Travancore-Cochin. Employing only a set of simple tools—a knife, a chisel and a few files—the worker produces exquisite figures of gods and goddesses, statues, animals and birds. Apart from the ornamental value of ivory work, articles of utility, such as necklaces, ear tops, cigar cases, photo frames, pen-holders, combs and buttons are also produced.

The horn industry is largely found in Travancore-Cochin, Orissa, Bombay, Hyderabad and West Bengal. The raw material used is the horn of the buffalo, the deer and the bison. The horn workers mostly produce articles similar to those prepared by ivory workers. The centre of horn industry in Travancore-Cochin is Trivandrum and the surrounding area.

Wood carving is practised in several parts of the country, chiefly Travancore-Cochin, Mysore and Kashmir. The raw materials used are teak wood, rose wood, sandal wood and walnut.

As a decorative art, carving work has existed in this country from time immemorial. Exquisite pieces of carving have adorned the person as well as the surroundings of the people everywhere through the ages. And in producing things of beauty Travancore-Cochin is among the foremost States in our country.—PIB.



# THE ALKALI INDUSTRY OF INDIA

By J. K. NAG

INDIA is not yet self-sufficient in her production of the two important alkalies, Caustic Soda and Soda Ash. Even now more than fifty per cent of the demand of these two basic chemical alkalies is met by imports. No doubt, the manufacture of alkalies is now-a-days a basic operation of the chemical industry and the civilisation of today owes much to its development and expansion. In the inorganic group of heavy

only two Soda Ash plants of India are working in Western India, in Kathiawad and Dharangadra. The output of the Caustic Soda factories is far from meeting the requirement of the country.

Caustic Soda and Soda Ash are used in the manufacture of soap, cellulose film, paper, glass, lye, rayon, dyes, textiles and nitrate fertilisers, etc. The electrolytic Caustic Soda plants producing Chlorine and Hydrogen as co-products have become essential for sanitation purposes and hydrogenation of vegetable oils. A major percentage of Caustic Soda produced now-a-days is manufactured by the electrolytic process, as a co-product of chlorine.

The consumption of Chlorine in this country is however still very low and as the Planning Commission has suggested, the proper utilisation of Chlorine should be effected by installing D.D.T. and bleaching powder plants.

## CAUSTIC SODA

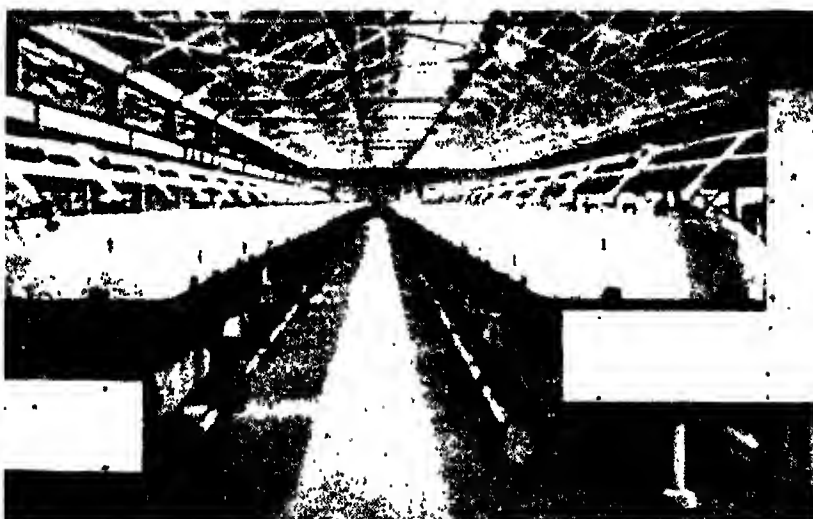
I remember when about 9 years ago I first visited the Caustic Soda factory of the Alkali Chemical Corporation (I. C. I.) at Rishra (District Hooghly), I wondered



Tata Chemicals, Mithapur

chemicals, the stronger alkali, caustic soda, stands almost equal to sulphuric acid. Its consumption may be regarded as an index of the industrial progress of a country.

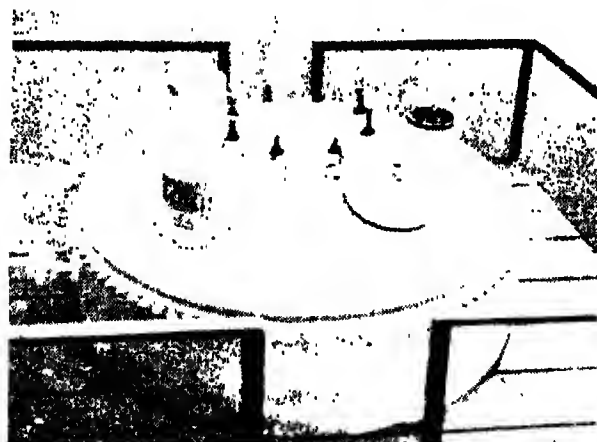
The alkali generally refers to the carbonates and hydroxides of sodium, potassium, lithium, etc. The hydroxides are called basic alkalies and they are stronger than the carbonate alkalies. The principal raw material for both Caustic Soda and Soda Ash is the common salt, sodium chloride, and as now India is more than self-supporting in the output of salt, she should promote her alkali industry, along with establishing an export trade, with the salt left as surplus. Steps should be taken very early to start Caustic Soda and Soda Ash factories in different parts of the country where they are not manufactured and where there are advantages in producing them. Though the Caustic Soda is now being manufactured in Delhi, Calcutta, Bombay, Mysore, Ahmedabad, Mettur (South India) and Travancore, the



Batteries of cells for electrolysing salt solution

why so little interest was being taken by our industrialists to take up alkali manufacture on a big scale. The sad part though, a small one, was installed in 1910 by the Imperial Chemical Industries, only to make up the gap of the import from their parent factory in England. Now, of course, they have taken

steps to enlarge this factory, so as to meet the demand of the country by local manufacture as far as possible. This I. C. I. plant is the second one in Bengal, the first plant, also a small one is the one that was set up by Titaghur Paper Mills long before. The third plant is that lately installed by the Hindusthan Development Corporation at Barrackpore. The rated capacity of the Hindusthan Development Corporation is now only 2,000 tons per year. So even after I.C.I. (India) has expanded their plant at Rishra, there will be ample scope for setting up more Caustic Soda factories to meet the local demand.



Caustic pots for transport.

The Caustic Soda\* industry of India is on the whole towards expansion with the installation of two twenty ton/day plants at Delhi by the Delhi Cloth Mill, Chemical Division and at Alwaye, Travancore-Cochin by Sheehashayee Bros., for pure grade Caustic Soda to be used in rayon mills. The writer had also the opportunity of seeing the caustic soda factories in Mithapur (of Tata Chemicals) and at Dehri-on-Sone in Bihar of the Rohtas Industries. The Tatas have both electrolytic and causticizing plants for manufacture of caustic soda in Mithapur (Saurashtra), where they have also a big salt factory and a big Soda Ash plant. The following are the present producers of Caustic Soda in India :

	<i>Rated capacity in tons per year.</i>
Alkali Chemical Corporation	2,000 (now expanded)
Hindusthan Heavy Chemicals	2,000
Rohtas Industries	2,450
Calico Mills, Ahmedabad	2,275
Delhi Cloth Mills	6,600
Mettur Chemical Corporation (Madras)	3,700
Tata Chemicals Ltd.	8,400 (6,000 by chemical process)
Travancore-Cochin Chemicals	6,600
	34,025

\* NaOH, Caustic Soda, one of the strongest alkalis, stands second only in tonnage rank to Soda Ash as an industrial alkali.

The following paper mills have also Caustic Soda plants for their own use :

Titaghur Paper Mills (West Bengal)	2,422 tons per year
Sri Gopal Paper Mills (Ambala, Punjab)	475 " " "
Deccan Paper Mills (Poona)	300 " " "
Sripur Paper Mills (Hyderabad)	292 " " "
Star Paper Mills (Shaharanpore)	

The paper mills altogether produce about 4,000 tons which they require for their own use besides purchase from the market. The produce of the Rhotas Industries is mostly consumed in their paper-board mills.

The annual requirement of India exclusive of the use of the paper mills, ranges from 60,000 to 70,000 tons and this is sure to increase with the expansion of the industries in soap, textiles and rayon, etc. The Planning Commission estimated the country's demand of caustic soda at 87,000 tons in 1955-56 and said that even after the expansion of the existing plants there would be a gap of 30,000 tons. But looking at the import figures below, this estimate should be considered as very moderate:

*Sea-borne Trade Account of India -Import of  
Caustic Soda*

<i>Year</i>	<i>In tons</i>	<i>In value thousand Rs.</i>
1947-48	21,231	11,184
1948-49	90,616	76,172
1949-50	12,989	5,944
1950-51	22,000	
1951-52	61,894	

Average—41,737 (Sav. 42,000 tons)

So, as I have said before, there will be much scope of installing more electrolytic caustic soda plants in different parts of India where power will be obtainable at economic prices. During 1945, the Panel for the Heavy Chemicals, Government of India, thought it essential that caustic soda production should be stepped up early. On the question of competition with the imported caustic soda, it may be known that the import is restricted being subject to duty as well as the issue of licenses. Adequate tariff protection was and is being still rendered to the country's growing industry in caustic soda.

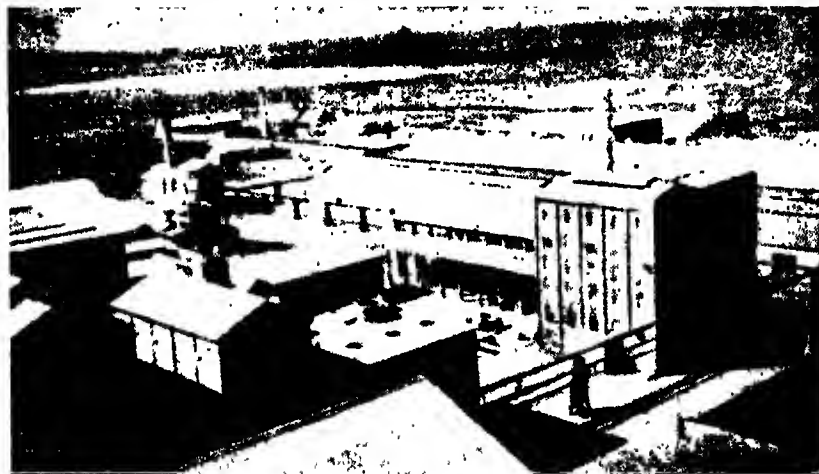
Till 1947, the bulk of import was from U.K. but later on, large proportions came from U.S.A., Germany and other foreign countries. In that year Bengal's share was about 70 per cent. During the year the import became subject to monetary ceiling. In 1948 the import was allowed from all sources but subsequently it came to be restricted subject to essentiality. The soft currency areas were given preference and the concessional rate of import duty was given only to U.K.

As given in the Tariff Board's reports the shares of the industries for caustic soda were as follows:

	<i>Per cent.</i>
Soap	40
Textiles and rayon	25
Paper	15
Hydrogenated oil	4
Miscellaneous	16

The item... 'Miscellaneous' includes boiler compounds, cellulose film, ceramics, detergents, dyes, electroplating, explosives, lyes, water softening, cleansing and chemicals, etc.

The main problem of the caustic soda industry is the high cost of domestic production due to two main factors. (a) Smallness in size of plants, and (b) High cost of electricity.



A view of the Heavy Chemical Section, Mithapur

Most of the plants in India are even less than 10 ton/day, so the margin of profit is very low on the cost of production. As regards power, all of them, except two or three having advantage of hydro-electricity, have either to secure or generate power at cost not so economical. It is estimated that about 3280 K W H power is necessary to produce one ton of caustic soda.

The chemical process of causticising soda ash to obtain caustic soda is also not less costly in the present state of circumstances as it would be depending upon soda ash which is not manufactured in any part of Eastern India or Southern India. If it be produced there at a low cost, this process might prove economical.

The Tariff Board of 1946 recommending protection to the indigenous caustic soda rightly pointed out that an electrolytic plant of less than 20 tons per day would not be economic. In U.S.A. there are more than 20 plants with rated capacities ranging from 20 to 350 tons per day. The Travancore-Cochin Chemical Corporation have set up a plant at Alwaye to produce 20 tons per day. A similar plant is also worked by the Delhi Cloth Mills Limited.

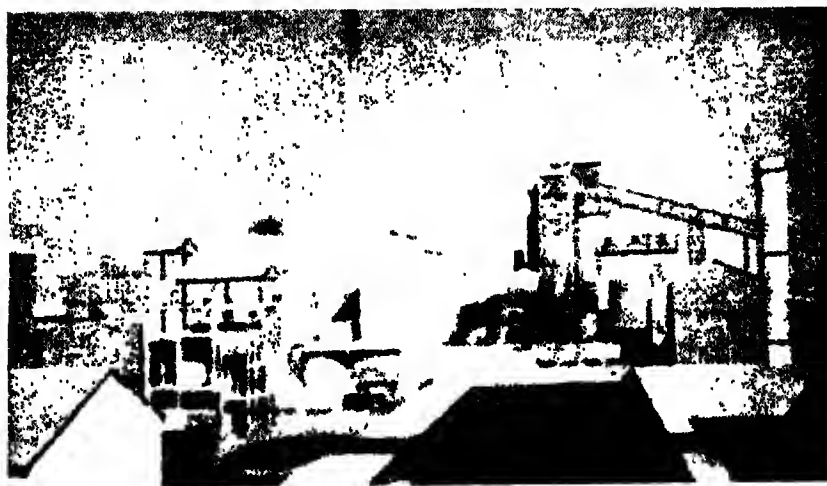
In the electrolytic process which is much more

simple, about 2 tons of common salt is used per ton of caustic soda produced, much of the salt is wasted in purification of the brine made out of it. The Tata Chemicals have their salt factory in the very premises but the Mettur Chemical Corporation has their salt factory at Adirampatnam, 270 miles from the Mettur Dam, where their Chemical Works is located. So the Corporation has to bear the cost of transport of salt from their factory by railway for such a distance.

In most of the plants now working in India, diaphragm cells of various types, such as, Gibbs, Allen Moore, Vorec, Nelson or Belitter Siemens, etc., are used. The Diaphragm Cells produce a dilute of caustic soda containing 8 to 12 per cent of caustic soda and 14 to 15 per cent of salt. The salt is separated on inspissation. By the use of mercury cells caustic soda of purer grade is obtained. This grade is used in rayon industry.

Commercially caustic soda is marketed in the following grades:

- (a) 50 per cent caustic liquor
- (b) 73 per cent caustic liquor



Soda Ash Bin Remery, Dharangadra

(c) Caustic Soda, solid and (d) Caustic soda flakes

Caustic Soda of 50 to 73 per cent solution is preferable to most users as it eliminates the cost of solidification, packaging and re-dissolving. For solid caustic soda, 73 per cent liquor is boiled in large cast iron fusion pots, the melted caustic is poured in steel drums and allowed to harden. Flakes are produced in freezing the melted caustic on a water-cooled rotary drum called 'Flaker'.

One of the gaseous co-products of the electrolytic caustic soda, Hydrogen, which forms 1/40th part by weight of caustic soda output, being 8,750 cu.ft. per ton

of the caustic, is used in hydrogenation of vegetable oils like that of ground nut cotton seed, etc. About a thousand cubic ft. of Hydrogen is required to produce one ton of hydrogenated groundnut oil into Vanaspathi. The other important use of this Hydrogen gas is in the production of hydrochloric acid and welding of metal.

#### SODA ASH

The principal consumer of soda ash is the glass industry but in the manufacture of glass the heavy variety of soda ash is preferred. The bulk of the country's soda ash is used in the manufacture of washing soda. The soda ash industry is somewhat dependent on the import of soda ash. The requirement of soda ash is about 115,000 tons annually. The following table under different industries shows the consumption.

#### Industries

Glass	40,000 tons
Silicate	12,000 "
Textile	7,000 "
Paper	5,000 "
Pichromat & others	6,000 "
For laundry and miscellaneous	45,000 "

115,000

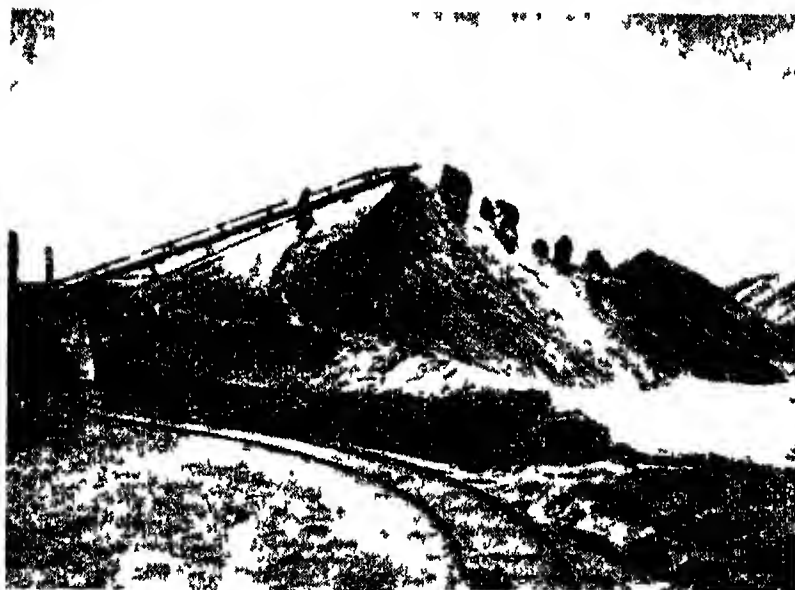
Year	Tata Chemicals (in tons)	Dharangadra Chemicals (in tons)	Total
1948	17,913	12,360	30,273
1949	10,480	7,510	17,990
1950	26,267	17,223	43,490
1951	28,000	16,000	44,000
1952	37,200	16,000	53,200
1953	41,000	20,600	61,600

It has been admitted that the light soda ash produced by the above two concerns is as good as the imported varieties of light ash. The Magadi (Kenya British Guiana) natural ash and the heavy ash from the United Kingdom are the principal imports but lately soda ash of all varieties have come from Italy, U.S.A., Germany, France, Yugoslavia and other countries.

The following is a picture of the foreign imports.

#### IMPORT OF SODA ASH

1944-45	78,000 tons
1945-46	78,000 "
1946-47	57,600 "
1947-48	68,500 "
1948-49	1,63,560 "
1949-50	12,300 "
1950-51	29,800 "
1951-52	83,300 "
Average annual	71,474 tons



Salt Licks, Saurashtra

The Planning Commission said that this would amount to 1,55,000 tons by 1955-56. The two soda ash works in India are the Tata Chemical Limited at Mithapur and the Dharangadra Chemical Works at Dharangadra. Both in Saurashtra have a combined capacity of about 60,000 tons. Their annual output for the last 5 years was as follows:

The Ministry of Industries and Commerce, Government of India has indicated that the country is producing soda ash at a plant (probably of 20 tons) of very small capacity at the southern extreme where a fairly good quality of salt is manufactured.

The soda ash is manufactured in India by the Solvay process widely known as Ammonia soda process and this system is now-a-days generally followed in all advanced countries. The common salt, sodium chloride reacts with limestone to yield Soda Ash (Sodium carbonate) and calcium chloride. Chemically the reactions look very simple but the control of the process is very difficult. It requires highly scientific training.

Saturated brine is first purified by treatment with lime and pumped to overhead tanks from where it flows to absorption towers. Ammonia gas is then infused into the saturated brine in those towers. After the brine has taken up the necessary amount of ammonia it is settled and then pumped with compressed carbon dioxide gas from rotary calciners. The ammonia gas combines with the carbon dioxide to form ammonium bicarbonate that again reacting with the brine produces ammonium chloride and sodium bicarbonate. The crude sodium bicarbonate (draw liquor) is tapped from the bottom and is filtered up through rotary drum-filters. From the filters it is calcined to soda ash. The recovery of ammonia from the liquor as residue is done in stills.

The country's soda ash industry is practically a war-time development when the scarcity of this chemical was acutely felt. Extensive deposits of the natural

formation of soda (*sajmati*) were exploited during the war in Uttar Pradesh, Rajputana, Berar and Mysore. Chemically it was first manufactured by the Sakti Alkali Works in Dharangadra (Saurashtra) in 1923. The factory worked only for eight years but resumed operation from 1940 under the name of Dharangadra Chemical Works Limited after a large-scale improvement was made on the existing Solvay plant. The potential output of the modified plant\* is now 18,000 tons. (The first ammonia soda plant in the world was erected in Belgium by Solvay Brothers in 1861 that eventually displaced the Leblanc process).

The Solvay plant of the Tata Chemicals, Mithapur, was set up in 1944 with a capacity of 50 tons per day, but it could not then operate regularly for 3 years due

able. In Eastern India both coal and salt will be available from comparatively nearer sources whereas in Southern India salt and limestone may be available locally. The following are the materials necessary for the manufacture of soda ash:

Material	Unit	Quantity of material per ton of Ash
Salt	ton	1.50 to 2.03
Limestone	"	1.20 to 2.00
Coke	"	.10 to .18
Ammonium Sulphate	lb	16 to 60
Sodium Sulphide	"	10 to 12



Rhotas Industries, Dehri-on-Son

to difficulties of getting sweet water and necessary equipment. The regular working commenced from 1947 with a recess in 1949 on account of the accumulation of stock due to heavy imports. The Government of India since rendered protection to the indigenous soda ash and both the works got impetus to increase their output.

Soda ash was on open general license from 15th November 1948 to 22nd March 1949 when the system was cancelled. The heavy imports from 1948 to 1949 reflect the liberal import policy followed during 1948 and 1949 up to 22nd March. This resulted in a sharp fall in prices and accumulation of stocks that compelled the two works close for a while.

Considering the present production in the country which hardly meet our entire requirements, attempts should be made in starting soda works in Eastern and Southern India where salt, limestone and coal are avail-

Sites close to Calcutta and Sindri, where the fertiliser plants are working, would have been suitable for soda ash factories, as coke and limestone or calcium sludge would be available and salt might be available at an economic cost after the West Bengal sea-coast was fully utilised for salt raising. In a recent visit to Sindri I have however seen the construction of a cement factory by the A.C.C., which will use the calcium carbonate sludge but with increased output of the fertiliser factory there may not be any want of the calcium sludge for a Soda Ash plant.

The West Bengal Government have drawn up a scheme for Soda Ash at Durgapur pooling limestone from Burnitrapur near Rourkela but the site may not be convenient

from all aspects.

According to the Government of West Bengal, Durgapur will have advantages for transport facilities and scope for integration with the proposed coke oven plant and a thermal power plant. As for the transport facility it may be mentioned that the Durgapur canal of D.V.C. on the Calcutta side will be at a considerable distance from the coalfields. I had been to the barrage site and this was pointed out by the local engineers. As regards power, a thermal station will be necessary, as the power of D.V.C. projects is already allotted to Chittaranjan, Calcutta, etc., etc. The opinion of the Government of India expert, deputed for the purpose, who has visited the site, is awaited.

In Eastern India, however, the third Soda Ash plant of the country will soon be set up at Dehri by the Rhotas Industries. It is understood that unlike in their Dharangadra Works they will follow the Zahn process of Germany, not requiring limestone but producing Ammonium Chloride which can be used as fertiliser.

\* Since taken over by Saha and Jains.

† Since increased to 125 tons.

# KESHUB CHANDRA SEN—AN ARTIST

By KAJAL BASU, M.A.

BRAHMANANDA Keshub Chandra Sen is a symbol of many things to us. A man of such infinite diversity as Keshub Chandra Sen appeals to a hundred people in a hundred different ways.

I do not know enough of philosophy or of high religious thought to speak on these matters. But what has struck me about Keshub Chandra Sen is that he was an artist. He had the eyes of an artist, he had the soul of an artist, he had the breadth and depth and passion of an artist. And the artist in him is constantly seeking to express itself in every form in his life, in his work in his religion. Today, therefore, I will talk of his artist that existed in him and I will try to show that even his religion and his philosophy of life were shaped by the artist within him.

We have got too much into the habit of compartmentalizing and segregating the various expressions of a man's mind but perhaps we approach the whole thing from the wrong angle. Man expresses himself in many ways, but the motive power, that is the mind, is always the same, and the ultimate goal that man sets before him is always the same. As Clive Bell has said in his book on Art:—

"Art and Religion are two roads by which men escape from circumstances to ecstasy. Between aesthetic and religious rapture there is always a family alliance. Art and Religion are means to similar states of mind."

Let us see now how the artist and the man of religion unite in Keshub Chandra Sen. We usually speak of the great religious revolution that he accomplished, but seldom pause to think of how he accomplished it. What was this tremendous power within him that urged him along in his career and found such fiery expression in his life and religion? It was not knowledge alone that led him on to his voyage of discovery. There have been learned men enough who have read more and learnt more than Keshub Chandra ever did. But mere knowledge is not enough. For these men failed and gave up their quest after fruitless searchings where Keshub Chandra in a single moment reached the divine truth. True, he came from no ordinary family. But it was an age when great ideas were in a ferment, and if Keshub Chandra lived then, so also did many others. No, the answer lies not in his family heritage nor in his age, but in the man himself.

When we read his lectures and sermons, one thing becomes very apparent to us. He did not think and analyse, and then create his God. As soon as he assumed his attitude of worship he felt (to use his own words), "I felt God breathe into me His Holy Spirit." The two things happened co-instantaneously and could not be divided into different acts. To quote from him again, "Directly the soul assumes this position of prayer towards heaven, the rays of the Eternal Sun of

Righteousness fall upon it and enlighten it." To this single flash by which his whole soul became illumined, he gave the name *Inspiration*. "Prayer and inspiration," he says, "are the two ends of the axis round which the sphere of man's spiritual life revolves. They are only two sides of the same fact."

Having made this inspiration the basis of his attitude to God, he proceeded to build up his religious faith. But before we follow him further, I think we should pause and study this inspiration and perhaps like him, through inspiration, we shall be able to approach and understand his religion better. And moreover, by studying his belief in inspiration we may come to see how the artist and man of religion have united in him. Inspiration, as he speaks of it, brought something new into the religious life of India. But if we go far enough back in the history of the world, we see that Plato also speaks of inspiration, though with reference to art. He says, what the poet creates is an act of inspiration. The moment of conceiving and the moment of creating are the same.

In the modern age Keshub Chandra is perhaps the first to speak of inspiration and to realise its tremendous significance in religion. After him came an Italian philosopher, Croce. Croce may have heard of him; whether he was influenced by him we do not know, but Croce's theory is a direct transposition of Keshub's inspiration from religion to art. He says:

"Art is expression. The mind of the artist has intuitions and expresses these in the form of images. But the intuition comes and the image is formed in the same instant of time. There is no such thing as an unexpressed intuition for the intuition is its expression."

Croce's intuition, in other words, is the same thing as Keshub Chandra's inspiration. For here is his definition of inspiration:

"Inspiration is the thrilling and electrifying response that God gives to our prayers. The cause and the effect seem hardly distinguishable, and in the reciprocal action of the human and the Divine spirits there is a mysterious unity. The effect is immediate, necessary and inevitable."

If therefore, we take Croce's theory to be the basis of all art, we realise something about Keshub Chandra that perhaps we had not realised before. Keshub Chandra was an artist, and as an artist he approached religion. And if we look back on the history of humanity we see that all great men of religion have been artists. Christ was an artist, Buddha was an artist, Mohammed was an artist. In the Vedic age we see the astonishing spectacle of a whole race of artists. From this, then, working backwards, we can even say that a man *must* be an artist, in this deepest sense of the word, before he can apprehend the infinite God, and that when he ceases to be an artist he ceases to apprehend God in his infinity.

This, then, is the secret of Keshub Chandra's religion. As an artist, he based all on inspiration. Through it he felt the presence of an unseen spirit towards which he approached with love and worship. And, despite opposing theories that Divinity, to be realized at all, must be clothed in flesh, his faith in the truth of his own inspiration remained unshaken. So he built up his religion.

"We believe in the one Spirit, God, in life eternal, and in duty—three doctrines which are summed up in one fundamental doctrine—life in God. Such is our faith."

This sentence is taken from his lecture on "Our Faith and Experiences," delivered in 1876 and the lecture on Inspiration from which the earlier passages have been taken was delivered in 1873. This period of three years is referred to as the *Brahmagyopanishad* period when he began to work out his inspiration in group-life. And we can see also how, in the three years, his mind has developed, how it has passed from the first stage of inspiration to that of faith. We see a further development of his mental process in two other passages. In one of his sermons, dated 1876, he asks himself—what is the value of *bhakti* (devotion)—the instinct of prayerfulness which is the attitude of mind that inspiration brings. And he says man can be good in two ways. He can be good in a stern austere way, and he can be so in a gentle, sweet way. This sweetness is brought into life and religion by devotion. The picture exists from before, but it is lifeless, it is colourless, it lacks beauty. Devotion comes and gives it life and colour, and makes it beautiful. But he gives an even higher value to devotion, for he says that devotion cannot enter the soul until the soul is purged of sins and has reached a stage beyond sin. Thus he defines the stages by which the mind attains to devotion: reverence makes us say, Thou existeth\*; love makes us say, Thou art good†; and finally, devotion makes us say, Thou art beautiful‡.

This was written in 1876. In 1880 comes *Jivan-veda*. In the previous sermon he had shown us how inspiration led him to the realisation that God is beautiful. The next stage now comes when he sees God's beauty imaged everywhere on earth, and realises that He is to be found, not in the books of the Veda or the Vedanta, but in the book of life and nature. And he says:

"This book teaches by illustrations not by words, and so touches the soul sooner. And it is in the image of a sky, the figure of a housewife, the picture of a group of men praying, that we can



Keshub Chandra Sen

apprehend the true beauty and the true majesty of God."

Thus we see, how in Keshub Chandra, art and religion become one, for inspiration which is the source of all art is the source of his religion. But the

\* श्रद्धा द्वारा सत्यम्      † जाति द्वारा शिवम्  
‡ उन्मत्त भक्तिद्वारा सुन्दरम्

artist in him finds expression not only in his religion, but in every aspect of life. We see it in the very form of the Divine Service that he has left us. For where before it had been a dry matter for the intellect or mechanical chanting of *mantras*, he now brought into it a sweetness of a tender charm through which his instinct for beauty continually expressed itself. The *aradhana* and sermon with his inspiration as their basis, became charged with a new sweetness which had been absent in the more learned discussions of other speakers. Above all, through the *kirtan* he brought back into the service the old devotional intensity of our past—for he realised that music often takes the soul in a swifter flight to God than words ever can. But the eye, no less than the ear, must be attuned to the harmony of the soul and so, though he opposed idolatry, he wished to retain many of the ceremonies of old and invest them with a new significance. He was always moved by the beautiful *arati* ceremony and introduced it into his own religion giving to its lights the new name of the five ethical lamps of life. And his instinct for beauty and purity overflowed itself in his love of flowers. At the least expense he would use flowers for decoration. They seemed to him to bring an air of freshness and purity into the room and he has handed the tradition down to us as well.

Simplicity was the essence of his house and home but with him it was the beauty of simplicity and he realised in it the highest expression of the Oriental spirit of renunciation which he has so perfectly described as *sastrthanash*. He gracefully combined plain living with austerity. What was the secret of this grace? He writes in a letter to an English lady:

"This, however, I will not conceal from you— I love and wish to encourage asceticism. But my asceticism is not what is ordinarily accepted as such, . . . Energy, philanthropy, meditation, work, self-sacrifice, intellectual culture, domestic and social love—all these are united in my asceticism."

As a teacher he always used his artistic sense to impart his ideas. His consciousness of beauty was ever present in his use of language and it made him one of the greatest orators and writers of the age. He was also aware of the deep influence that environment has on the mind of man and so established the *Yoga-kutir*, *Sadhan-kanan*, *Tapovan* and so on. The very wedding ceremony and the various vows in his *Nava-Samhita* reveal the artist eternally striving to express himself. He conceived of the idea of a flag for his new religion and in the flag he symbolised the great ideals that he set before him and before those who believed with him.

In his own character we find a noble harmony of those qualities that make man great. And with an unerring instinct he could always draw out the nobler qualities of those who came in contact with him.

Beauty in its every form appealed to him, but above all as she revealed herself in the manifestations of Nature. This is how he expresses his love of Nature as he stands high on the Himalayas one day and looks around him:

"The scenery on all sides is sublime. Hills upon hills, mountains upon mountains, above the highest, a higher still, all aspiring to kiss the heavens above. What can be grander? Trees tall and majestic, and various species, cover the heights and depths, and here and there flowers of rare beauty peep out to enhance the beauty of the wildly romantic scene. All is still as death, except where the jocund birds chirp and sing or the solemn rush of a distant waterfall is heard. Such a place is indeed heaven upon earth."

But Nature was more to him than mere environment. She not only created for him the atmosphere in which to pray but also made him feel in her the very spirit of God. Here is another passage:

"To be with Thee is to be with Nature. When Thou, O dear God, speakest to the inmost heart in the tender language of infinite mercy, hills and mountains, rivers and oceans, sun, moon and stars, plants and flowers, all discourse sweetly of thy majesty and beauty."

Keshub Chaudia himself was deeply conscious of the huge family to which he belonged, and we constantly get glimpses of his feeling of kinship with the painter, the poet and the musician. Knowing that on the ultimate level religion and poetry and painting and music unite he is constantly drawing allusions from one or another of these spiritual cousins of his.

He is talking of sectarianism. He says, "Let there be no more sectarianism," and then goes on to argue that the great need of the time is unity in all religions. By unity he does mean uniformity. All religions are to retain their own distinctive character but there must be harmony between them. What he asks for, is not annihilation but unification. Then he wishes to clarify the idea—to himself and to others and intuitively he falls back upon the conception of harmony in music to illustrate his point. It is a magnificent passage:

"Let all sects retain their distinctive peculiarities and yet let them unite in fraternal alliance. The unity I contend for is the unity of music. For, in music though there are hundreds of diverse shapes producing various sounds, yet there is sweet harmony among them. There are many voices, yet there is unity in their swelling chorus. There is concordance in the midst of apparent discordance. Each instrument has its own individuality, its own specific character; each voice retains its peculiar tone and is determined not to yield, yet out of the union of many voices and diverse instruments comes forth sweet and delicious music."

In another passage he shows us his profound

insight into the soul of a painter. He is speaking of God and calls him the master painter who has painted all Creation. But he knows that before a painter can put anything on the canvas, his mind must be elevated by great and noble thoughts. The painting only gives form and colour to the conception. Then he looks at nature all around him and says:

"If such be the form and colour of God's paintings how great must His mind be. When man wishes to paint he strives hard, and after much straining reaches a state of mind in which thought finds expression in form. But God has only to lift up the brush and wave upon wave of thought flows into his mind so that all that he paints becomes the perfection of art. What beauty there is in every little flower, what splendour in the moon, how exquisite the ray of sun that falls on the ocean-waves. And if this Beauty be the ex-

pression of His mind, then how infinitely beautiful He Himself must be."

And so, Keshub Chandra reaches once again the conclusion that his intuitive experience of God had already led him to. For inspiration had brought devotion—devotion that makes us say, God, Thou art beautiful.

We just cannot get away from the artist in Keshub Chandra—he keeps coming back, no matter from what aspect we look at his religion. And indeed, why should we seek to get away from him. Rather, if Keshub Chandra approached religion as an artist—let us do so also. This was the New Dispensation he brought to his fellow-countrymen and if we have not sometimes been able to live up to his ideals, it is because perhaps we have not always remembered to look on life and on God as he did—with the eyes, with the mind, and with the soul of an artist.

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## IN THE DEPTHS OF THE HEART OF BIHAR

By SURESH RAMABHAI

ACHARYA VINOBA BHAVE entered Bihar on his Bhoodan Yagna mission on 14th September, 1952. During these two years and three months he has been ceaselessly on his feet except when he was ill for some time at Chandl, observing his routine with almost a sun-like regularity. He has thus directly contact d about 3,000 villages of Bihar and more than half a crore of Bihar peasants have listened to his message from his own lips. Perhaps no other Indian in this millennium has served Bihar in this fashion and conveyed the call of the age to the people with so much steadfast devotion and self-sought penance. Vinoba has called this tour of his a *Bhog-Yatra* (luxury journey). But only the future will reveal what a tremendous sacrifice it was. The coming generations may wonder how in this age of science and speed Vinoba kept company with the companionless among the poorest, the lowest among the lowest. Through his *yatra*, Vinoba has touched the very depths of the heart of Bihar. No statistics can illustrate the measure of the same. In fact, its full significance will be realised several years, rather decades after. But an idea of it can be had from the many eventful happenings that came to pass in this tour specially during the last six months. They will show, as nothing else can, in how subtle and silent a manner has Vinoba's melodious symphony moved the chords of the heart of Bihar's loving and intelligent populace. For want of space, I would have to confine myself to about half a dozen cases to which I myself was a witness.

... ..

August last, Vinoba was touring the flood-ravaged parts of the Samastpur subdivision of Darbhanga district. We waded through water mostly on foot, taking a boat only when it was more than chest-deep. The floods this year surpassed all those in living memory. Yet the people faced them with courage and fortitude. One morning we were going by boat to a village called Hathauri. On our way lay a small village. A rich zamindar of that place expressed his desire to offer some land in Bhoodan. We learnt that he was known to be very tyrannical and had recently evicted out several poor families. He wanted to present his *dan patra* (gift deed) in Vinoba's own hands. But as we had no programme to halt on our way, the landlord took his own boat, rushed up successfully to catch us. Leaping from his boat into ours, he submitted his *dan patra* to Vinoba who told him: "I gather that the local people have some grievances against you. In that case how can I accept your *dan-patra*?" Denying the same the zamindar replied, "No, huzoor! This is all wrong. You can very well enquire."

"Now I am going to my camp. It is impossible to make any enquiry here en route. You please come to the camp. Your *dan-patra* can be accepted only after due investigations."

We reached Hathauri at about ten. No sooner did Vinoba come out of the boat than the said zamindar insisted on the acceptance of his *dan-patra*. Placing his hand on his shoulder, Vinoba observed, "I have already told you that certain enquiries have

to be made in your case. Without that I am not in a position to take in your *dan-patra*."

"I am willing to put up the whole case before you."

"I would like to hear the other side too. So both the parties may come to me at half past six in the evening."

The other party was also informed to the same effect. Throughout the day I frequently found the zamindar friend going up and down with a heavy heart and anxious face. I requested him to have patience and that he need not get so excited in the matter. At long last the sun set and clock struck 6-30 p.m. Both the parties came to Vinoba. At the very outset he declared, "This is no court of law in which one side complains against the other or falls foul of it. This is a meeting of love in which both sides must confess their ill doings or faults."

"The objection against me," said the zamindar, "is entirely baseless."

"What is this?" interrupted Vinoba. "There is no use talking like that. I have just told you that you have come here not to blame but to confess."

But both the sides persisted in mutual mud-slinging. Vinoba expressed his helplessness to do anything. At last the tone of the meeting changed and both sides related what they had done. Vinoba gave them a patient hearing. As something could be said for both the sides, he asked them to appoint one man as *Pancha* who would make on-the-spot inquiries at the actual site to carry out investigations in full and whose judgment should be binding on both.

The zamindar suggested a name and the other party agreed to it. The gentleman concerned was also present there. Vinoba turned to him and said, "Now when both the parties are willing to have you as their *Pancha*, I have no objection. You have to go into this case thoroughly. Your decision would be acceptable to both. In case you come to the conclusion that this landlord friend has done no injustice, his *dan-patra* would be accepted. Meanwhile you have to keep it safely with you."

Our friend handed over his *dan-patra* to the new *Pancha*. And heaved a sigh of relief. It appeared as if tons of load had been lifted off his head.

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Second week of September. A village in the Sitamarhi subdivision of Muzaffarpur district. With some hesitation a worker placed before Vinoba a *dan-patra* of 5 acres. The donor owned some 100 acres. He asked Vinoba his opinion on that *dan-patra*. Vinoba scanned it. He then paused for a while. Next he asked for a pen. And on the back of the *dan-patra*, he wrote:

"This *dān* falls far short of the land in possession of the owner. It is, therefore, refused."  
—VINOBA."

Vinoba handed over the *dan-patra* to the worker. Quietly, he took it away and sent it back to the donor. A new sensation was caused in our camp: Baba (that is what we call Vinoba: 'Baba' in Marathi means father) has begun returning *dan-patras* today.

Next day, two cultivators owning 15 acres each, donated one and a quarter acres. They personally came to our camp with their *dan-patras*. In keeping with Vinoba's instructions, both the *dan-patras* were regrettably refused. The worker told them, "You have a flourishing business. God's blessings are with you. From you we expect something substantial. So we cannot accept anything short of one-sixth." And he returned them their *dan-patras*. They took it to heart and expressed a desire to see Vinoba personally. The appointment was fixed for 2 p.m.

Just at 2 p.m., both the brothers came to Vinoba. "Baba, we had," began the younger, "offered some humble gift. But we very much regret that it was not accepted. It has deeply pained us."

"It has pained me no less. But I tell you that if I accept your offer of love, people will call you a cheat or thief. They will say that you cheated Baba by offering one and a quarter acres out of your 15. I don't want you to be all-talked about. I am very particular about upholding everybody's dignity. It is better that they should not talk of you rather than that they should talk ill of you. I would ask you to ponder over the implications carefully and then come with an offer befitting your position."

Silence reigned in the noon. Both the brothers and the worker sat motionless. Breaking the silence, Vinoba remarked, "First let me know why did you brothers separate?"

They blushed. One of them murmured, "Differences cropped up in the household."

"I know this is frequently happening these days. But if you were one at heart, you could persuade your wives too. What is the use of breaking families like this?"

Their faces turned pale in anguish. They were on the point of shedding tears. There was a sadness in the air of the room.

Piercing it, Vinoba said to the elder brother, "How many are there in your family?"

"Three—my wife, my son aged 16 and myself."

"Then I become the fourth. Accordingly I must get the fourth share. Would you be willing to have me as your brother in your home?"

One friend bowed low, "Who can dare refuse you? But *moh* holds us fast. So please accept now what we have offered. More shall follow later."

"I am only demanding my right. If you do not grant me admission in your home how can I write it?"

So saying, Vinoba turned to the other brother, "And how are you?"

"Alone."

"Then you and I become two brothers. I must, therefore, get half of your share."

Pointing towards the elder brother, the younger murmured, "I would only follow my brother."

"Very well. I do want both of you to become one. Then you give me one-sixth of the thirty acres with you."

Both of them were dumb-struck. Not one spoke. "I have," said Vinoba, "only made a just demand. Now you may do what you like."

"I have," said the elder, "offered one and a quarter acres. Have a quarter more."

Vinoba smiled, "It seems it is a vegetable market." All had a hearty laugh.

"What is this *sava* (1½) and *derh* (1¼)? Complete the one-sixth and obtain the blessings of *Janata-Janardan*." So spoke the worker.

"Alright, take two acres," replied the elder. He put the *dan-patra* before Vinoba and seemed to get up.

Returned it back to him, Vinoba remarked "You appear to be a successful businessman. But I regard it as a *Satsang* (truthful company) and I don't want to do anything below your dignity."

Silence in the room. The worker appealed to them, "It is now a question of only half an acre more. Have courage and come forward." But they refused to budge. Their places, however, were overtaken by deep melancholy. They were plunged in profound sadness. Vinoba too sat straight with his eyes closed. Minutes passed like hours. Some time after the old one ejaculated, "Baba! you are not accepting our gift. With what a face can we go back to our home?" And with tearful eyes, he implored, "I beg of you to accept these two acres and save my prestige."

Vinoba sat motionless in his *samadhi*. "When you are so miserable," said the worker "imagine the fate of those whom Misery has perpetually marked for her own."

Again, a calmness in the room. Then we heard the elder brother snick. Pearls were trickling down his eyes. Wiping them with a corner of his napkin, he faltered, "Bhagwan! Pray accept my one-sixth share."

Vinoba opened his eyes and said, "May God give you strength and inspire you to work for the poor."

Thus both of them filled in the *dan-patra* of two and a half acres each and took Vinoba's leave.

... ..

A month later, Vinoba was touring the flood-affected part of the Madhubani sub-division of Darbhanga district. A friend with 40 acres of land offered six acres. Half an hour before the prayer time, he saw Vinoba and bowed low, "I have gone through your *Gita Pravachan*. That has moved me very much. Today I have donated about one-sixth of my share."

Vinoba, in acknowledgement, said, Jai, Jai, (May you live long!)

The prayer was held at 3-30 p.m. Then followed Vinoba's discourse. In the course of his remarks, he observed that *Dharma* stood on four pillars. One of them, faith, was quite strong in our country. Other three were *prem* (love), *tyag* (sacrifice) and *s'ram* (physical work). But they were very weak. Whence we regarded irreligion as religion and misery stalked the country, despite the fact that both the Creator and His creation are very beautiful. He advised them to recognise true religion and live it.

After Vinoba reached his room, the same friend (who saw him in the afternoon) followed. With folded hands, he submitted "I want some time if you could spare it."

"Come on, please," replied Vinoba. "You saw me in the noon."

"Yes, Baba, I did. Your prayer address has inspired me to offer more land. We are four in my family. You become the fifth. And I accept your right. Here are two acres more to complete eight."

With all reverence he presented the *dan-patra* to Vinoba. Accepting it with a smile, Vinoba remarked, "I am sure you now become a worker of mine. The faith which has moved you to offer this gift would enable you to obtain gifts from others indeed." The new convert bent low with humility, touched Vinoba's feet and took leave.

... ..

Second week of October last, Saharsa district. We were at a small village in the Kosi area. Of about 2,000 acres of land in that village, about three-fourths belonged to two families, the rest with others. Donations amounting to 60 acres were offered on behalf of the two rich houses. In keeping with Vinoba's behest, that was returned. In the evening after the prayer, four young men from these two families approached Vinoba. While one of them was a graduate, another was a Vakil, the third was a leading Congress worker and the fourth had Praja-Socialist leanings. They gave a written memorandum (?) to Vinoba regretting the insult (?) shown to their village by returning their gifts. Some Bhoo-dan workers were also present.

Vinoba began, "At the outset I must tell you that my work is not to discredit any one but to raise everybody's prestige. I do not want to run down anybody's honour or reputation. I am interested only in revoking love and cementing hearts."

"We too want the same," the Vakil put in. "But I am constrained to add that our *dan-patra* was refused. I know cases where offers short of one-sixth have been accepted."

"Vakil Sahab, it is no court of law where you must argue against the adversary. This is a company of the faithful who give vent to their true feelings,

who are anxious to wash off all stains on their heart. I can quote numberless instances when people have offered far more than one-sixth as also of those who have forsaken all. Why should you initiate only low-pulling cases?"

"My only submission is that our offer may please be accepted. More shall follow later."

"I would urge upon you to grasp my point. I want you to take me in your house as a member on behalf of the *Daridra Narayan*. If you are five brothers, I should be considered as the sixth and given the share, if three then the fourth, if seven then the eighth, and if you are alone then I must get the half. I do not count children for they grace every house. Mine is a religious demand."

The Vakil grew silent and seemed to be thinking something. But the graduate ejaculated, "Baba! We can't meet our own needs. Besides, there is the ever sharp sword of the Government hanging overhead."

Supporting him, the Vakil added, "They are going to fix ceilings. Who would then offer land in gift?"

"I know it very well," answered Vinoba, "And I also know that all your talents are employed in the task of sabotaging the proposed legislation. When I was in Telangana, the Government there was thinking of land enactments. It went on thinking. Meanwhile the landlords transferred their lands in the names of their various relatives. At long last the Act has now come allowing some 100 or 125 acres. Now this is as good as not done. In your Bihar too, joint families are being disintegrated. Within two years, or by the time they pass any Act, all lands would go to the family-members. And that Act would be rendered futile."

"Do you mean to say that this legislation is in vain?"

"You know it far more than myself," said Vinoba with a laugh. He continued, "I am afraid you did not appreciate the secret of my demand. I want to abolish the very ownership of land. To claim land ownership is heresy. It is against the will of God. I go from village to village to spread this message. As air, water, sky and light cannot be owned by anybody, so also land. Land would go only to the tiller, even as a book goes only to the reader. True that some of you will not be able to work on the field yourself. But, I give you time. Not much but four or five years. During this period, you must prepare your children so that they may labour in the company of the children of the landless. But would you please tell the reason of keeping any land when you can support yourself by legal practice?"

The Vakil tried to evade the issue, "People have not yet quite understood."

And the Congressman joined him, "Even if we agree to part with land, the elders of the house do

not. They have earned it by the sweat of their brow. How can they give it up now?"

"I would not go into the question how land has been acquired by you people. I need not rake up into the past. It would neither help you nor me. But I would like to know your duty as a Congressman. Your State Congress passed a resolution for 32 lakhs of acres and also repeated it in a subsequent meeting. Do you feel that you must fulfill that resolution?"

"There are ever so many resolutions," interrupted the Socialist young man.

"I see!" spoke Vinoba in astonishment. "But it were you of the Praja-Socialist Party who told me that I had taken up your work. Does it mean that you have abandoned it after my taking it up? You are a very strange lot. Your leader, Jayaprakash Narayan appealed for it. But you are such queer followers as forsake their own leader after giving him a push!" The whole assembly convulsed with laughter.

"Baba, this is not surprising at all," confessed the graduate, the youngest. "For your demand strikes first at one's own self."

"You are right," exclaimed Vinoba. "Had it not been required to offer one's own share, both the Congressmen and the Praja-Socialists would have accepted the resolutions of their parties. This is the difference between my work and that of others."

The Vakil seemed to be in a hurry to wind up the case. "Alright! You agree to our present offer. We shall complete one-sixth quota shortly."

"When you are willing to offer one-sixth, the earlier the better. Who knows when I would be able to come to your village again or see you?"

"For that matter, there is so much land lying idle. And we do not even know how much it is."

"Why don't you give me all that? It is waste for you but I can make use of it. My demand is: give me all the uncultivable land with you and out of the cultivable land I want my rightful share as a brother."

"Baba, what can you do with that uncultivable land?" asked the Congressman. "It is of no use—it is either river or sand or barren."

"Please give me first. All is grist that comes to my mill. I will show you what I can do with it."

"We won't be able to keep it with us under the proposed enactment."

"And yet you do not part with it!"

In a slow voice, the Vakil murmured, "Its compensation . . ."

Vinoba heard it and uttered loudly, "Here you are! It is now that you have opened your heart. Your eye is on the compensation-money. This is what makes you stick on to that. I would rather ask you to donate me all compensation that you may get. Many have done like that."

"They must have been rich men," put in the

Congressman. "We are not so well off. Nor the elders will permit us."

"Well, I won't say that. But I am sure that offering your uncultivable land you lose little."

Silence followed. The four talked for a while in whispers. Then one of them in a feeble voice said, "Baba, we four are willing to offer one-sixth of our share."

Vinoba laughed and inquired, "What is your *ganit* or measure? Is it that of the Patna University or that of Bihar?" This amazed everybody: What does it mean? One of them said, "May we know the two measures?"

"Sometime ago I met a pleader with a diploma with the Patna University," said Vinoba. He offered me one acre of land with the remarks 'It is more than one-sixth' I asked him to clarify. He explained. 'We have one hundred acres in our family. We are four brothers and our father is alive. So we get twenty acres out of this 100. Now I have three sons. They three and myself make four. Consequently my own share is divided into four. And only five acres fall to my lot. Obviously, one acre is more than one-sixth of the same!' This is the Patna *ganit*."

All burst into peals of laughter. Vinoba continued, "So one-sixth of 100 acres is one acre. So kindly let me know which *ganit* you follow"

The young graduate was very inquisitive, "Baba, tell us also the *ganit* of the Bihar University."

The Congressman silenced him, "What more do you want to hear from Baba? Give him what you want to give."

"We four offer," said the *Vakil*, "one-sixth of the land due to us and our children. All of us will donate separately."

Humorously, Vinoba stated, "I wanted at least one-sixth of the whole family. But you have followed the Bihar University *ganit*. Now, what about my share of the land with other members of the two families?"

"For that our fathers and uncles would meet," replied the Congressman. "All members of the families would sit and then decide what to do. Presently we have dispensed with one-sixth of our individual shares."

"As you please," remarked Vinoba, "I hope that you will prevail upon your elders and successfully persuade them to part with at least one-sixth of the family holdings. But what you give me now is, I am sure, all cultivable land."

This stirred the Socialist: "Now that we have accepted you as a brother, we give you as your right. And when one gets a right, he must share both good and bad stuff."

Vinoba nodded in assent and said, "So I become your family member now. But I plead for justice. Won't you like your brother to stand on his feet like

you? Naturally he must be made to share, besides land, all other things too. I am your weakest and youngest brother. Whence I have an extraordinary claim."

They all blushed at these words. The Congressman seemed to be struck aghast. He grinned: "Baba, you are continuously attaching more and more."

"Is there anything unfair in what I ask? Would you dare make merry, while your own brother be in a wretched condition? At any rate, I would expect you to get broken all fallen land you give me."

All the four conceded this demand.

More than an hour had passed. It was past eight Vinoba turned to the workers who wanted to consult him on some points. And the four brothers took his leave.

... ..

November, first week Purnea district. Kishanganj town. A Muslim noble saw Vinoba in the morning. He had already donated 3500 acres of land. He gave further 1500 acres to Vinoba that day. "You have," said Vinoba, "offered all the *Gher Mazrua Khas* land (uncultivated) with you. Now as my right, I demand one-sixth of your *Khud Kasht* land (under cultivation)."

"I agree to your claim," spoke he very politely. "But in our Muslim families, a woman has also her right. And we are five brothers and two sisters."

"Then I become the eighth in your family," put in Vinoba, and I want one-sixth."

"Very gladly so." And he signed the *dan-patra* accordingly. Later he observed, "This mission of yours is in keeping with Islam which enjoins such gifts as duty. Your demand is a righteous one. God willing, the country would fulfill your demand."

... ..

A week later. A village in the Katihar subdivision of Purnea district. We were on our morning trek from the Navabganj Pokharia village to Kalyan-gaon. On our way, the local people welcomed Vinoba with an original song:

*Sita Sita Ram Bolo'*  
*Radhe Radhe Shyam Bolo'*  
*Sab Koi Bhoomidan Dedo'*  
*Sab Koi Sampattidan Dedo'*

(Let us recall the name of God. Let everyone to us offer Bhoodan and Sampattidan)

This gladdened Vinoba's heart. Reaching the halt he observed that we human beings were called upon to do only two things: recalling God's name and offering gifts. He advised them to sing this *bhajan*, regularly. As one eats day after day, so also one must offer *Dan*. A few days after the said *bhajan* was sung in this form:

*Sita Sita Ram Bolo!*  
*Sabkoi Bhoomidan Dedo!*  
*Radhe Radhe Shyam Bolo!*  
*Sabkoi Sampattidan Dedo!*

Associating Sita with Bhoodan and Radha with Sampattidan is very significant. The workers have now adopted this *bhajan*. I don't think that hymns to God and *Dan* are sung in this manner anywhere else in the country. That it was begun by the lay peasantry in a village in Bihar indicates to what depth the movement has penetrated into the heart of the people.

... ..

Last week of November. Santhal Parganas district. We were at a village in the Adivasi area. The prayer was held usual at 3 p.m. It was followed by Vinoba's address in which he pointed out that his object was to abolish private ownership of land and transfer it all to the village. They must regard the whole village as their own home and live like a family. Everybody should work according to his or her capacity and get according to his or her need, just as in a family.

After Vinoba had left the dais, an old, tall Santhali approached a worker selling some Bhoodan literature near the dais. The Santhali told him that he wanted to offer 1½ acres of land out of the ten acres he had in the hilly region. The worker began to fill in the *dan-patra*. When the time came for signing it, the Santhali told him, "I have twelve acres more in the plains. May I offer two acres out of that too?"

"Why not? Rather you must."

"Then fill in the *dan-patra* for that too. I would sign both of them simultaneously."

The worker did as desired. The Santhali gave his

thumb impression on both the *dan-patras*. And he walked back happily to his house.

... ..

Two days later. We were at a village Boria. Vinoba was returning to his camp after the evening prayer. On the way, several Santhali people greeted him. And one of them said: "Baba Zamin lo! Zamin lo! Ham Zamin Denge! (Baba, take land! take land! We shall give it.)"

Vinoba folded his hand and stepped on. Then another Santhali stalwart came to him and spoke warmly, "Zamin lo! Zamin lo! Babal Zamin lo! (Take land! Take land! Baba, take land!)"

Vinoba then stayed for a while and stated, "Givel Givel I have come to take! Distribute all land! Finish this collecting business. Distribute and share as in a family."

And he asked a worker to meet all these friends and fill in the *dan-patra* of their offerings.

... ..

The above events speak for themselves. When Vinoba entered Bihar, his words were, 'I want land. Give me land.' On the eve of his departure, Bihar's sky echoes and re-echoes with the word, "Take land! Take land!" What more is required? Now it is for the workers to contact the masses from house to house and execute the task. Not workers, but I would prefer, *Yagna-doers*! Once the *Yagna-doers* take to their feet, land ownership in India would become a thing of the unhappy past. All land would belong to the village, while the 'field-ings' to the peasant (*khet gaon ka, khet kisan ki*). And if this can happen peacefully and smoothly, every other problem can be likewise solved by *Jan-Shakti* (people's power) in this country in keeping with our genius. Doubtless, that would lead us to true Swaraj, to Gram-Raj and to Ram-Raj.





# Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

## ENGLISH

**HISTORY, ITS PURPOSE AND METHOD:** By G. J. Renier, Professor of Dutch History and Institutions in the University of London. George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London, 1950. Pp. 272. Price 16 shillings.

This is one of the most thorough and important works on historical methodology that have appeared in recent years. The author who has a number of historical works to his credit combines astonishing erudition with a rare faculty of close analysis and critical appraisement of the views of other scholars, while his capacity for lucid exposition holds the reader in a firm grip from beginning to end. In his foreword while rightly criticising the attitude of the scientists and the extreme Marxists towards history, he justifies his own treatment from the point of view of a practising historian. Himself an acknowledged disciple of well-known pragmatic philosophers like William James and John Dewey, his originality lies in his application of their method to the problems of history. He divides his work into three parts bearing the titles, *What is History*, *The Detection of Events*, and *Telling the Story*, which between themselves cover the complete course of a historian's craft from the initial quest for knowledge of the past experiences of societies through the collection of material down to the record of those experiences in writing. The author's definitions of a large number of technical terms in the course of his narrative are always apposite, while his criticisms of well-known doctrines like those of the Roman Catholic Church and the Marxist writers as well as the interpretations in Toynbee's *Study of History*, are informing and instructive. Altogether this is a highly stimulating and suggestive work which should serve as an excellent guide for all worshippers at the shrine of the Muse of History.

U. N. GHOSHAL

**MEWAR AND THE MUGHAL EMPERORS, (1526—1707):** By Dr. G. N. Sharma, M.A., Ph.D. Published by Shivalal Agarwal and Co., Hospital Road, Agra, 1954. Pp. 248 + x. Price Rs. 12-8.

There is hardly any episode more fascinating and attractive in Indian history than the annals of the Ruling House of Mewar. Founded by Bappa Rawal the line produced such a succession of noble warriors that the saga of their fight for freedom and sacrifices undergone outshine the romantic tales of the Scottish and Dutch war of independence. Both the Scotch and the Dutch sustained a fight against enemies with whom they were united by ties of race and culture. On the other hand, wide divergences in religious beliefs and social practices separated the Sisodia from his Muslim adversary and gave an unexampled bitterness and intensity of passion to the struggle.

The Mewar Ranas' contest with the Turkish Sultans and the Padishahs of Delhi have, therefore, an epic element and flavour. It is not too much to say that the Ranas like Kumbha (1433—1468), Sanga, (1508?—1528), Pratap (1572—1597), and Raj Singh (1652—1698), fought with the dogged obstinacy of the Anglo-Saxon, the reckless courage of the Tartar and the chivalrous disposition of the knight-errants of medieval Europe.

The book under review is an attempt at reconstructing the history of Mewar on the basis of the primary sources. The author has brought to light many raw materials which had hitherto been unknown. A mass of Sanskrit epigraphs and Sanskrit works, such as the *Amar Sar*, *Amar Bhushan*, *Jagat Singh Kavya*, *Amar Singh Kavya* etc., *Khegats* and *Vansabalis*, such as the *Ganath Vansabali*, *Vansabali Ranajana*, *Sisod Vansabali*, and a new Persian chronicle *Khulasah-Shah Jahan Nama* by Zahir Khan which is an abridged version of Shah Jahan's reign, as given by Qazwini and Abdul Hamid Lahori.

The chief merit of the volume is that it reinforces the main facts of Mewar history previously compiled by G. H. Ojha and supplements our knowledge on many points.

Reference may also be made to the chapter on the "Economic and Cultural" history that forms the epilogue to this volume; to the ten maps, two plans of battle, numerous illustrations, such as the armoury of Maharana Pratap, Saddle, Chhatra and Chabutra (pavilion) of Chetak that are incorporated here.

The book is a thesis approved for the degree of the Doctor of Philosophy, but the tediousness of expression and dull narration reduce interest in the work for which I would recommend the cutting down of the thesis to half its size.

N. B. ROY

**MAN IN BUDDHISM AND CHRISTIANITY.** By Rev. Dr. Bryan de Kintser, Ph.D. Published by F.M.C.A. Publishing House, 5 Russell Street, Calcutta-16. Pp. 149. Price Rs. 3.

The author is a Protestant Christian Missionary in Ceylon and the book under review is his thesis submitted to the University of Edinburgh in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. As the title suggests it makes a comparative study of the conception of Man as held by Hinayana Buddhism and Protestant Christianity. It is divided in nine small chapters, besides eight short appendices on pertinent topics.

The comparison is critical and pointed and documented with copious quotations from established authorities. The learned author had to study patiently very many standard works on Buddhism and Hindu-

ism in order to write this book. Passing references are made to Hinduism, and its differences with Christianity are clearly pointed out. Sangha, Arhat, Enlightenment, Anatta and other conceptions of Buddhism are respectively compared with the Church, New Man in Christ, Redemption, Original Sin and other corresponding conceptions of Christianity. It is regrettable that the comparison is intended firstly, to bring out the sad contrast between the two faiths and finally to prove the superiority of Christian doctrines over the Buddhist and Hindu ones.

In the fifth chapter entitled "The Buddha and the Christ" the orthodox author wrongly observes: "The word 'avatara,' which is the Hindu equivalent of the Christian word 'incarnation,' literally means an apparition. Rama and Krishna are *avataars* of God, they are apparitions. They do not become 'flesh' and dwell with men." In the opinion of the dogmatic missionary, therefore, an *avatara* is apparition! He means to say that Christ is the only incarnation whereas Rama, Krishna and Buddha are not! Is it anything other than tomfoolery on the part of a bigoted Christian.

In page 73 deaths of Buddha and Christ are cited to show the essential contrast between the two world-religions. In this connection the fanatic author remarks: "The Buddha cannot help any man at death. In contrast the death of the Christ on the Cross has universal meaning." So in the author's view-point in order to be great every *avatara* like Christ must be crucified! If crucifixion means atonement for the sins of humanity then Buddha certainly underwent crucifixion of a different type which the bigoted missionary fails to understand and appreciate.

In page 24, the author opines: "The main difference in the conceptions of Reality in the two faiths is clearly indicated by the Mappamondo painting in the Campo Santo in Pisa and the Buddhist idea of the wheel of life or the Bhava-chakra. . . . While the Buddhist artist paints the wheel in the hands of Yama, the Christian pictures it in the hands of God. The final word for the Buddhist is Yama, the God of Death; for the Christian it is the living God."

The book is blackened by similar vilifications on almost every page. The Hindus as well as the Buddhists will be benefited by reading this propagandist work and knowing how their religions are being misunderstood and misinterpreted by Christian missionaries at home and abroad.

SWAMI JAGADISVARANANDA

**MY PARENTS** By Kailasnath Katju. Published by the University of Calcutta. Price Re. 1.

Dr. Katju is well-known as an able minister, jurist and politician. This brief account of his parents—Rampyari Sohagrani Katju and Pandit Tribhuvannath Katju—is interesting not merely as a part of his family history, but also as affording a glimpse into Nineteenth Century India. The account of his mother as given here is translated from Hindi, that of his father was originally written in English.

D. N. MOOKERJEE

**THE CHANGING MAP OF INDIA:** By G. S. Halappa. H. Venkatarameiah and Sons, Vidyavidhi Book Depot, Mysore. Pp. 79 Price Rs. 2-8.

This is an important publication when the States Reorganisation Commission appointed by the Government of India is examining the problem in all its aspects and touring all over the country to assess

public opinion on the subject. The author has dealt with this vast and complicated subject from different angles in six chapters, viz., The Evolution of Political Map of India; British Opinion on the Reorganisation of States; Indian Agitation for Linguistic Provinces—Pre-Independent Period; Post-Independent Period; Linguistic States in Theory and Practice; and National Unity and Reorganisation of States. The Congress before the attainment of Independence promised Linguistic provinces for the country. But now the leaders are afraid to change the provincial boundaries as this may set in motion separatist tendencies and may lead to narrow "State patriotism" detrimental to All-India unity. The author by dealing with the object historically in different periods—Hindu, Muslim and British, has shown that there is nothing to be afraid of from mapping out India linguistically. On the other hand, such a step will reduce the number of States and thereby reduce cost of administration and help development of regional languages and spread of education and efficiency of the people and above all, satisfy the aspirations of the people. India's unity is in her diversity and to try to shape the entire sub-continent into one pattern will not only be improper but dangerous for her future development and progress. Hindi as an all-India language will better develop under such linguistic States on willing co-operation. The author also supports the adjustment of boundaries of States of West Bengal, Orissa and other States in North India. To him the problem of linguistic provinces is particularly a problem of the South—Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam, Kanarese, Marathi and Gujarati speaking people. We have pleasure in recommending this book to all who are interested in subject.

**PRACTICE AND PHILOSOPHY OF CO-OPERATION:** By V. Vcerasingham, Manipay Hindu College, Manipay (Ceylon). Pp. 155. Price not mentioned.

It is a study of co-operative philosophy and movement with special reference to Ceylon. The writer himself a co-operator and an educationist of repute has done a service to his countrymen by bringing out in bold relief not only the material benefits but also spiritual gains of co-operation. The conditions are not much different in Ceylon from that of India and the progress had its way more or less through governmental backing or initiative which the author rightly deplors. Co-operation is a people's movement and it is the people who will work it up for themselves. Government can help it but cannot create co-operation. Co-operation presupposes many human qualities in its organisers and initiative among workers for a great cause irrespective of immediate benefits to them. The author depicts co-operation as a religion which people of all lands and faiths must honour. He believes in world co-operation and world salvation through co-operation. Capitalism, Socialism and Communism, each has its merits and defects but co-operation brings within itself a happy compromise to suit all countries, all people and all times. It is a panacea for war, ignorance, poverty, unemployment, immorality and social evils of all kinds. Such is the author's estimate of co-operation. Indeed with such a faith in co-operation, he is in a position to write with conviction on the subject.

The book contains twenty-one chapters dealing with various aspects of co-operative movements and activities. Law, State, Politics Economics, Religion,

Education, Party system, Bureaucracy, Co-operative government, all have been drawn in the discussion by the learned author. The book has been written in a pleasant style and subjects presented display the author's unshakable faith in co-operation. The author is very much against State interference in the matter of co-operation although he welcomes help (co-operation) from all quarters. The book deserves to be widely circulated among co-operators.

A. B. DUTTA

### SANSKRIT-ENGLISH

UPANISHADS (Vol. I, 1950 and Vol II, 1953): By S. M. Bhaumik, M.A., LL.B., B.C.S. (Retd.). Prabartak Publishers, 61, Bowbazar Street, Calcutta-12. Pp. 228 and 480. Price Rs. 4-8 and Rs. 6.

We welcome the publication of the two handy volumes containing the complete text (in Devanagari) and translation in simple English of all the principal Upanishads, eleven in number, including the *Chhandogya* and the *Brihadaranyaka* taken up in the bigger second volume. Most of the standard books in English on the Upanishads are now out of market and the present work is likely to commend itself specially to common English-knowing readers who are well-read in Sanskrit. The author with a rare devotion took up the study of the Upanishads as the greatest solace of his life in old age and as an inestimable boon. The book is, therefore, free from polemic and scholarly outlook. On the other hand, he approaches the scriptures from the common man's viewpoints, some of which he has pertinently discussed in the two forewords. He has, moreover, added interesting explanatory notes throughout. We only wish the author had arranged to correct the printing mistakes, from which the book is not unfortunately free.

D. C. BHATTACHARYA

### SANSKRIT

CHIKITSA TILAKAM OF SRINIVASA: Edited with Introduction by Sri S. Venkatasubramanya Sastri, Vaidyaranada, Sahitya and Ayurveda Samam, Professor, Venkataswami Ayurvedic College, Mysore, Madras Government Oriental Series No. CVIII. Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras. Price Rs. 9-4.

South India has a rich store of old manuscripts of works in different Indian languages and on various subjects. A number of institutions have been engaged for a long time in publishing critical editions of valuable important works found among them. But it has been possible so far to bring to light in this manner a very small and insignificant portion of our great heritage. It is therefore very much encouraging to find that the Government of Madras has taken upon itself the task of making the unpublished manuscripts accessible to the world of scholars in decent printed forms. It has introduced a series of publications entitled Madras Government Oriental Series in which have appeared editions of old works in Sanskrit and provincial languages like Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam and Kannada. A number of Sanskrit works published in the Series have been noticed in these pages (April, 1951, March, 1952, and January, 1953). The volume under review, No. 108 in the series, contains a little-known Sanskrit work on medicine which looks like 'a revised edition of the *Astangahridaya* brought up-to-date with additions.' We

have here only the Sutrasthana section in forty chapters—all that is available of a big work consisting of five parts with 130 chapters. The edition is based on a damaged palm-leaf manuscript preserved in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library of Madras, which also possesses, it is recorded, a 'restored copy' purchased from the Sarastati Bhandagaram. The learned editor claims to have corrected the mistakes in the manuscript with the help of well-known works on Ayurveda. Certain matters which appear to be irrelevant have been relegated to the footnotes together with the corrupt readings of the manuscript and an entire section dealing with mineral preparations has been suspected to be later interpolation and printed as an appendix. We commend the work to the notice of students interested in Ayurveda for critical and comprehensive study initiated by the learned editor in his Introduction in English and *Upodghata* in Sanskrit.

CHINTAMARAN CHAKRAVARTI

### BENGALI

(1) JAJABAR, (2) MATIR MADHURI, (3) MADHUKARI: By Sudhin Gupta, M. C. Sarkar and Sons Ltd., 14 College Square, Calcutta. Card-board bound. Pp. 60, 58 and 60 Price (1) and (2) Re 1-12 and (3) Rs. 2.

The author of these three books of poems is a romantic poet who loves to play with imagination and is enamoured with the charm of melody and verse. The muse of poetry has captivated his heart, his wants are few, but the beauty, grandeur and sublimity of nature has filled his heart with love and bliss. He wants to keep away from the hustle-bustle, hurry-scurry and the cold, calculating ways of the world, and seeks a peaceful haven where everything is full of amity and unison, but he likes to enjoy the roaring rumble of the sea and the fury of the tempest, safely nestled in the warm bosom of mother Earth. His verse is simple and rhythmical in contrast with the intricate mazes and perplexities of thought and verse of the modern poets. The poems entitled 'Rater Swapna', 'Pranava-Smriti', 'Kabita Prati', 'Ghoom-Bhangan Gan', 'Dusti Rakhal', 'Mahakaler Prati', 'Palataki' and 'Swapane' are charming and expressive. The reader will find his poems delightful.

B. K. SEAL

### BENGALI-HINDI

RASHTRABHASHA-SHIKSHAK: By Sudhir Chandra Majumdar Sole distributor: Chatterverty, Chatterjee and Co., College Square, Calcutta. Pp. 118, Price Re 1-8.

The average Bengali has no clear idea about the relation between Hindi and Urdu. Mr. Majumdar is an adept in both the languages and is, moreover, an enthusiast in linguistic researches. His keen philological insight has helped him not only to afford to the Bengali readers an easy access to the State-language Hindi, but also to explain within the limited space of the book the relation between the two languages. The exercises will be of great help to the readers. The fact that the book has been appreciated by eminent scholars goes to show the merit of the book. We wish it a wide circulation. Frequent misprints have marred the value of the book, but the author has given assurance that they will be corrected in the next edition.

JOGESH C. BAGAL

## HINDI

**SIRDAR VALLABHAI PATEL (Part I):** *By Narahari Parekh. Translated from Gujarati by Ramnarayana Chaudhuri. Navajivan Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad. Illustrated. Pp. 544. Price Rs. 6.*

Though posterity alone can sit truly in judgment on the worth and work of an individual in the light of the "one-increasing purpose" of the author of the universe, yet it cannot be denied that Sirdar Patel would be reckoned as one of the tallest stalwarts in India's fight for freedom and a sagacious "integrator" of that freedom. As such, his life is bound to be a continual source of inspiration to all those who prefer justice to injustice, freedom to slavery, strength to weakness, service of the people to "self-help." For, as we read the present account of his life, which ends with 1929 we watch the step-by-step evolution of a patriot-cum-hero, whose forehead is stamped with the marks of a crusader with the cry on his lips, "I will never rest while my country languishes daily in soul-corroding slavery." Many an illusion in the public mind about the Sirdar being "a steel-frame," as if the human heart did not beat under it at all, or a politician of the market-place, and so on, will be dispelled after reading the book under review. Indeed, if Gandhiji was a maker of heroes, the Sirdar was a maker of patriots.

**STRI-PURUSHA-MARYADA:** *By Kishorlal Mashruwala. Translated from Gujarati by Someshwar Purohit. Navajivan Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad. Pp. 188. Price Rs. 2.*

Man-woman relationship is one of the basic human relationships. Accordingly, like life it, too grows and is not something static. It is subtle, however, and only a sensitive and keenly critical person like the author could "lay down" its logic as well as its "logical" (as against sentimental or customary) limits which will ensure "cleanliness" in our social life and also social solidarity of the right type in our times. Therefore, he has discussed the various aspects of this relationship—passion, celibacy, marriage, social contact, individual behaviour, etc.—with his characteristic courage and candour, nay, conviction. The reader will be saved from many an unsuspected pitfall and predicament, indeed, if he would care to act on the suggestions and advice contained in the book. It should, therefore, be in every educated family's private library. Shri Mashruwala's is a mind that sees, dares and does the right thing, come what may—which is a rarity in these days.

**ASHOKA VAN:** *By Gokul Chandra Sharma. Hindi Prakashan Mandir, Allahabad. Pp. 176. Price Re. 1-8.*

**GANDHI GAURAV:** *By Gokul Chandra Sharma. Hindi Prakashan Mandir, Allahabad. Pp. 112. Price Re. 1.*

Both the books, each of which has twelve cantos, deal with themes, which shall ever remain dear to the heart of every Indian, specially every student of Hindi literature. The first "sings" of Sita's dark days, when she was a captive of Ravana in the then Ceylon, while the second "sings" of the life and achievements of Gandhiji, who modelled his life after that of Rama. The poet has, indeed, sung of his illustrious subjects in the manner of the minstrels of old, so spell-binding is his style.

G. M.

## GUJARATI

**BHOJ ANE KALIDAS:** *By Lakshminarayan Mojilal Pandya. Published by N. M. Tripathi and Co., Bombay-2. 1950. Thick card-board. Illustrated jacket. Pp. 398. Price Rs. 4.*

This book contains a collection of 104 stories, narrating discussions between King Bhoj and Kavi Kalidas. Whether apocryphal or mythical, they are most interesting, describing as they do the literary duels and contests taking place in the court of that well-known princely patron of learning in ancient India. This is the fifth edition of a work written by the late Mr. Ambalal B. Jani, a noted Gujarati writer. The present editor Shri Pandya has made extensive changes in the light of his further study of the subject and produced a work which fully sustains the reputation of the original writer.

**SHODHAMAN (In Search):** *By Dr. B. J. Jhaveri, M.A., Ph.D. Published by N. M. Thakkar and Co., Bombay-2. 1950. Thick card-board. Illustrated cover. Pp. 111. Price Re. 1.*

Dr. Jhaveri obtained his Ph.D. degree by writing a thesis on the late Sir Ramanbhai Nilkanth's many-sided literary work. One of the outstanding features of an all-round valuable literary work of Sir Ramanbhai was humour. He was one of the few Gujarati writers of humorous works. His incomplete story—the work under notice—has been completed by Dr. Jhaveri, and he has been able to sustain the spirit of the original and the whole work is so ingeniously dove-tailed that it is difficult to find out where Sir Ramanbhai ends and Dr. Jhaveri begins. To catch the humour of the hero's vanity (emptiness) and self-importance, the reader is asked to read the book at one sitting.

**SANSKRSHIPT NAGARIK SHASTRA:** *By Mahendra Kumar M. Desai, B.A. Published by Kikubhai Chandulal and Co., Baroda. 1950. Paper cover. Price Re. 1.*

Science of Civics in brief: This is what the title means. In the present times when every one wants to know his rights and duties as a citizen of a State, a book bearing on the subject, written in popular and easy language, was a desirable requirement. Mr. Desai has met that need ably, efficiently and intelligently.

**BUDDHI MAPAN:** *By P. C. Shah, M.A., B.T., M.R.S.T. (London). Published by the Gharbasta Prakashan Mandir, Bhavnagar. 1950. Paper cover. Pp. 89. Price Re. 1-12.*

As its name implies, this small book deals with an educational subject which has hitherto remained untouched and therefore unexplored in Gujarat. It is taking this measure (*mapan*) of a child's intelligence (*buddhi*). The writer is one concerned with the education of young men and has studied the science and art of this subject from all available sources. Tests in gauging the intelligence of a juvenile are laid down with hints from the guidance of teachers and parents. Those interested in this valuable question of national importance will benefit by its perusal.

K. M. J.

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# INDIAN PERIODICALS

## The Fundamentals of Jainism

Prof. Prithvi Raj Jain Shastri writes in *The Aryan Path*:

Speculations about man, the universe and the relation between them, and about the goal of human life have been agitating man's mind from time immemorial. This has given rise to many philosophical systems and religious doctrines, one of which systems is known as Jainism. Its followers, now-a-days mostly confined to India, hold a prominent place in this country. They have a vast literature in different languages, a most ancient culture, holy places scattered throughout the country and numerous historical monuments as symbols of their glorious past and evidence of their love of art and sculpture.

It is quite wrong to believe, as was held in the greater part of the 19th century, that Jainism was either a break away from the Vedic religion of the ancient Indian Aryans or merely an offshoot of Buddhism. (See Hermann Jacobi's Introduction to *The Jaina Sutras*, Part I, in *The Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XXII.) The Jains believe their system to be eternal truth, revealed for the benefit of mankind in every era by innumerable Tirthankaras or Jinas (Victors). (A Tirthankara is defined as he "who shows the broad fording-place of virtue, the best of all, reaching which men overcome pains and sorrows." —Samantabhadra; *Brihat-Svayambhu*, Stotra, 9.) These are omniscient expounders of the nature of things, preachers of truth and organizers of the *Sangha* or Holy Order of ascetics, and teachers of the laity, both men and women.

Owing to insufficient historical data scholars may hesitate to accept the claim of Jainism to be a most ancient system of thought. But there is irrefutable literary evidence that Jainism was flourishing in India definitely in the eighth century B.C., and even during the Vedic age. According to Dr. S. Radhakrishnan (*Indian Philosophy*, Vol. I, p. 287):

"Jainism prevailed even before Vardhamana (Mahavira) or Parshvanatha. The *Yajurveda* mentions the names of three Tirthankaras—Rishabha, Ajitanatha and Aristanemi."

Buddhist literature contains evidence that Lord Mahavira did not reveal any new truth or found a new system. The four vows (*Chaturyama Dharma*) preached by Lord Parshvanath, the last Tirthankara before Lord Mahavira, were in vogue before Lord Buddha attained enlightenment. (Pandit Sukhlal: *Nirgrantha Sampradaya*, Parts I and II.) Lord Mahavira was but one of the promulgators of Jainism; his parents were followers of Lord Parshvanatha. (*Acharanga Sutra*, 11.15.16. and *Kalpa Sutra*).

Jainism is distinguished from other religions and philosophies by its clear-cut theological and metaphysical doctrines. The main purpose of this article is to acquaint the educated laity with the basic

principles of Jainism without going into details. The exposition will be based mostly on original, authoritative works.

Unbiased Indological research by European and Indian scholars has revealed in ancient India two distinct currents of culture, namely, the Vedic or Brahmanic and the Shramanic. They were so antagonistic in approach that some ancient scholars regarded their opposition as eternal, like that between a serpent and a mongoose or a cow and a lion. (Patanjali: *Mahabhashya on the Purni Sutras*, 2.4.9.)

The old Shramanic culture included the doctrines accepted by the Jains, the Buddhists, the Sankhyas and the Ajivakas. The Sankhyas have entered the Vedic fold, the Ajivakas are found no more and only Jains and Buddhists may now be regarded as representatives of this culture. Prof. A. N. Upadhye (A. N. Upadhye: *Pravachana Sana*, Preface, p. 12) describes it as "an indigenous system of thought; call it for convenience the Magadhan religion, which was essentially pessimistic in its worldly outlook, metaphysically dualistic if not pluralistic, animistic and ultra-humane in its ethical tenets, temperamentally ascetic, undoubtedly accepting the dogma of transmigration and the Karma doctrine, owing no racial allegiance to the Vedas and Vedic rites, subscribing to the belief in individual perfection and refusing unhesitatingly to accept a creator."

Pandit Sukhlalji, one of the greatest living authorities on Indian religion and philosophy, has very lucidly summed up the basic difference between these cultures:

"Brahmanism or the ancient Vedic movement was established on the attitude of inequality while the latter (Shramanism) was based on the attitude of equality. This basic difference is obvious in these three respects viz., concerning society, concerning the end to be achieved and concerning the outlook towards living creatures." (*Jain Dharma Ka Prana*, p. 1).

Both Jainism and Buddhism deny the authority of the Vedas, reject priestcraft and the rigidity of the caste system based on birth, deify the human soul, follow the doctrine of *Ahimsa* more earnestly than others and stress ethical standards. But other tenets of theirs differ, as do also their literature and their history.

Jainism accepts the existence of the eternal, non-material soul which persists through all changes and migrates from one body to another until finally liberated. Buddhism, denying the existence of such a soul, believes in an unbroken series of states, each depending on the condition just preceding it and giving rise to the succeeding one. The Jain and Buddhist concepts of liberation are also different. The tenets of Jainism, moreover, are claimed to have been promulgated by various Jinas at different times,

while the Buddhist doctrines were preached for the first time by Lord Buddha himself.

Jainism lays stress upon external and internal self-denial, while Lord Buddha was opposed to external austerities, regarding them as useless for purifying the mundane soul. While the two systems have in common words like 'Jina,' 'Arhat,' etc., used in both for deified souls, the word 'Niggantha' (*Acharanga Sutra*, 109; *Bhagavati*, 9.6.383) (*Nirgrantha* in Sanskrit and *Niggantha* in Pali) meaning "free from all fetters," internal as well as external, is used exclusively for Jain monks and deified persons.

Prof. Dalsukh Malvaniya, a well-reputed Jain scholar, holds that in the Upanishads, regarded as the fountainhead of all other Indian philosophical systems, the foundation of Jainism is not found. This fact establishes its independence and originality. The exposition of Karma, of the *gunasthanas* (stages of spiritual development), of the order and creation of the universe, of atoms, matter, the six substances, etc., found in the canon attributed to Lord Mahavira, goes to prove this system to be the result of the labour of many centuries before his time as well as different from and independent of Upanishadic thought. (*Agama Yuga Ka Anekanta Vada*, p. 12).

Jainism maintains that truth and untruth have been existing and will continue to exist side by side. Professor Kapadia has rightly said:

"According to the Jainas their religion as propounded by their omniscient Tirthankaras is nothing but truth, and hence they are inclined to believe that there was never an age when Jainism did not exist at least in some part of the world and that there will never come an age when it will be completely wiped off from the surface of our globe." (H. R. Kapadia: *The Jaina Religion and Literature*, Vol. I, p. 7).

As to specific literary evidence to justify this claim, we have referred to Lord Arishtanemi's being named in the *Yajurveda* (IX. 25). The *Adi Parva* of the *Mahabharata* refers to *kshapanaka*, which means a Jain monk. The *Bhagavata Purana* (V. 3-6) gives the life of Lord Rishabha. The word *shramana* occurs in the *Ramayana* (I. 14-22) and commentators interpret it as meaning a sky-clad Jain Monk. In the *Prabhasa Purana*, Lord Nemi is referred to as a Jina who obtained salvation on Mount Raivata.

The Buddhist *Dhammapada* refers to Rishabha and Mahavira. The *Mahavagga* mentions a Jain temple of Lord Suparssva as standing in the time of Lord Buddha. The *Shatashastra* (5th century of the Christian era) mentions Lord Rishabha as the founder of Jainism.

Archæological proofs of the antiquity of Jainism are also not wanting. In the Orissa inscription of the Emperor Kharavela (160 B.C.) Rishabha is mentioned as Agrajina. The Kankali Stupas of Mathura also prove the antiquity of the system. Some scholars maintain that nude figures discovered at Mohenjodaro are in the Yoga posture peculiarly Jaina. (*The Modern Review*, August, 1932, pp. 155-160.) Prof. Pran Nath of the Banaras Hindu University deciphers Seal No. 449 as 'Jinesha' (*Jin-i-Sarah*). (*The Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. VIII, Supplement, p. 18.)

The foremost peculiarity of Jainism is that it claims no non-human source. Its tenets are based on the knowledge of the Victors, who have attained perfection by their own efforts in this very universe. According to Jainism it is the human soul alone which can reach the highest degree of purification. All souls are possessed of fulness and perfection. Jainism is

totally against offering devotion to any being, human or divine, in the hope of gaining bliss, immortality or perfection through the mercy of that being. The full development of the soul cannot be gained through outside aid. Lord Mahavira emphatically declared, "Man, thou art thine own friend; why wishest thou for a friend beyond thyself?" (*Acharanga Sutra*, 116.) One has to struggle with one's own enemies, having faith in one's own strength. The true victor is expected to defeat his passions and sense cravings and not his fellow beings.

"Fight with this, your own body; why should you fight with anything else?" (*Sutrakritanga*, 154).

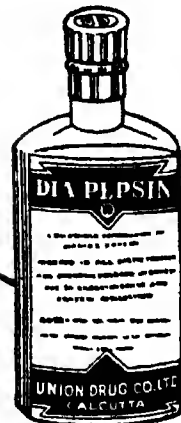
"Fight with yourself. Why fight with external foes? He who conquers himself through himself, will obtain happiness." (*Uttaradhyayana*, IX. 35).

The noble, human character of Jainism makes it free from mystic ritual, unholy superstition and the feeling of helplessness or inferiority. That is why the late Virchand Raghavaji Gandbi (delegate to the Parliament of Religions, Chicago World's Fair, 1893), the first torch-bearer of the message of Jainism to the modern West, declared in one of his speeches:

"The philosophy of the Jains is not essentially founded on any particular writing or external revelation but on the unfoldment of spiritual consciousness, which is the birth-right of every soul. Books, writing and scriptures may illustrate, wholly or in part, this truth, but the ultimate fact remains that no mere words can give full expression to the truths of Jainism, which must be felt and realized within." (*The Jaina Philosophy*, pp. 15-16).

# DIAPEPSIN

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According to Jain metaphysics, this universe is without beginning or end. It has always existed and will continue to exist for ever, undergoing countless changes which are produced simply by the inherent powers of different substances, without any intervention of an eternal God or Creator.

Substance has been defined as possessing some unchanging essential characters (*gunas*) and other changing modes (*pariyayas*). (*Tattvarthadigama Sutra*, 5.38). The essential characters of a substance are found permanently in it and it is on account of them that the substance exists. Non-essential or accidental characters of a substance are always subject to succeeding changes.

The world, according to Jainism, is changing as well as unchanging. Jainism rejects both the theory of impermanence accepted by the Buddhists and the theory of absolute permanence expounded in the Vedanta system. It believes in permanence in change. From one point of view, substance is permanent and from another it is subject to change. That is why substance or reality is also defined as consisting of three elements: origination, decay and permanence. (*Ibid*, 5.30.)

*Pariyayas* originate and decay but the *gunas* remain permanent. Consciousness, for example, is regarded as a quality (*guna*) of the soul. There cannot be any time when the soul is absolutely devoid of consciousness. But pleasures, pains, etc., are merely various modes (*pariyayas*) of the soul. They appear and disappear.

## India and Commonwealth

Mallikarjunan writes in *Careers and Courses* :

Off and on, in Parliament and outside, we hear talks of the necessity or desirability of leaving the British Commonwealth for one reason or the other. It would be well to study the problem away from the realm of local political controversy. The obvious tendency of the age in all spheres now is towards combination for strength or for safety. However unpleasant, 'collectivization' is the order of the day and the democratic nations practise it no less assiduously than the totalitarian. In the economic field, even those who cannot or will not organize themselves, into combines and cartels and collectives, make a compromise with necessity by forming voluntary co-operative associations, in order to save themselves from being swamped by larger forces. The logic of that method is no less applicable to the field of international politics.

### TOWARDS DYNAMIC NEUTRALITY

The major part of the world has already organized itself into two powerful blocs, each unwilling to endure the other, each desperately and mortally anxious to secure by bribe or threat, strategic allies and strategic materials and strategic positions for a final showdown. Apart from the material strength of these blocs, their psychological influence is to be feared because they have neat ideologies at their command, each appealing to a certain section of the people in every country—one apparently preaching freedom and the other economic justice, though in reality they stand only for uncompromising reaction and uncompromising revolution. The patronage or dominance of either would spell disaster to nations like ours, trying to evolve at their own pace towards greater total prosperity as well as greater social justice. Rightly and bravely, therefore, has this country elected to tread the tightrope of dynamic neutrality, struggling hard to be herself and do things her own way. But she needs like everybody else the climate of peace in which to grow, and such a peace she cannot command entirely by her own strength. A third force or a neutral bloc—an association of nations who have not lost their heads altogether, of nations who are not power-crazed or power-driven—is, therefore, of the greatest necessity in this period of strain.

The idea of such an Asian Federation was in the air a few years ago, but the complexion of the international scene has changed considerably since then; and with the inroads that the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. have made in this continent such a federation is not out of question. We are left, therefore, with the one association that we have had these many years—the Commonwealth. It is definite that we are not willingly joining either of the existing power blocs, and it is also clear that there is no chance of forming now any new association of the kind that we can welcome. We

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have, at the moment, the option only between remaining in the only association of which we have ever been a member and of living in a splendid but distinctly hazardous isolation. It is a grave choice to have to make and merits more than casual consideration.

#### WHY NO TRUCK WITH BRITAIN?

Since the talk is of leaving the Commonwealth, it would not be illogical to consider at the outset the arguments adduced against continued membership. The first, which is rapidly eliminating itself due to the softening influence of time, is the sentimental antipathy felt in certain quarters against any association with Britain. But mature opinion has never supported this attitude. Gandhiji himself, foremost among the fighters for freedom, never gave up the desire of amicable association with Britain on terms of equal partnership in the Commonwealth. The leadership of the Indian National Congress has shown, even sentimentally speaking, a good deal of affection and respect for Britain and has been happy to continue the old association on a more honourable basis. Indian sentiment at the moment is, if anything, more strongly in favour of Britain than at any other time, and it a matter of credit to both the nations.

The second argument relies for its strength on the various weaknesses of the Commonwealth. It is pointed out in the first instance that the Commonwealth does not have a common foreign policy. The relationships of the different Commonwealth countries with the United States vary in degree though not substantially in basic friendliness. Their attitudes towards the U.S.S.R. or Red China vary even in kind. Then too their own mutual relationships have not been particularly happy in recent years. The colour prejudice exhibited by South Africa and Australia, the lack of goodwill between India and Pakistan over Kashmir and other problems, the none-too-smooth relationship between even India and Ceylon—these do show that the members of the family of nations do not get on altogether too well with one another. Most critics, therefore, claim that the Commonwealth idea exists no longer in fact. Others liking or disliking it, point out also that, if anything, the British Commonwealth is becoming rather an Anglo-American Commonwealth with the increasingly close relations which the United States has established not so much with Britain, as with Australia and New Zealand by the Anzus Treaty and with Pakistan through substantial military assistance. This intrusion of the United States as an active—indeed, too active—force in shaping the foreign policies of these member nations of the Commonwealth does not augur well for the safety of that association. These indeed are genuine handicaps and defects of Commonwealth today.

#### IMPORTANCE OF ASSOCIATION

But to grant these defects is not to take away from the value of that association. Differences in policy among the Commonwealth nations are bound to exist, though such serious differences are no doubt unfortunate. But the genuinely voluntary nature of the association and the almost complete absence of restriction on the members, which permits such differences, points out to a strong underlying unity. They all bear the impress of British ideas and institutions more or less uniformly in their intellectual, social and political life. All of them are busy with the task of national reconstruction and none of them is at the moment expansionist in outlook. The sentimental force of tradition has

shown itself already in the fact that India and Pakistan have opted to remain in the Commonwealth at a time when feeling that those countries was least favourable towards Britain. The further fact that the mutual differences between the member-nations as yet being attempted to be solved by consultations and conference is not inconceivably influenced by the same force.

Moreover, while our membership of the sterling bloc cannot perhaps be called an irreplaceable economic convenience, we certainly enjoy special trade privileges with Britain because of our Commonwealth associations. The Commonwealth has its own programme for raising social and economic standard of member nations (like the Colombo Plan) and these assistance measures, uniquely have no political strings attached. Commonwealth Defence Conferences keep us posted with valuable military information and there is provision also for training for our military personnel in the U.K. The Commonwealth Relations Office provides valuable political information to member-countries. These benefits may not compare with what we may gain by striking a bargain with either of the power blocs desperately anxious for friends but they are benefits nevertheless, and they are paid for in the honourable coin of goodwill and co-operation and not in slices of freedom.

Commonwealth membership is indeed independence with something added, as the Prime Minister of New Zealand once described it. No advantage is lost and no liberty or dignity is sacrificed for this membership. And yet we derive definite economic, political military and even intellectual benefits. We enjoy in the international sphere a certain added respect because the Commonwealth though long past its glory, is still associated with power and dignity. It may not be too fanciful to say that we are somewhat 'fenced' by the great name of that once-powerful organization. It is a unique association of peoples from every quarter of the globe united for peaceful purposes and providing a great example of voluntary co-operation whatever its defects may be.

Perhaps a little colourful but accurate enough is Mr. Louis St. Laurent's description of the Commonwealth as an organization building "a new bridge of understanding between the East and the West." Greater unity may perhaps be desirable in certain matters but one cannot have everything. One has to make some kind of compromise between liberty and order, and the present arrangement is not a bad one on the whole.

## DIABETES?

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We seem to have quite a bit of the advantages of combination with none of the accompanying restrictions. The Commonwealth represents "a gentleman's agreement," however vague, and we need more rather than less of that kind of thing in the world of today. The existence and the stability of that organization would seem to be still one of the guarantees that a third and total world war may yet be avoided. Our leaving the Commonwealth would be a definite disadvantage for our country as well as for the Commonwealth which is an important instrument for securing that peace which we desire for ourselves and for the world.

### Racial Policy in South Africa

National Christian Council Review writes editorially:

The following resolution was adopted by the

British Council of Churches at its half-yearly meeting in London:

"The British Council of Churches, believing

(1) that the just relationship of persons of different races is of vital interest to the whole Christian Church;

(2) that the policy of the South African Government as expressed in the Native Resettlement Act and the Bantu Education Act whereby it is proposed to ensure the mental as well as the physical segregation of the Bantu 'in his own community,' and to deny him any place 'in the European community, above the level of certain forms of labour,' is not only an offence against human rights, but also against the Divine Law as set forth in the Bible; and noting the contents of the recent Circular threatening the cancellation of leases to missions in African locations if representatives of those churches to which leases have been given take part in activities which the government regards as of a 'subversive nature' or tending to 'encourage deterioration in the relationship between the natives and governmental persons or bodies'; hereby affirms its whole-hearted support of the Declaration made by the World Council of Churches at Evanston on inter-group relations, including the following words:

'It is the duty of the Church to protest against any law or arrangement that is unjust to any human being, or which would make Christian fellowship impossible, or would prevent the Christian from practising his vocation. . . . The Church of Christ cannot approve of any law which discriminates on grounds of race, which restricts the opportunity of any man to acquire education to prepare himself for his vocation, or in any other way curtails his exercise of the full rights and responsibilities of citizenship for sharing in the responsibilities and duties of government.'

Accordingly, the British Council of Churches asks the Archbishop of Canterbury, in consultation with responsible leaders of other churches, and with the chairman of the International Department to appoint a special group to advise the churches at an early date concerning opportunities for action which would strengthen the churches in South Africa."

The resolution was moved by the Bishop of Chichester, Dr. G. K. A. Bell, and representatives of the Church of England, the Church of Scotland, the Baptist, the Methodist and Congregational Churches were among those who took part in the debate.

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# FOREIGN PERIODICALS

## Safety from Atomic Attack

Richard Bolling and Lewis Anthony Dexter observe in the *New Leader*, November 29, 1954:

American military defense policy may be thought of as a chair with two legs which reach the ground, a third which is viciously foreshortened, and a fourth which is a mere stub. This article deals with the fourth leg—safety against attack, ways and means of making it less effective for an enemy to attack with A-bombs and H-bombs. Since the significance of this fourth leg lies in its relationship to the other three, let us first identify them.

The first leg may be seen as representing hardware, the weapons of "massive retaliation." Obviously, without such weapons we would be naked in a world of power politics; but, it should be emphasized, the very notion of "retaliation" presupposes that the enemy first attacks us.

The second leg stands for the military aspects of defense—radar screens, continental air defense and the rest, which may permit us to detect and knock out some attacking enemy bombers. However, the situation here seems to be still generally the same as when the late General Hoyt Vandenberg, then Air Chief of Staff, wrote: "Should war come, we can be expected to destroy no more than 30 per cent of the planes making an attack in strength on the United States before their bombing missions are accomplished." (*Saturday Evening Post*, February 19, 1951) In other words, this system of continental defense presupposes an attack—and an attack which will be successful in damaging and perhaps ruining many of our big cities.

The third, foreshortened leg stands for immediate pre- and post-attack civilian defense. Civilian defense concentrates on mass evacuation before an attack, putting out fires, rebuilding telephone lines, rescuing the wounded, etc. All these things presuppose that the enemy successfully completes a most unpleasant attack—or at least threatens to do so. An effective program of civilian defense could mean the difference between a rapid resumption of military production and public services in many areas and a situation so catastrophic that we could not continue fighting. Consequently, one of our pressing needs at present is to rescue the Federal Civil Defense program from the no-man's land of buck-passing to which an unrealistic notion of states' rights has condemned it.

But the fourth leg—safety from attack—still

remains to be considered. A group of scientists and scholars over the last eight years have pointed out that the basic reason why we must fear the atomic bomb is that we are all bunched up together like lambs in a slaughterhouse. The sixty-seven critical target areas contain most of our productive resources—including defense factories and a lot of skilled people. We must, these scholars have pointed out, spread out, or, in the event of war, we shall surely perish, individually and perhaps nationally.

For instance, an editorial in the September, 1951, *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* said: "Dispersion is the only measure which could make an atomic 'super-Pearl Harbor' impossible. . . . The most exhaustive preparations for (civilian defense), while they can promise a considerable reduction in the number of casualties, could do little to protect the production facilities of an attacked city—facilities whose incapacitation is likely to be the prime aim of the attack."

The reasons why this is so have been cogently, patiently, carefully, scientifically and persuasively presented in a series of publications, the most notable of which is probably *Project East River*, Part V (published by Associated Universities, New York, 1952). This report should have set off wide discussion, but in fact, it has been almost completely ignored: as of July 1951, neither Harvard nor MIT even had library copies.

These arguments were cogent, careful, scientific and persuasive to those who read them. But they were and are largely, though not entirely, ineffective; the national industrial-dispersion policy, announced by the President in the summer of 1951, has never been broadly implemented, and by and large, since then, target cities have kept on growing faster than the rest of the country. For example, there is every reason to suppose that about 30 per cent of all investment in plants in metropolitan areas during the last three years has been in the central target areas. (The city manager of Cambridge, Massachusetts was quoted in July 1954 as urging that Cambridge, which is right in the heart of a high-priority area, start to build skyscrapers).

It is only fair to say that the use of certificates of necessity sometimes has encouraged new construction outside rather than inside target areas. But what has been done has been only a drop in the bucket compared with what could be done.

To be sure, a number of communities under some prodding from Federal authorities, have formed industrial-dispersion committees. The chairman of

the New Haven committee said in the spring of 1954: "Industrial dispersion is not accepted as practical. Most people recognize the sense of it . . . but don't want to face up to its implications." In San Diego, the assistant city manager says: "There have been no cases of (industrial dispersion) in the last two years." A member of the industrial-dispersion committee in a New England area says: "As a matter of fact, there is a conflict between the idea of industrial dispersion from a defense and security point of view and the attitudes of our local civil organizations with respect to holding industry within . . . the city." Dudley Harmon of Boston says: "Our committee (on industrial dispersion) seems destined for complete inactivity."

Basically, the Federal Government has merely given undramatically presented advice on industrial dispersion and on some means of making cities less attractive targets. It has then chiefly left things up to the individual manufacturer, institution or worker. This is what Senator Norris used to call the "lazy fairy" notion of government run mad.

It is about as sensible as it would be for the Federal Government to proclaim that in order to defend ourselves we need battleships, tanks, airplanes, guns, uniforms, trained officers, etc., and then to leave it up to the manufacturers or the cities to produce them. If the Federal Government wants weapons or officers, it has to supply incentives for producing or training them; otherwise, since what is everybody's business is nobody's business, we would all be left defenseless. Similarly, if we want safety, we have to provide incentives for those who can secure it.

A co-author of this article, Representative Bolling, has introduced a resolution in the House of Representatives which is directed toward finding out how we can most effectively and inexpensively purchase safety by using space. Senator Hubert Humphrey (D. Minn.) introduced a similar resolution in the Senate last July and, in his remarks explaining the meaning of the resolution discussed the possible establishment of an Urban Decentralization Authority. Like any proposal for a legislative investigation, the Bolling proposal is not altogether new and has numerous ancestors and antecedents. But it goes well beyond any previous proposal in that it assumes that it is and should be national policy to use all the economic powers of the Federal Government to encourage industrial dispersion wherever such use will increase the safety of the country.

How can and should this be done? At present, nobody knows very clearly; and, consequently, the gist of the Bolling proposal is the establishment of a Joint Committee on the Economics of Atomic Defense, which would "conduct a special study of the ways in which existing and proposed Federal economic powers and programs can make their greatest contribution to defense against modern atomic attack."

The resolution declares that "it is the purpose of this resolution to bring before the Congress and the American people the best judgments of scientists, lay leaders and Congressional experts on the effect of the H-bomb or its successors on existing concentrations of population and industry; the possibilities for defense measures within those areas; the degree to which industrial dispersion and urban decentralization can be expected to reduce the dangers of present-day atomic warfare; the length of time and the scale of action necessary to arrange for dispersion and relocation of population and industry now in target areas; and the ways in which the Federal Government in co-operation with state and local governments can, within our free-enterprise system, contribute to such dispersal or relocation policies through its monetary, credit and fiscal policies and through purchases and construction, aids to education, health and welfare, the regulation of transportation, and other programs or policies affecting the pattern of the nation's economic development." Congress has, of course, adjourned since the Bolling and Humphrey resolutions were introduced, but they will be reintroduced next year.

We hope that investigation and analysis by such a committee will lead to the invention of better ways of making us safer from attack than anything we now propose. Indeed, one of the biggest arguments for such a committee is simply that it may focus attention and discussion on the question: How can we best preserve our lives and our civilization against atomic attack?

But, in any case, the first, obvious task of such an investigation would be to find out how and where the H-bomb and other developments of the last three years affect the conclusions of Project East River about how far we must spread out to be safe. This, in itself, is a question on which we must rely upon scientific judgment; but it seems probable that the area of great danger is considerably smaller than most people (or Chambers of Commerce) now fear. If so, this is of considerable importance; it means that industries can remain at their present locations.

However, whatever the facts are, they should be established, and the first function of the committee will be to summarize and interpret them so that the people can understand what decisions must be made.

Having done this, we are inclined to believe that the committee will decide to explore and make recommendations on the following points:

1. *New Building.* The major target cities add new building each year which altogether is the equivalent of four Bostons. That is, we make the target cities more attractive to attack—and less safe to live in—by something like this amount.

Through mortgage insurance, housing loans and taxes, the Federal Government can influence who builds what where. It could shut off new building almost entirely in obvious target areas by refusing to



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give the same tax and loan considerations to building there as elsewhere. If a firm knows that it can deduct all expenses from gross—from the top—if it builds in Brunswick, Maryland, for instance, but not if it builds in Baltimore, it is likely to build in Brunswick; if, at the same time, Federal loan and mortgage policy makes it less probable to build new houses or new department stores in Baltimore than in Brunswick, new buildings of this sort will take place in Brunswick and not in Baltimore.

So stated, the problem seems simple. But it isn't. Only a few firms should be encouraged to build in Brunswick; otherwise, Brunswick itself would become a new target area! And under what circumstances does an addition to plant get counted as new building? Who shall make the decision on such knotty points as this: Radcliffe College builds a new Center for Graduate Students: is it new building? And what if a manufacturer puts a new wing on a plant? And in order to avoid fire storms, if for no other reason, slum clearance in target cities is still highly desirable; how can it be encouraged if new housing is not to be built in its place and the land is to be turned (as for safety it should be) into parks?

2. *Vital Products and Services*: Many basic national products and services are manufactured or developed entirely in target cities. In some cases, if the target cities were to be destroyed the goods and services could not be obtained elsewhere. Probably many essential parts of vital weapons are now produced exclusively in target cities; if several of these cities were knocked out, our capacity to retaliate would be much reduced or destroyed altogether. Conversely, then, our capacity to retaliate would be increased by some measure of dispersion.

At present, the purchasing agents for the Defense Department do not systematically take the contractor's safety from attack into account in placing contracts. Congress should make it unmistakably clear that they should do so. But, here again, the problem is complicated. Some order of priority needs to be set up. It matters relatively little if a contractor engaged in making uniform buttons is bombed out; some substitute can doubtless be found, and in all probability other button manufacturers in smaller cities can, at need, replace the defunct button king.

But, on the other hand, along the Charles River in Boston and Cambridge there is a terrifying concentration of scientific research, most of it defense-oriented, all of it with defense implications. And it is right at the center of a target area. Yet, the Defense Department has kept on placing contracts with MIT, Harvard and adjacent institutions; in most cases, new contracts have led to an even greater concentration of research talent in the field under study by bringing more specialists to Cambridge. But, in most instances, with some effort and perhaps at a slightly greater cost, it would have been possible to place the contracts at institutions like Cornell, the University of Missouri, the University of New Hampshire, or the University of the South at Sewanee, Tennessee.

3. *Governmental Operations*: The Government itself is a prime offender in making life unsafe for everybody. The Federal Civilian Defense Administrator has often declared that he thinks Washington is the Number 1 target for any enemy. Yet, only one Federal agency, the Federal Civilian Defense Administration itself, has actually arranged to move in order to meet the atomic threat.

The National Security Resources Board proposed

plans, which were approved by President Truman, for dispersing essential governmental bodies into units so scattered that an A-bomb attack would use too much of the enemy's power to be worthwhile. This proposal, which seems the most obvious common sense, has run up against a stone wall of indifference and hostility. Common sense, similarly, would suggest dispersing Federal agencies out of metropolitan New York and San Francisco.

4. *Inducements and Compensations*: A basic reason why the Federal Government has been unable to persuade itself to seek safety, so to speak, is the unwillingness of its employees to move. Indeed, at present writing it appears probable that a substantial number of Federal Civil Defense Administration employees will refuse to move to Battle Creek and will transfer or resign. They own houses, their children go to school in Washington, a wife or husband works in Washington and cannot find employment in Battle Creek, they like the metropolitan atmosphere of Washington, and so on.

All this proves, of course, that it is awfully hard to persuade a man who lives on a volcano to get off it—"tomorrow never comes." So, no doubt, the elegant Romans of Britain in 390 A.D. would have disregarded any warning that they had better get out while the getting was good; ten to fifteen years later, most of them had been killed off or enslaved by the barbarian invaders.

Such historical parallels are unlikely to be convincing without the provision of concrete inducements. These the Federal Government can offer, if it will, to its employees in large measure. For instance, the Government could—and perhaps should—assume carrying charges on houses which are vacated and cannot be sold as a result of its requiring employees to move. In instances where employees suffer a loss because, for instance, a wife has to give up a job, a very substantial non-taxable cost-of-moving bonus should be provided; and, furthermore, the United States Employment Service or some similar agency should provide special aid and help in getting new jobs for displaced wives. The Government cannot exactly transfer Maryland schools to Battle Creek, but there should be legislation permitting it to give aid to Battle Creek schools as "Federally-impacted" areas *immediately*, before the move takes place.

The biggest obstacle to getting people to move out of cities is that they will miss some service that they are accustomed to. In some cases, for instance, there might be considerable movement to a town without obstetricians. In such cases, inducements should probably be provided for specialists to move into the area. A parallel has already been provided by loan programs for GIs entering business, and no doubt such legislation could be adapted to help those establishing new businesses or professional services in towns showing a population increase because of spreading out from the cities.

5. *Transportation*: This problem of service could also be tackled by improving our transportation arrangements between smaller towns. At present, roads, railroads and bus schedules spread out from the big city like spokes from the hub of a wheel. This means that people who want any sort of service—use of a big library, beauty treatment, medical care from a specialist, a chance to see *The Pajama Game*—have to go into the city. Consequently, the daytime population of cities is needlessly large, and anybody who lives outside the city is at a disadvantage. But if there were easy rapid transit between the smaller

suburbs and outlying districts—that is, from spoke to spoke, rather than through the hub—the difficulties involved in getting people to move out would be reduced. In some instances, all the Government would need to do would be to provide subsidies to the bus companies for more frequent bus trips. In other cases, it would need to stimulate—financially—the building of roads or bridges, or the development of ferry services.

There are, no doubt, dozens of other ways in which people could be persuaded to seek safety by spreading out. Very likely, many of these ways—if adopted—would be equally effective. The actual problems are: (1) What proposals would be adopted with the least resistance and resentment? (2) What proposals permit the most economical and effective administration? Discussion anywhere, but particularly before a Congressional committee, will throw a good deal of light on what will be accepted most readily and some on the problems and difficulties of administration.

But public discussion of this sort can have even greater value. It might dispel the deadly lethargy of hopelessness about the possibility of effective defense against H-bomb attack. It might then reveal alternative methods of defense among which an informed choice could be made. And this could have consequences far beyond the military field.

### Behind Britain's Dock Strikes

John Clews observes in the *New Leader*, November 15, 1954:

A study of the Communist party's present position in Britain reveals a curious paradox. Party membership has sunk to a low of 35,000 in a population of over 50 million, and the Young Communist League now has less than 3,000 card-carriers. As a purely political body, the Communists are on the decline. But, despite what CP executive-committee member John Gollan terms "the continued stagnation in the membership of the party," the Communist cause is flourishing in Britain as a Moscow instrument.

Moscow's "new line" has brought about a sudden boom in delegations to Iron Curtain countries. In contrast to earlier ones, they consist of the politically naive and even anti-Communists. The recent Parliamentary delegation to Moscow contained such resolute anti-Reds as Stanley Evans, Labor MP from Weynesbury.

Most of the newly revived organizations sponsoring these pilgrimages have been proscribed by the Labor party as Communist fronts. Nevertheless, the British-China Friendship Association, the British-Soviet Friendship Society, the British-Polish Friendship Society and similar groups are getting more and more Labor MPs and Labor-party members in their delegations. The Society for Cultural Relations with the USSR is in a particularly strong position, since it has not been proscribed on the grounds that it is primarily cultural (*sic*). This fiction lets it operate in political territory closed to its blood-brother, the British-Soviet Friendship Society.

It is difficult to assess the real influence of these delegations. Indeed, Communist operations in the film and television fields are far more important. A special firm has been set up to distribute Communist films at very cheap rates. Some innocuous feature movies are shown in London and a few even make the rounds in the provinces. In television, the main target, almost every Soviet cultural group somehow manages to get a spot on one of the top programs.

Recently, for example, the Society for Cultural Relations with the USSR sponsored a Russian tour for five British musicians. At least two of them were solid party-liners, but the group's official leader was Kenneth Wright, head of the BBC's television music department. He returned with a firm record of the trip—made with Soviet-provided equipment—and stressed his complete freedom to select what he wished and use his own commentary. As it turned out, this "non-political" film went off on a tangent to show happy Soviet workers and farmers toiling for the socialist fatherland. Thus several million British viewers were fed some excellent Kremlin propaganda and, in terms of political capital, the cost of this particular delegation's trip was worth every copeck.

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The negative aspect of Communist activity in Britain was dramatically illustrated during the recent dock strike here. All the major ports—London, Liverpool, Birkenhead, the Tyneside and Southampton—were tied up, most of them for nearly a month. Approximately \$560 million worth of import and export cargo was locked up in 350 ships. And the guiding spirits behind this strangulation movement were a handful of men from the Communist-led National Amalgamated Stevedores and Dockers Union, which succeeded in calling out 14,000 dockworkers.

The NASDU achieved notoriety for its leading role in the 1949 Beaverbrae strike, which dragged on for three months. This was in support of a strike by the Communist-dominated Canadian Seamen Union. It was described in a Government White Paper as a "cold and deliberate plan" of the Communists, who were "completely indifferent to the loss and suffering that might result."

There have been other Red-inspired strikes since 1949, but the latest has been the most important. The problem of "voluntary overtime" for dockworkers, the official cause of the strike, has been the NASDU's main scourge. There has also been an inter-union fight between the Stevedores and Dockers on the one hand and the huge Transport and General Workers Union on the other. Arthur Deakin, fiercely anti-Communist General Secretary of the T&GW, is a major Red target. In violation of a sacred inter-union agreement, the NASDU enticed several thousand dockworkers away from the T&GW and, consequently, was temporarily expelled from the Trades Union Congress. It should be noted, too, that the decision to call off the strike—which was announced in the *Daily Worker* the night before NASDU spokesmen officially told the dockers to return to work—was based on conditions that had been proposed three months before it developed.

In some quarters, there is still speculation as to whether the strike was actually Communist-inspired or the result of a general grievance that the CP exploited. All the evidence available, however, indicates that the former is true. It followed the familiar Red pattern, with a mixture of action by small Communist-led unions and "unofficial" Communist-led strike committees. A *Daily Worker* editorial on the "Overtime Menace" was reprinted by the NASDU as a fighting pamphlet. And it was undoubtedly groups of Communist activists that transformed a matter of general indifference into something dynamic. T&GW officials were content to do nothing and thus let things get out of hand.

A similar situation developed in the London bus strike, which immediately preceded the dockers' action. This was over genuine grievances: irregular hours, spread-over duties and often excessive overtime due to the general shortage of public transport

workers. The CP's London District Bus Advisory Committee issued a leaflet demanding certain wage adjustments and a rearrangement of the working week—both of which were impossible under existing conditions. Then the strike began in Communist-dominated garages like Dalston and Twickenham and spread rapidly on the basis of the leaflet's demands. Like the dock outbreak, it ended without any real achievement, except that a number of drivers and conductors found new jobs while out of work and the staff situation is now more critical than ever.

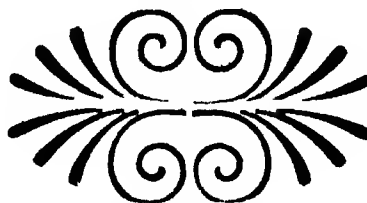
Other strikes have occurred recently at the instigation of the Electrical Trades Union and the Constructional Engineers Union, both Communist-infiltrated. In all these actions, there is evidence of close contact with the Moscow-run World Federation of Trade Unions through its London branch.

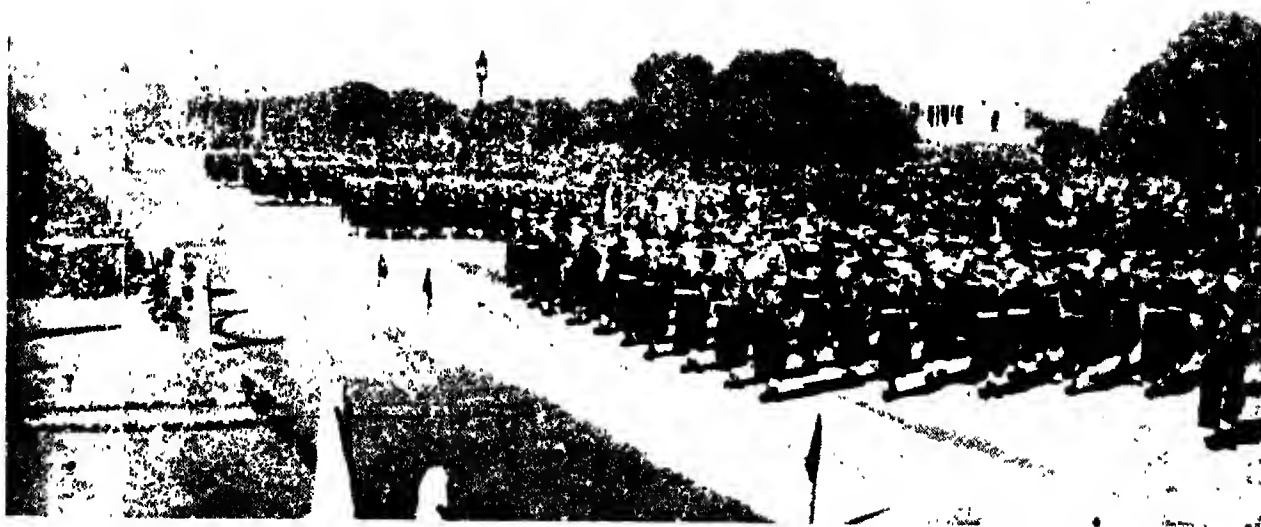
It is interesting, too, that in the middle of the dock strike London's Red industrial activists met under the chairmanship of Claude Berridge, a Communist and leading official of the Amalgamated Engineering Union. Of the 400 present, some 350 were active on various levels in 45 different unions covering all sections of industry. The general policy agreed on covered agitation on the factory floor, penetration of the Labor party through trade unions and trade councils, an all-out attack on right-wing labor leaders, and a drive to convince workers that the present full-employment conditions make strikes all the more desirable now.

Another industrial conference, involving shop stewards, will be held shortly to discuss priority strike targets. The list of plants to be considered includes two important ship-building firms, a large steelworks, two large automobile plants, an aircraft factory and one of the biggest electrical-equipment plants in the country. Most of these factories, as might be expected, are doing important defense work.

Of course, the Communists' successes are mixed with failure. Indeed, the dock and bus strike may harden the public's attitude toward them, particularly if anti-Communist union leaders make their members realize the extent of Communist activity in their ranks. Nevertheless, things are going well for Moscow in Britain. "Peaceful coexistence" is becoming more and more respectable. British and other European firms are eager for East-West trade, and Russia can profit from the dock strike, because her deliveries were held up and she can impose severe penalties under various clauses in her trade contracts.

There is one bright spot in this generally dark picture, however: While the pattern of strike action laid down by the Communist Party Congress in the spring is now being worked out, the formal body of the Communist party is withering away. Party leaders had hoped that their activity would help swell their ranks. This has not happened.





Indian Naval contingents led by their band marching along Kingsway New Delhi on the Republic Day



President Rajendra Prasad held a Reception in Rashtrapati Bhawan, New Delhi, on January 26. (Left to right) Begum Iskander Mirza, Sri Jawaharlal Nehru, the Hon'ble Dr. Khan Sahib and the Hon'ble Major-General Iskander Mirza



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# THE MODERN REVIEW

MARCH



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## NOTES

### *The Union Budget*

We have received the Budget at the very last hour of the month of February. But even with a hurried perusal two things stand out.

First of all it is apparent that the Government is reverting back to the old soulless bureaucratic form, completely out-of-touch with the people of the Union and indifferent to their actual well-being, despite all the pious resolutions of the Congress and the flowery speeches of its only mouth-piece. For, it seems mental and moral welfare of the people counts for nought. If it were not so then paper taxes would not have been enhanced, because paper stands for education, both for the adult and the child, in all civilized countries.

Secondly it seems that the Government now has joined hands, with all the other evil forces, in sealing the doom of the Middle class, the class that was responsible beyond all others for the liberation of the country and the betterment of its peoples.

This year's Union Budget, for the year 1955-56, has been received with dismay by all sections of the people. It affects not only the richer class, but also the middle class, including the lower middle class. In his eagerness to spread the net, the Finance Minister seems to have forgotten the ordinary principles of taxation and the net is cast over all ignoring the taxable capacity of the payee. The budget reflects an increasing tempo of Government expenditure during the closing year of the first Five-Year Plan. The current year's revenue deficit was reduced to Rs. 5 crores from Rs. 15.36 crores envisaged in the original budget. For the coming financial year, at the existing levels of taxation and with increased provision for development expenditure, revenue is estimated at Rs. 468.76 crores, and expenditure at Rs. 498.93 crores, leaving a deficit of Rs. 30.17 crores.

The overall deficit for the current year is now estimated at Rs. 208 crores as against Rs. 239 crores originally anticipated. Following larger provision for development expenditure, the Minister estimated for

the coming year an overall deficit of Rs. 340 crores. The sizeable budgetary deficit, he said, did not carry threat of serious inflationary pressures. The Government view is that, the production potential of the economy is steadily increasing and the various economic indicators suggested that the country could go ahead more boldly. The last year's total revenue under the revised estimate is placed at Rs. 451.08 crores and the expenditure at Rs. 456.08 crores, the deficit being Rs. 5 crores.

The changes in income-tax will seriously affect the middle class. Dealing with the new proposal for taxation of direct incomes, the Finance Minister stated that the broad pattern of adjustments suggested by the Taxation Enquiry Commission had been accepted by the Government with such modifications as had been found necessary and desirable. The existing tax exemption slab of Rs. 1,500 has been raised to Rs. 2,000 for married persons and reduced to Rs. 1,000 for unmarried persons as a first step towards a scheme of family allowances. The net loss of revenue on this account is estimated Rs. 90 lakhs. Increased or new excise duties have been imposed on a number of articles, namely, sugar, cloth, cigarettes, woollen fabrics, sewing machines, electric fans, electric lighting bulbs, electric batteries, paper and paper board, and paints and varnishes, all of which will together bring in an additional revenue of Rs. 17.7 crores. Supertax will now be payable on incomes above Rs. 20,000. The new taxation proposal allows a development rebate of 25 per cent of the cost of all new plant and machinery installed for business purposes instead of the present depreciation allowance of 20 per cent. Losses in business will be allowed to be carried forward indefinitely instead for six years as at present.

Entertainment allowances and other benefits will now be subject to tax. The export duty on cotton cloth is reduced to 6½ per cent. A slab system is prescribed for export duty on tea in lieu of the existing flat rates. From March 1, the price of imported sugar has been raised by Re. 1 per maund. The increase in

excise duty on imported sugar will not however leave unaffected the indigenous sugar. The price of Indian sugar is also bound to go up in sympathy with rise in price of imported sugar.

Coming to the ways and means position, the Finance Minister stated that the Government needed Rs. 30 crores for meeting the revenue deficits, Rs. 578 crores for financing capital outlay and loan requirements of the State Governments and Rs. 69 crores for repayment of the maturing debt. Against this, the Government is expected to raise Rs. 125 crores from market loans and Rs. 52 crores from small savings, while foreign aid is expected to be of the order of Rs. 74 crores. Other miscellaneous debts and remittance transactions may bring in Rs. 86 crores. This raises the total gap between revenue and overall expenditure to Rs. 340 crores, only a part of which is expected to be met by increased taxation. As the cash balance will have no margin left to be drawn upon, the whole of this gap will have to be met by issue of Treasury bills. In the current year's budget, there is also an overall deficit of Rs. 239 crores which has to be met by expansion of Treasury bills.

As regards the capital expenditure, the current year's budget provided for an expenditure of Rs. 145.75 crores. In the new budget, the expenditure is estimated at Rs. 178.54 crores. The increase is accounted for by a worsening of Rs. 61.59 crores under Government Trading schemes largely due to purchase of rice stocks from the State Governments offset by saving of Rs. 28.80 crores in other items. A provision of Rs. 10 crores was made in the budget for possible purchase of shares in the Hindustan Steel, but this provision will now remain unutilised during this year.

The revenue from Customs in the coming year has been placed at Rs. 165 crores against the current year's revised estimate of Rs. 180 crores. The recent enhancement of the export duty on tea will bring an additional revenue of Rs. 11 crores over the current year's yield. Imports of motor spirit, kerosene and lubricants will, however, decrease to almost a quarter of the present level as a result of the second oil refinery at Bombay also coming into full production. In consequence there will be a drop of about Rs. 20 crores under Customs. The revenue from Excise Duty is placed at Rs. 123.45 crores in the coming year as compared with the current year's revised estimate of Rs. 103.65 crores. The increase is largely accounted for by revenue from the excises on kerosene and petrol following larger internal production. The collections of tobacco excise are also expected to improve by Rs. 3.3 crores, and following better production, the collection from sugar excise will rise by Rs. 1.5 crores. Under the income-tax, the current year's figure of Rs. 165 crores is being repeated for next year. Collections recently have been somewhat lower

than expected due to the progressive clearance of arrears. Revenue from Estate Duty is estimated at Rs. 3 crores next year, but the proceeds thereof goes almost wholly to the States. A credit of Rs. 8 crores from the sale of imported sugar on Government has been taken. Under Currency and Mint, profits of the Reserve Bank are placed at Rs. 20 crores next year as against Rs. 17.5 crores in the current year. This year the Finance Minister has not taken any credit for repayment of partition debt by Pakistan in view of non-payment during the last two years.

The expenditure in the coming year is being placed at Rs. 498.93 crores—Rs. 202.68 crores under Defence Services and Rs. 296.25 crores under Civil Heads. The estimates for Defence Services show an increase of Rs. 4.68 crores over the revised estimates for the current year. Civil expenditure next year shows an increase of Rs. 38.19 crores. The bulk of the increase represents larger allotments for development expenditure.

The taxation proposals in the new budget should evoke a good deal of criticism from all sections of the people. The taxation measures will hit both the rich and the middle class and the question is how best the least aggregate sacrifice of the taxpayer can be equitably distributed among all sectors. The series of excise duties will undoubtedly add to the cost of living and the cost of production as well. The excise duty on consumable goods will operate as a purchase tax, and the only difference between these two alternatives is that while the latter discriminates according to the paying capacity of the payer, the former does not. The excise duty is not at all discriminating and imposes a burden at the flat rate and is against the principle of the least aggregate sacrifice. But the main point that has been missed by the Finance Minister is that he has failed to take into consideration the sales tax imposed by the States. Cloth is subject to the payment of sales tax in the States and imposition of Union excise duty at an enhanced rate will constitute as a deterrent to consumption imposing an excessive burden.

The State has failed to look at the whole net tax position of the small income receiver, which comprises not only his income tax, but also the indirect taxes which he pays, the contributions to social security, and the benefits which he receives from the whole system of social security. Income-tax is now-a-days not merely a contribution to the general expenses of the State; it is also in part a means of financing these latter benefits. It is inevitable that these latter benefits should be financed, in considerable measure, by contributions from the same classes as mainly benefit from them. The whole burden of an elaborate system of social services, together with that of an expensive system of defence,

could not be borne by the wealthy and middle classes alone; there are not enough of them to be able to bear it. The lower income groups are bound to contribute in some manner; the question seems to us to be that of the form of that contribution.

Although the present schedule of income taxes has been influenced by inflation, the basic reason for the rise in taxation is not a monetary accident; it is the rise in the real expenditure of the Government. To that expenditure, or at least to the social security part of it, it is agreed that the lower income groups should make some contribution; it seems much better that their contribution should in some way take the form of income tax, which does make an effort to adjust payment to capacity, instead of being confined to indirect taxes and social security contributions which do not. It is one of the great advantages which accrued from the discovery of the P A Y E (Pay As You Earn) that it made some shift into income tax technically possible, thus diminishing the weight which had to be laid upon the less equitable taxes. Any movement in the opposite direction, such as would in practice be implied by the recognition of a high exemption limit for income tax seems to deny the equity of taxation.

### *Colombo Plan's Progress*

The third annual report on Colombo Plan covering the year 1953-54 indicates a considerable rise in investment in the Colombo Plan countries during this period. In the public sector, the amount spent on development increased by 27 per cent, from £423 million in the preceding year to £544 million. The latest report envisages a further increase of 31 per cent to £704 million in public investment in the area in 1954-55. The financial position of each member country indicates that the external aid continued to play an important part in their economic development. During the first three years of the Plan, development in the public sector cost about £1,250 million, of which external aid accounted for one-third. Rising development expenditure was accompanied by a notable increase in budget deficits. Financial assistance made available by members of the Consultative Committee outside South and South-East Asia since the inception of the Colombo Plan in 1951 has been as follows:

**The United Kingdom:** Sterling balances are made available to India, Pakistan and Ceylon at the rate of £42 million a year in the aggregate. The actual rate of withdrawal depends on the choice of the countries themselves. A credit of £10 million was made available to Pakistan in 1953 to finance the import of capital goods from the United Kingdom to assist food production. As part of loans made by the International Bank, £10 million has been released from the UK's subscription to the Bank; £5 million for the expansion of steel production in India, and £5 million for the Sui gas project in Pakistan. In 1953-54, £12.5 million was approved in grants and loans for development in the Federation of Malaya, Singapore,

North Borneo and Sarawak, bringing the total grants and loans to these territories in the last three years to £53.5 million, excluding contributions to the cost of the Emergency in Malaya. In its first year of operation the Commonwealth Development Finance Company contributed £1 million to the equity capital of Pakistan's Sui gas project. In March 1954, Ceylon raised a loan of £5 million in London.

**The United States:** Technical Co-operation for development assistance made available by the United States Government on a grant basis between July 1, 1951 and June 30, 1954 amounted to about \$468 million. Allocations to individual countries were: Burma \$21 million; Cambodia, Laos, Viet Nam \$73 million; India \$185 million; Indonesia \$24 million; Nepal \$1.6 million; Pakistan \$15 million; Philippine Republic \$65 million; Thailand \$23 million. Pakistan was also granted \$30 million to finance the procurement and transport of wheat in 1953, and in the middle of the same year received a grant of wheat valued at \$68 million. In 1951, \$190 million was loaned to India for the purchase of food-grains and \$15 million to Pakistan in 1952 for the same purpose. The US Export-Import Bank has authorised credits of \$100 million to Indonesia, \$25 million to the Philippine Republic and \$1 million to Thailand. Aid has also been made available by the U.S. Ford and Rockefeller Foundations.

**Canada:** Including \$C 25.4 million voted for use under the Colombo Plan in 1954-55, Canada has made available approximately \$C102 million. Allocations to date are: India \$C49 million, Pakistan \$C33 million, Ceylon \$C6 million. In addition a special grant of \$C5 million has been made to Pakistan for wheat.

**Australia:** By the end of 1953-54 Australia has spent or committed £A17.8 million of the £A31.25 million it pledged in 1950. Allocations are: India £A6.4 million; Pakistan £A8.1 million; Ceylon £A1.3 million; Indonesia £A1.53 million; Cambodia \$A0.15 million; Laos £A0.15 million; and Viet Nam \$A 0.15 million.

The report concludes that the future still holds many problems, and the countries of the area are under no illusions about the magnitude of the efforts required. But the fact that against the background of the economic difficulties analysed in the last year's report they have been able to spend 27 per cent more on development in the last year than in the preceding year showed that they responded to the spur and the challenge which these difficulties presented. They are aware that the main burden must be borne on their own resources, though external aid can do much to smooth and accelerate the progress towards a higher standard of living. But they have come through the initial difficulties, and not as isolated entities but as members of a great and growing partnership animated by a common purpose and increasingly conscious of each other's problems and aspirations. The chief obstacle to more rapid progress is not attributed to lack of money, but certain administrative and technical deficiencies which restricted the number of effectively planned projects.

### *The Railway Budget :*

This year's railway budget for 1955-56 is important in several respects. It is the budget for the last year of the Five-Year Plan. Naturally it raises much hope and calls for stock taking, for evaluating the achievement. The new Railway Convention has added importance to the new budget. Indian railways have no doubt maintained significant progress during the post-war years, but the progress is much below the country's requirements. The war-time shortages have been made up and efforts are being made for modernisation and expansion of the whole railway system in this country. But to achieve these twin purposes large outlays are necessary and lack of finance provides the most formidable problem. It is gratifying to note that railway surpluses have been improving in recent years. As for example, in 1953-54 the surplus stood at Rs. 2.56 crores; for 1954-55, it is estimated at Rs. 6.57 crores and for 1955-56, it is placed at Rs. 7.14 crores, after making a provision of Rs. 5 crores more to depreciation fund than in the current year. It may however be pointed out that in 1951-52, the surplus was Rs. 23 crores and in 1952-53, it was Rs. 13 crores.

The rise in ordinary working expenses is the main cause for dwindling surpluses. Between 1952-53 and 1953-54, gross traffic receipts increased from Rs. 270.5 crores to Rs. 274.3 crores. During this period, the ordinary working expenses also rose from Rs. 188 crores to Rs. 201 crores. The increase in expenses has been accounted for by increase in staff, in allowances and in conversion of the "grain shop" into cash relief. Nevertheless, the mounting expenses will handicap the progress of the railways and the authorities should realise that whatever may be the so-called valid reasons for higher expenses, the surpluses must be maintained at a progressively higher rate, other expansion and modernisation will remain just in ideals only. The ratio of net revenue to capital-at-charge declined from 5.5 per cent in 1952-53 to 4.2 per cent in 1953-54. The rising trend in expenses will neutralise to a great extent this falling return. The Planning Commission emphasised that the policy of the railways should be to keep down the working expenses to the lowest level compatible with efficiency and reasonable standard of service, in order that the necessary surplus for financing the development programme becomes available.

The net railway revenue for 1954-55 has been estimated at Rs. 41.5 crores. The dividend to General Revenues will take away Rs. 35 crores, leaving a surplus of Rs. 6.57 crores which is proposed to be transferred to the development fund. The budget for 1955-56 has been drawn on the basis of the 1954 Railway Convention. Under this new Convention, the annual contribution to the depreciation fund from the railway revenues has been raised from Rs. 30 crores to Rs. 35 crores. The Railways will continue to contribute dividend at the rate of 4 per cent on the capital-at-charge. On the basis of the new Convention, it has been estimated that there will be

a shortfall of Rs. 31 crores, after meeting working expenses and providing for depreciation fund, during the next five years. This consideration greatly prompted the Railway Ministry to make certain changes in freight rates. There has been a reduction in the wagon-load-scale for foodgrains and pulses, and for fertilisers there has been some increase in the freight rates for the first leg of 300 miles. While long-distance passengers have been assured of a relief, the passengers for short-distance shall have to pay fares at slightly higher rates. This will entail a further strain on the vast body of middle class passengers.

The estimates of receipts for 1955-56 amounts to Rs. 292.5 crores and ordinary working expenses at Rs. 207 crores. Miscellaneous transactions and the dividend to General Revenues have been estimated at Rs. 36 crores and appropriation to depreciation reserve fund is estimated at Rs. 35 crores. The net surplus of Rs. 7.14 crores is proposed to be credited to revenue reserve fund. The increase in freight rates for the 300-mile leg will no doubt have adverse effect on the industries which generally get their supplies of raw materials from nearby areas. They will, however, be benefited by the reduction in the rates for the transport of their finished products over a long-distance. The surcharge on "small" of 12½ per cent is being viewed as a purely economic measure, because their transport takes disproportionate wagon space and involve unduly a large number of handlings and of claims. The opposition maintains that this measure will throw a burden on small traders. The problem of freight rates has been outstanding for several decades and it is indeed a step in the right direction to note that the Railway Minister is considering the advisability of appointing a committee to go into it. It is hoped that the proposed Committee will go into the problems of freight rate in all its varied aspects and will settle the problem. Such a solution calls for a reconciliation between the Railways' demand for larger finances to meet their expansion programmes and the demand of trade and commerce for efficient transport facilities at a low cost.

While the other aspects of the Five-Year Plan suffers from ambitious planning, the railways suffer from under-planning. The target laid down in the Five-Year Plan for the railways is obviously modest. The extension programme is too insignificant to rouse much enthusiasm. It may be stated here that the British Railways, whose mileage is much lower than that of the Indian Railways, has launched an expansion programme at an estimated cost of £1,200 million. A network of railway system is urgently necessary for this country to make our villages developed and enlightened, to ensure equitable distribution of raw materials and foodgrains and to foster village industries. Of course, the shortage of rolling stock is holding back the rate of expansion and modernisation. A good portion of the rolling stock, for which orders have been placed, would be delivered only in 1956-57 or late in 1955-56 and would therefore be available

for use only in the first year of the second Five-Year Plan.

The two main complaints against the railways are "bottlenecks" and overcrowding and although the Five-Year Plan is nearing completion, these complaints still persist. The plan for the railways was formulated not to meet the ever-growing traffic, but to handle more efficiently passenger and goods traffic at around present levels. This present budget does not in any way offer any solutions.

### *U.S. Foreign Trade Programme*

Since the end of the second world war, the US foreign economic policy, particularly in relation to trade, has been subjected to severe criticisms from the countries of the world. The main grievance against her is that she has been pursuing a restricted trade policy and with the aid of high tariff walls, she is keeping the import trade at a low level. The result is almost a one way trade—her exports far surpassing her imports. It is therefore gratifying to note that President Eisenhower has realised the truth of the allegations against the USA in this respect and suggested to the US Congress, in a recent special message, for the liberalisation of foreign trade. World economic strength is being envisaged as the possible outcome of the US trade liberalisation. Advocating the promotion of a high level of international trade, President Eisenhower emphasised that the world alliance "will be most firmly cemented when its association is based on flourishing the mutual trade as well as common ideals, interests and aspirations. While stressing the need for a moderate, gradual and reciprocal trade programme, he was, however, cautious in pointing out that a radical or sudden tariff cut would not be in the interest of the US." The following are his main proposals:

#### 1. The USA should—

- (a) Extend the Reciprocal Trade Agreement Act for three years and authorise the President to negotiate tariff reduction of 5 per cent each year;
- (b) authorise for the reduction of all tariff rates to 50 per cent and grant power to make cuts of 50 per cent in rates effective from January 1, 1955, on all articles which are not now being imported or which are being imported only in negligible quantities;
- (c) revise customs calculation procedures;
- (d) approve US participation in the International Finance Corporation.

2. President Eisenhower reiterated his pledge of last March to submit the organised features of the revised General Agreement on Tariff and Trade to Congress for its approval and observed that the revision was being undertaken for the purpose of making the agreement, "a simpler and more effective instrument for the development of a sound system of world trade."

3. The United States should take account of the effect of any agricultural programme on US foreign economic relations to assure that it contributed to the development of healthy expanding foreign market over the years.

4. The flow of US capital abroad should also be encouraged.

5. A tax incentive should be provided by taxing business income from subsidiaries or branches at a corporate rate of 14 per cent lower than the 52 per cent rate on domestic income. Additional tax incentives through tax treaties were also advocated.

### *Cachar*

The question has often been asked, 'why linguistic provinces?' We give an answer with an example.

Cachar, a Bengali district of Assam, has been placed in a peculiar position after Partition. Four thanas of Sylhet have been added to it, but the addition of population through refugee influx has been much more than proportionate. This district has become a victim of the policy of Assamisation, now vigorously pursued by the present Ministry in that State.

The name of Assam for that State has been a misnomer. The proportion of Assamese people there is only about a third. Through their policy of Assamisation, the Ministry has alienated the support of the Bengalis and the tribal people. Assam has now become a hot-bed of discontent. According to the new policy, the non-Assamese people must either be completely Assamesed or they must lose their citizenship rights. A Division Bench of the Supreme Court consisting of Mr. Justice Mahajan, Mr. Justice Vivian Bose and Mr. Justice Jagannath Das (in Civil Appeal No. 176 of 1952, AIR June 1953 SC 309) pronounced severe strictures against the Government of Assam. In delivering judgment, Bose J. remarked:

"This is a curious case in which the State Government of Assam, having granted the first respondent a lease, later cancelled its grant and re-granted it to another party and now contends that it is not bound by the laws and regulations which ordinarily govern such transactions . . . According to all notions of contract current in civilised countries, that would have constituted a binding engagement from which one of the parties to it could not recede at will . . . But the State Government did not feel itself hampered by any such old-fashioned notions regarding the sanctity of engagement . . . In spite of the efforts of the Government to appear as a bold brave despot which knows no law but its own, we are constrained to dismiss the appeal with costs payable to the first respondent."

The lease had first been granted to a non-Assamese, then it was cancelled and re-granted to "bonafide Assamese fishermen."

Government grants are withheld from primary schools unless Assamese is made the medium of instruction. Discrimination in the matter of service, scholarships, etc., are now the general rule. Money granted for the development of Assam under the Five-Year Plan is being spent in the five Assam districts to the exclusion of the Bengali and Tribal areas. The attitude of the Government towards the refugees is very apathetic, to say the least. The Government of India have failed to stop the activities of these miniature Mahans in Assam. The States Reorganisation Commission should take serious view of the case.

### *Storm Clouds in the Far-East*

The tension in world affairs has been at a peak for some time now over the question of the islands under control of the Chiang Kai-shek regime of Chinese Nationalists. The International Edition of *The New York Times* for February 20, carries an excellent summary of the situation up to that date together with a short description of the isles of contention. We give below the relevant extracts:

"When the Chinese Nationalists were driven off the mainland in 1949, they retained islands off the coast that fell into two distinct categories. In one category were Formosa and the Pescadores. These islands were ceded by China to Japan in 1895 at the end of the Sino-Japanese war. At Cairo in 1943, Roosevelt, Churchill and Chiang Kai-shek declared it their 'purpose' to restore Formosa and the Pescadores to China at the end of the war. But when the Japanese peace treaty was signed, the allies could not agree on whether the Peiping Government or the Nationalists should get Formosa and the Pescadores. Accordingly the territories never have been formally restored to any Chinese Government.

The other category of islands retained by the Nationalists in 1949 was a series of inshore isles—among them Quemoy and Matsu which legally had always been Chinese territory. United States policy toward these inshore islands has gone through three phases:

*Phase One* began two years ago, after the Eisenhower Administration announced a policy generally described as "unleashing" Chiang Kai-shek, i.e., withdrawing the orders to the Seventh Fleet to prevent Nationalist attacks on the mainland. At that time, the Nationalist Government sought a pledge of military support from Washington if the Communists counter-attacked against the inshore islands. The Administration replied that it could give no firm assurance.

*Phase Two* began last September when the Communists, free of their military involvement in Korea and Indochina, stepped up their military activity in the Formosa Straits. President Eisenhower, overruling a recommendation by Secretary of State John Foster Dulles and three of the four Joint Chiefs of Staff, decided that the United States would not fight to defend the coastal islands.

*Phase Three* opened last month with the Administration's dual move for a Congressional resolution—passed almost unanimously—of United States determination to fight for Formosa and "such related positions and territories" as the President deemed essential to its defense; and for a U. N. cease-fire in the Formosa Straits. Implicit in the moves, it was widely believed, was a "two Chinas" policy—acceptance of the permanent separation of the mainland from Formosa and the Pescadores. Accordingly, the Administration was believed willing to yield the coastal islands in exchange for a Communist renunciation of force against Formosa.

Then comes the question, Peace or War, what are the odds? The odds are given as follows with a concise summing up of the attitude of members of the opposing camp:

"The answer to whether the Quemoy and Matsu conflict would erupt into an armed clash appeared to be in the tactics and stakes of the three parties involved—the Communists, the United States and the Allies. This was how they appeared to shape up last week:

*Communists.* The Communists have strong reasons for wanting to capture Quemoy and Matsu. The existence of two Nationalist-held islands right on China's doorstep is a profound irritant to the Peiping regime. They are a demonstration to the world of Chinese Communist weakness and they make the threat to invade Formosa 100 mile away, seem hollow.

But there are also considerations to give Peiping pause before attacking Quemoy and Matsu. The Communists made two attempts, in 1949 and 1950, to capture Quemoy and failed. Their forces are far stronger now, particularly in the air. On the other hand, they now have to reckon with not only Nationalist opposition but U.S. armed strength as well.

The picture would be different, of course, if Soviet planes and possibly Soviet submarines were sent into the Formosa Straits. Moscow has a mutual defense alliance with Peiping and last week both capitals were talking as if concerted military action by them was a foregone conclusion. In Peiping, Mao Tse-tung, head of the Chinese Government, said:

"We can all perceive that with the great co-operation between China and the Soviet Union there are no aggressive plans of imperialism that cannot be smashed."

In Moscow, the Soviet Union's new Premier, Marshal Nikolai Bulganin, said:

"China knows that it can look to us not only for sympathy but also for help. That help will be forthcoming when needed."

Despite such pronouncements, there is reason to believe the Kremlin, while it might want to see tension maintained in the Far East since it diverts U.S. attention and strength from Europe, would not actually like to see its Chinese ally involved in another "limited war" with the United States. The Korean war was a heavy drain on Soviet military supplies. With Moscow apparently troubled about its heavy industry production,

a new drain could hardly be welcome. Moreover, the limited war might become an unlimited one. There is no indication that Moscow wants that.

**United States.** There are both political and military elements in the United States' stake in Quemoy and Matsu. On the political side is the Administration's belief that withdrawal from the islands after the Communists have defiantly rejected overtures for negotiations would be interpreted as a sign of weakness throughout Asia. In addition, voluntary withdrawal from the islands would eliminate Washington's main bargaining leverage for obtaining a cease-fire.

On the military side, there is the fact that Quemoy and Matsu are indisputably key positions if the Communists actually are planning an attack on Formosa. Thus the import of Mr. Dulles' statement clearly was that unless and until the Communists renounced any intention to use force against Formosa, the United States would regard an attack on Quemoy or Matsu as a preliminary to an assault on Formosa, and respond accordingly.

**Allies.**—Britain and most of the other allies have gone along with Washington's decision to defend Formosa and the Pescadores. But they feel the Administration has no legal case for defense of the coastal islands and is asking for trouble in insisting on holding on to them. They want the United States to create a de facto cease-fire in the Formosa Straits by forcing Chiang to withdraw from the coastal islands and put 100 miles of blue water between himself and the Communists. *The Times* of London, in an editorial last week widely believed to reflect the Government's view, called Washington's opposition to withdrawal from the coastal islands "most regrettable." The strong implication was that if the United States does fight to defend Quemoy and Matsu, it will fight alone.

### *The Bangkok Conference*

The same issue of the *New York Times*, International Edition, forecasts the probable track of discussion at the S.E.A.D.O. Conference at Bangkok. It gives a clear picture of the British attitude regarding the crisis:

London, February 19.—Sir Anthony Eden will press British proposals for Nationalist China's withdrawal from Quemoy and Matsu when he meets Secretary of State Dulles next week.

Before his departure today for Bangkok the Foreign Secretary said only that there would be opportunities to discuss Formosa and the offshore islands at the meeting of the Manila treaty powers in Thailand's capital.

Clement R. Attlee, former Prime Minister and leader of the Labor party, declared today, "We want to work with our American friends but that does not say we must."

Although there is nothing to substantiate it, the Laborite charge that the Government is accepting the "dangerous" United States policy in the Far East gets a wide hearing.

Mr. Attlee's assertion in a speech at Newcastle that "the more you attack the Chinese, the more they will look to their only friends, Russia," carries conviction in a country that has always hoped for the separation of the two Communist colossi.

Sir Anthony Eden's programme is outlined thus:

Although the Formosa situation is uppermost in Sir Anthony's mind at the moment, the task of stabilizing the vital area of Southeast Asia and thus improving 'prospects for peace in the world' is also given maximum importance.

The Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty is "purely defensive and threatens nobody," Sir Anthony said in answer to complaints by Asian critics.

At Bangkok and during his stops at Karachi en route, and at New Delhi and Rangoon on the return journey, Sir Anthony hopes to convince some of the Asian Governments of the treaty organization's peaceful intent.

The British Government has been disturbed by the success of Communist propaganda in picturing the treaty as a disguised return of Western imperialism. The Foreign Secretary hopes to demonstrate to the Indian, Pakistani and Burmese Governments that the development of the treaty should be fundamentally Asian and that collective defense is its only object.

The British view is that there are three principal topics to be discussed at Bangkok. These are:

1. The establishment of a permanent organization of treaty powers to supplement the work of the council, as mentioned in the treaty. The council is to meet "from time to time" but the British think a small secretariat is necessary to co-ordinate and direct policy on the spot.

2. Planning of action by the treaty signatories against internal subversion in Southeast Asia. Such action was agreed on in Article 2 of the pact but specific plans are lacking. To the British, who believe that political infiltration more than military aggression is the danger from Communist China in Southeast Asia, this planning appears vital.

3. The examination of the economic implications of the treaty.

Diplomatic sources emphasize that although Britain disagrees with the United States on the disposition of the Quemoy and Matsu Island groups, the Government understands the importance of retaining Formosa in relation to the general situation in the Far East.

*The Economist* commented in this week's issue that if Formosa fell to Communist China by war or internal decay "the chances of maintaining even the present degree of mental steadfastness against the Communist propaganda onslaught on Southeast Asia would be sharply reduced."

But in another comment this weekly, usually a supporter of United States policy, emphasized that "public opinion outside the United States could not be expected to support American military action in the

coastal islands" and that "the chances of lowering tension will never be very good until the Straits of Formosa lie between the two opposing sides."

### *The H-Bomb, After-effects*

The realisation of the consequences of the H-Bomb blasts, is slowly penetrating into the brains of the H-Bomb enthusiasts. The true nature of this fiendish weapon is very partially revealed in the report of the Atomic Energy Commission from which the *New York Times* gives a summary. We append an extract:

In the case of the Bikini Bomb, the A. E. C. reported that an area down-wind from the explosion scene about 140 miles long by twenty miles wide was so contaminated by the local fall-out of radioactive particles of sand, dust and coral that unless persons in this area had taken protective measures no one in it could have survived. The area of lesser contamination—where death or injury would have occurred to some though not all—extended over an area about as big as the state of New Jersey—an area forty miles wide by 220 miles, long. Put in the simplest fashion, this means that if a megaton (million-ton) hydrogen bomb were detonated perhaps 3,000 feet above Grand Central Station, the entire area of Long Island down-wind from the explosion scene would be contaminated with radioactivity which would be initially lethal, but which would "decay," or lose its potency, rapidly.

Obviously, this phenomenon requires a new approach to civil defense, and a revised concept of continental defense. The only protection against the heat and blast of the hydrogen bomb is dispersion; i.e., evacuation of our cities. But since the enemy could drop a hydrogen bomb nearly anywhere upwind and impregnate a wide area with radioactivity, the necessity for peripheral shelters around our cities becomes apparent. Shelter-frame houses on brick and above all cement and earth—reduces the danger from local fall-out materially. If a man could remain in a tornado storm shelter or behind concrete for a couple of days until the violence of the radioactivity had subsided, he could survive even in the most contaminated part of the fall.

### *Mendes-France and Tunis*

After the defeat of French Premier Mendes-France by the reactionaries, the question of peace in the French colonial possessions in North Africa has become very involved indeed. It seems that there are still considerable numbers of Frenchmen who hope for the prolongation of the mediaeval and oppressive methods of colonial rule, of which France is one of the worst exponents. The following summary is taken from the *New York Times*, International Edition, issue of February 6:

Paris, Feb. 5.—Tunisian nationalists saw today in the defeat of Premier Pierre Mendes-France the probable end of an effort to establish peace in North Africa.

Members of the Opposition that voted M. Mendes-France out of office and the permanent officials in Tunis gave assurances that promises he had made of internal autonomy were commitments that no future French Government could renounce. Tunisian Nationalists thought little of these assurances.

Rather they shared M. Mendes-France's own judgment, delivered to the Assembly before it voted early this morning, that by rejecting his policy of conciliation and reform it had adopted the only alternative: that of repression and force.

The Tunisians repeated today what they had always said—that M. Mendes-France was the last chance by which the French presence in North Africa could be assured on the basis of its free and amicable acceptance by the native populations.

Both the Premier and the Tunisians are known to have regretted they could not reach agreement before he was defeated. According to the nationalists, the Premier, with all his goodwill and desire to end the talks successfully, had been obliged by pressure from the hostile Assembly to harden his attitude in the course of the negotiations and make demands the Tunisians felt they could not accept.

A major point of disagreement concerned the extent to which the French would conserve police and administrative powers. The French sought, according to the Tunisians, to keep control over the southern territories south of Gafsa, amounting to about a third of the country. They contended this was strategically important for the protection of Algeria and French Equatorial Africa.

The French also desired full control of security around Ferryville and Bizerte, their two major military bases in the north. The Tunisians said they could not accept this division of the country at a time when they sought its unity and its centralization.

#### STERNER ATTITUDE HINTED

The Tunisians asserted they had made concessions to M. Mendes-France, notably in their demands for an armed force and diplomatic representation, because they had confidence in him and were eager to get an accord while he was still in power. Lacking the same confidence in the goodwill of those who defeated him and will presumably succeed him, they indicated they might withdraw these concessions and be much more demanding.

"If we can get agreement with the new Government, so much the better," they said. "If we cannot, so much the better also." They explained that in the latter case the situation would become clear for the entire world and the struggle to realize nationalist aspiration—which go as far as independence—could be resumed on a basis of force with greater justification than ever.

It was said that the armed nationalist bands, called Fellaga, who had agreed to lay down their arms pending the outcome of the talks in Paris would probably be tempted to return to their mountain redoubts. The possibility that if the talks are stalemated efforts once again

will be made to present a case against France to the United Nations was also broached.

#### SOME EXULTANT IN TUNIS

Tunis, Tunisia, Feb. 5.—The champions of undiminished French authority here exulted today when they heard the news of M. Mendes-France's defeat. They had been waiting for this and thought they had won a great victory.

They professed to believe in a liberal policy toward the Arabs, but seemed to feel that M. Mendes-France had gone too far.

*Tunisie-France*, the organ of the so-called preponderants, was confident this morning that the negotiations looking toward Tunisian home rule would now be placed on a "new basis."

But many Frenchmen here reacted with shock and dismay. Some wondered whether the European and Arab populations could still go it together in North Africa.

"This is the greatest blunder France has ever made in her relations with the Moslems," one Frenchman commented. But it was generally conceded that the new French Government could not renege on the promise of Tunisian home rule.

This view was reflected in the newspaper *Tunis-Soir*, which ran an editorial today stating the new Government would have no choice but to pursue the policy of M. Mendes-France.

The moderate nationalists who had placed their faith in M. Mendes-France did not hide their sorrow. But they also affected a brave front, alluding to a possible recourse to arms if all else failed.

### *Backward Regions of the West*

It seems that there are areas in the new world where the conditions prevailing are almost as bad as in Asia. We give the following report from the *Worldover Press* which is interesting in view of what is being done in India to combat similar problems:

#### A LABORATORY OF BETTER LIVING

Adobe houses with the letters "D.D.T." painted on their side walls by insect control brigades, school children drinking milk from tin cups or gourds, experimental plots of sesame, castor beans, or some new variety of corn, coffee or sugar cane, trenches being readied for new water pipes or sewage disposal conduits, and bulldozers scooping up the earth for new and enlarged airports—these are some of the signs of change taking place today in Central America.

The old picture of that region as an isthmus of frequent revolutions needs to be discarded or retouched. Upheavals there are at times, but even more radical changes are being made in the ways of life for the ten million humans in Costa Rica, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, and El Salvador. These five underdeveloped countries are undergoing a non-violent revolution which is far more significant than any of the violent revolts of the past or of recent days.

"Transport is vital where the backs of human beings

or tiny two-wheeled carts drawn by oxen have served for centuries as the chief way of getting goods to market. In this part of the world a good highway or airport is of prime importance in raising the standards of living for the men and women whose average per capita income ranges from an annual \$60 in Honduras to \$146 in Costa Rica, compared to \$1,425 per person in the U.S.A.

In most of this planning the United States has played an important role, as also in construction, through technical help and through substantial sums of money for equipment and materials. But the interested countries themselves match the gifts from the U.S.A. and sometimes exceed them.

To anyone who cares about the lives of human beings, health conditions in large parts of Central America are shocking. For example, the average life expectancy in El Salvador is currently around 30 years—and the figures are similar for most of Central America.

But there is another side to the story, too. The Food and Agriculture Organization of the U.N., the World Health Organization and its Latin American branch—the Pan American Sanitary Bureau—the United Nations Children's Fund, the Technical Assistance program of the U.N., and other groups, are vitally concerned. And for those who are skeptical about local governments pulling their own oars, the fact should be underlined with heavy pencil lines that they are. El Salvador for example increased its public health appropriations from 200,000 *colones* in 1940 to 3,300,000 *colones* in 1953. Few if any governments in the world could show comparable support for better conditions. Nicaragua allotted \$128,160 in 1953-54 for child feeding programs, a sum which represents more than the entire budget of the Health Ministry five years ago.

The work of UNICEF in child feeding has been outstanding. At the height of its program, in 1952, it was feeding dried milk to 300,000 boys and girls, largely through the schools. That was a feat in itself. More important in the long run, however, is the effect UNICEF has had in stimulating national governments and private groups to carry on such work by themselves.

In Honduras 60 water systems have been built in the last 11 years with the help of the Point Four program and its predecessors. The extent of the campaign against malaria, one of the worst scourges, may be gained from the figures of June, 1953, in Honduras, where 4,000 homes were sprayed with D.D.T.

#### GAINS IN FOOD AND FARMING

Central America is of course the center of banana and coffee plantations, and large sections of the population are dependent for their cash income on one crop. Thus one major task is to diversify agriculture. Another is to halt erosion and promote soil conservation. A third is to find more protein products to supplement the heavy diet of corn and beans. A fourth is to improve the domestic animals.

Power for homes and factories is one of the many needs in modern nations, but unfortunately Central

America lacks coal, oil, and gas. However, it does have a few rivers which are suitable for producing electricity. The most important single project recently has been the task of harnessing the Lempa River in El Salvador, the largest river in the isthmus.

#### BETTER EDUCATION IS FUNDAMENTAL

Illiteracy is still very high in this part of the world. Recent figures are difficult to obtain and often unreliable, but the estimates indicate only 30 to 35 per cent literacy in most of these countries, with about 20 per cent in Guatemala and 75 to 80 per cent in Costa Rica. No major campaigns against illiteracy are under way which compare with the ones in Mexico or Turkey a few years ago, but slow progress can be reported.

### *Our Himalayan Barrier*

The following communique, sent by the famous American journalist, C. L. Sulzberger, and titled "East West Struggle in the Himalayas" published in February 21st issue of the *New York Times*, will be of interest to all Indians who are interested in defending India's territorial integrity:

"Bangkok, Thailand, February 20—When the SEATO Foreign Ministers confer here this week one area they will almost certainly not discuss is Tibet. Yet it is from that quarter China ultimately hopes to outflank South-east Asia if it is unable to gain this strategic area by direct assault. Already a skilful, patient process of infiltration has been started.

After the Chinese occupied Tibet four years ago they installed a remarkably mild and affable administration. Ever since they have been seeking to develop this into a political showcase for the Himalaya region. The hope is that the dynasties and governing forces of the feudal states south of the mountain barrier—Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim—will decide to abandon India's protection and throw in their lot with Peiping. And if China is ever able to subvert its way across the impassable Himalayas the road across the flat Bengal plain to Calcutta will be open. The existence of both India and Southeast Asia would be menaced.

China has less than 30,000 troops in Tibet, and these are used mainly as labor forces to build roads—the first in the country's history. Two highways are being constructed into Sinkiang and Sikang and another toward India. The Chinese have pulled their military headquarters forty miles out of Lhasa, the capital. They have left the administration in the hands of the *Kashag*, or Tibetan Cabinet. The Dalai Lama is still recognized as the supreme temporal and ecclesiastical power.

#### RELIGIOUS LEADERS HELP RULE

In fact, the Chinese are now using the Dalai Lama, who is in Peiping and has made several declarations favorable to the Communist regime. As a reserve for emergency they are also entertaining the Panchen Lama in Peiping. In theory a triumvirate of the Dalai Lama, the Panchen Lama and a Chinese general instruct the

*Kashag*. Actually, Mao Tse-tung's personal representative, Chang Ching Wu, remains in Lhasa with a political commissar, General Than.

By mild and polite government the Chinese have made themselves surprisingly popular. Their troops have behaved in exemplary fashion. The fame of their road-building program—which has now brought truck convoys to Lhasa—has spread beyond Tibet. They have constructed new schools in Lhasa. Chinese has not been made a compulsory language. Ruined monasteries have been rebuilt and others are being subsidized. Even guerrilla resistance in East Tibet was only gently squashed and its leader generously treated.

China is using Tibet as a forward base for political penetration, not military threats. Tibet is too remote and its terrain too difficult to be made into a spring-board for armed aggression. There is not yet even an airfield in inner Tibet. But word has been disseminated throughout the Himalayas about the friendly and helpful Chinese Administration. With political ferment sweeping across all Asia, some of the states hitherto dependent upon India are thinking of shifting their allegiance. The ruling families of Bhutan and Sikkim reflect increased sympathy for China. And in Nepal, home of the fighting Gurkhas and Mount Everest, unrest is in the air.

After India became independent Nehru promoted a putsch in Nepal ousting the tyrannical hereditary Prime Minister. Since then instability has prevailed; reform has been inadequate and discontent is growing. A rebellion is rumored to be shaping up under a Chinese puppet named K. I. Singh, who is now said to be in Tibet.

#### GATEWAY TO INDIA

All China needs to accomplish the disruption of India and the outflanking of SEATO is to establish hegemony over one of the little protected states south of the Himalayas—Nepal, Bhutan or Sikkim. Once that is done India becomes indefensible. And New Delhi is losing popularity as Chinese influence subtly gains. Already the Nepalese accept Nehru's aid with much the same begrudging reluctance he takes ours, saying "Remember, no strings attached."

From the Himalayan states southward to Calcutta is less than 300 miles extending over flat, politically confused Bengal. Bengal, notorious for its uneasy political atmosphere, was disrupted by partition between India and East Pakistan. Religious hatreds and political ferment there have been encouraged by the Communists from Calcutta—main outlet for Chinese propaganda in India. To keep the atmosphere ripe for subversion the Communists are endorsing independence for everyone in the Chinese frontier area from the Naga head-hunters of Assam to a free "Gurkhanistan" to include Nepal, Bhutan, Sikkim and the Darjeeling district of India.

Trouble is plainly shapping up not only for India but along the western border of the fledgling SEATO coalition. East Pakistan, part of the alliance, is directly threatened. But while the eventual danger is evident,

there is still time to check it. Dry rot south of Tibet has not yet advanced irreparably far. The trouble is that, important as the question is to SEATO, this alliance can do little about it. The problem is India's. And relations between India and SEATO are poor."

We hope Indian political leaders would carefully study the above article and investigate about the real situation regarding India's territorial insecurity.

India must develop military power to defend her borders. Even though we desire peace and amity with all nations, we must realise that outlooks change very quickly in totalitarian States, with the change of the leaders and that as yet the world is far from being safe for the weak and the peace-loving peoples. Neither slogans nor shibboleths would help if we are caught unawares.

### *U.S. Aid to Pakistan*

The communique reproduced below is also from the Foreign Affairs column of the *New York Times* from its February 5 issue. It is likewise from the able pen of C. L. Selzberger. It clarifies many issues and many false ideas. The real value of the Pakistan rupee and the reason for the aid are all clearly discussed, as are the hopes of U.S. diplomats:

Karachi, Pakistan, February, 4—This year the United States is investing \$105,000,000 in economic assistance to Pakistan. Agreements committing this considerable sum, in addition to military aid already pledged, were signed last month. At the official rupee rate this represents more than a seventh of total Pakistani expenditures budgeted for 1955. But since the rupee is overvalued, the true worth of American aid exceeds a quarter of all national receipts.

The immediate reason for this proportionately huge assistance program is to keep this leaky ship of state afloat. When the Korean fighting ceased Pakistan's false prosperity ended. Its two-crop economy collapsed as cotton and jute prices sank. Simultaneously Finance Minister Chaudry Mohammed Ali, one of the few really able leaders, fell ill. The foreign exchange position deteriorated. The nation depends on imports for consumer goods and prices rose dizzily. Pakistan asked us for help.

This aid is about to start. The promised dollars have not yet entered the pipeline, but the mere pledge has stiffened morale. Black market trends are reversing. However, there is no excessive optimism in American quarters. Some wheat previously sent here rotted because of bad storage and transportation facilities. Tractors were allowed to rust in idleness. The number of truly efficient men is limited and there is much corruption. Yet Washington is determined to salvage this vessel and thinks it can do so. The ultimate question is whether it can be made seaworthy.

#### A GEOGRAPHICAL ABSURDITY

The United States is committed under the Eisen-

hower Administration to pursuing a foreign policy of enlightened self-interest. Therefore one must seek in this curious country particular reasons for our concern. Karachi, a great jerry-built town, seems far removed from us with its innumerable crows, its yellow-checked chattering myna birds, its hideous kites wheeling in search of Parsee burial towers, its rubber-tired carts drawn by padding camels with belled legs, its karakul caps recalling the Mogul conquerors.

On the map Pakistan is an absurdity. Much more than half the population lives in East Bengal—one thousand miles across the Indian subcontinent from Karachi. East Pakistan is a green delta land of highly unmilitary people, mon-soons, jute plantations and burlap mills, where the diet is fish and rice and the language is Bengali. Its inhabitants are descendants of low-caste Hindus converted to Islam. Geographically and climatically it belongs to Southeast Asia. West Pakistan is a land of camels, *mullahs*, veiled women and a proud fighting tradition. Its climate is hot and dusty. Its people grow cotton and wheat. They are meat-eaters and speak Urdu. They belong to that great stretch of Western Asia known as the Middle East. America's particular interest derives largely from the fact that this weird geography gives Pakistan a special significance in political strategy. In both Middle Eastern and Southeast Asian planning Pakistan is being used for its symbolical value by Washington's policy-makers to give appearances of strength to coalitions we are promoting.

There is still more shadow than substance in Pakistan's contribution to regional security. This country remains shaky economically, politically and socially. Its constitutional processes have been temporarily suspended. Its middle class disappeared with the Hindus after partition. Eighty-six per cent of the population is illiterate. There is a battle yet to be fought between the modern intelligentsia running the nation and the fanatical, religious *mullahs*. The Pakistani Army would be of limited use in Middle Eastern or South-east Asian operations. It is best employed *sur place* to maintain order, backstop Afghanistan and balance uneasy India.

#### A THREEFOLD VALUE

But Pakistan has a threefold diplomatic value. In the Middle East we hope its prestige as the world's largest Islamic Power will help Turkey break the Arab League logjam and induce other countries to join a defense organization extending from India to Greece.

Secondly, Pakistan blocks potential Soviet expansion southward through Afghanistan. The Afghan Premier, Sardar Mohammed Daud Khan, has signed a series of agreements with the U.S.S.R. granting great privileges. Russians are building petroleum pipelines and storage tanks, silos, roads.

The United States clearly wants to bulwark Pakistan both to play a Middle Eastern role and to counteract Soviet pressure. Finally, it hopes to use this country to strengthen Southeast Asian defense. East Pakistan

already is threatened by armed Communist bands in the Indian state of Tripura and the Garo Hills of Indian Assam. The so-called Free Thai movement created by Peiping now extends from Indo-China to East Pakistan's frontier. The United States would like to reverse the Communist trend creeping over Southeast Asia. Pakistan's geography and prestige might help accomplish this.

Thus, in a curious way, Pakistan plays a geopolitical role right across Asia. Potentially it can be of immense assistance in bolstering up rickety areas. But to do so it must itself be bolstered first. That is the purpose of United States aid.

### *Commonwealth Premiers' Conference*

Representatives from nine Commonwealth countries representing a quarter of the world's population met in a conference in London from January 31 to February 8. The Governments of India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Australia, New Zealand, Britain, Canada and the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland were represented by their respective Prime Ministers while the Government of the Union of South Africa was represented by its Deputy Prime Minister.

The holding of such a conference in itself was an event of great international importance. It was further increased by the fact that the talks preceded two important international conferences—the SEATO meeting in Bangkok in the fourth week of February and the first Afro-Asian Conference in Bandung (Indonesia) about the middle or end of April. The talks reflected the shadow of the danger of major hostilities flaring up in the Far East over the Chinese Nationalist and the People's Governments clash over Formosa.

A communique was issued on February 8 summarising the decisions and discussions of the conference. It said that the members of the Commonwealth, resolved to their utmost to ease international strain, aimed not only at preventing an outbreak of hostilities but also at promoting "conditions in which real peace can grow and thrive so that freedom and plenty may be enjoyed by all peoples."

The Premiers had noted the improvements in the international situation since the time of their last meeting in 1953. The Trieste dispute had been solved. The differences between the Government of the United Kingdom with those of Egypt and Iran had been resolved. They expressed satisfaction at the end of hostilities in Indo-China and "stressed the need for strict adherence to the conditions of the Geneva Agreement and for increase of welfare and stability" in South-East Asia.

"The Prime Ministers were informed that the Commonwealth countries associated with the North Atlantic Treaty were convinced that the early ratification of the agreement reached in London and Paris and the acceptance of Federal Germany into the

community of the Western nations would mark an important advance towards the security and cohesion of Europe."

Referring to the impending crisis in the Far East over the question of Formosa, which had received special importance in the discussions, the communique spoke of the Premiers' unity of conviction of the necessity of avoiding incidents while efforts were made for a peaceful solution. The discussions the Premiers had had over this question, it was stated in the communique, "would be a valuable foundation for future consultations with one another and with other countries directly concerned and for the development of their policies on this question."

Having reviewed the improved outlook for world trade and prosperity which had taken place since the Commonwealth Finance Ministers' Conference in Sydney in January, 1954, the Premiers "recognized that the Commonwealth countries had made a substantial contribution to this by maintaining the stability of their currencies, by continuing their development programmes in which the Colombo Plan had played its part, and by expanding their production."

The Commonwealth Governments had made progressive efforts to facilitate trade and exchange between Canada and the sterling area and the Prime Ministers "affirmed their determination to continue these policies of economic progress."

The Prime Ministers had given "anxious thought to the problems of nuclear energy," which had confronted humanity with a force beyond human comprehension and measurement. Declaring their determination never to embark upon aggression they had emphasised the imperative need of preventing war on the face of the annihilating power of the new weapons.

The Commonwealth countries would "work for a disarmament which includes forces and weapons of all kinds and is both comprehensive and effective." Peaceful uses of atomic energy would become feasible with such international accord on disarmament, said the Premiers.

The Prime Ministers had been informed of the progress made in the U.K. in the matter of the use of atomic energy for industrial and other peaceful purposes; and they looked forward to continue close co-operation in this respect between the U.K. and the other Commonwealth countries.

The Prime Minister of Pakistan, Mr. Mohammed Ali, had informed the other Ministers of Pakistan's resolve to become a Republic and of her desire to continue membership of the Commonwealth.

The Premiers in a declaration on February 4 had signified their agreement to Republican Pakistan continuing as a full member of the Commonwealth on the basis of the latter's recognition of the Crown as a symbol of its sovereign members.

The communique referred to the peculiar character of the association of the Commonwealth countries and pointed to the common outlook of the members, in spite of differences of geography, religion and race.

"The Commonwealth countries do not pursue any selfish purpose. They seek no aggrandizements, and will always oppose aggression. In concert with all who share their ideals, they are resolved to do their utmost to further the cause of peace throughout the world," the communique concluded.

Notwithstanding the views expressed in the communique there was apparently some divergence in the views of Pandit Nehru on one side and the other Premiers in the assessment of the effect of atomic warfare on international affairs.

Sir Winston Churchill, with whom most of the other Premiers were in agreement had expressed the view that the U.S.A.'s great start in atomic weapons development and her technical and material superiority had still held the balance of power. The Soviet Union could, however, soon catch up with America and only in that circumstance might lasting agreements between the two world blocs be possible.

The Premiers (except Sir John of Ceylon) has viewed that world war could be prevented only if the Western Powers maintained in readiness forces sufficiently strong to deter aggression and that the superiority of the Western Powers in nuclear weapons had so far offered the greatest deterrent to potential aggression.

The Indian Prime Minister, Sri Nehru, on the other hand, had reportedly held that the hydrogen bomb had made war obsolete as an instrument of policy. He had suggested that the world statesmen should work for the complete abolition of atomic and hydrogen weapons which threatened the extinction of mankind. He had also proposed for the discontinuation of the production of hydrogen and atomic weapons and their further experiments.

Over the question of Formosa also two attitudes had been discernible among the Premiers, according to the Diplomatic correspondent of the *London Times*. Many delegates had expressed their sense of disappointment at Peking's refusal to the invitation of the Security Council. Other delegates, again with the Indians in prominence, had always had the conviction that the Government of the People's Republic of China would certainly refuse the invitation.

The Indian Prime Minister figured prominently in the London talks—and especially so in matters concerning Asia and the Far East. On the specific question of Formosa he reportedly indicated his firm conviction that a conference of interested countries outside the framework of the U.N. was more likely to succeed in ending the dangerous situation in the Formosa straits.

Stating the British attitude towards a Soviet-

British meeting for the easing of international tension, the British Prime Minister, Sir Winston Churchill, had told the conference that Britain would agree to meet Russia at the conference table only after the Paris treaties to arm West Germany had been ratified, probably in May.

In the course of the conference, the representatives of those Commonwealth countries which had special defence interests in particular areas had met together to review plans for the defence of those areas. Such special meetings were held to consider the responsibilities of the respective countries under the North Atlantic Treaty and in Europe, Asia, Africa and the Southern Pacific. The Premiers of India and Ceylon did not attend such meetings.

On the fourth day (February 3) of the meeting, the British Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Butler had presented the conference with a review of the sterling area's economic, financial and trade position. According to *Reuter*, Mr. Butler reportedly had made the following points:

(1) Now that the sterling area is pushing up its own production, more import are being allowed to flow in;

(2) Exports have recently reached record levels in volume and value;

(3) The sterling area's task is to expand its world trade. The U.S. Government is giving priority to the extension of trade agreements, as well as modifying its "Buy American" policy;

(4) More than half of Britain's trade is now with her Commonwealth partners;

(5) Britain, because of her expanding production, was now importing more commodities including coal; and

(6) A date for convertibility certainly cannot be envisaged, but there had been distinct advances, assisted by improvements in American policy.

Financial quarters in London interpreted Commonwealth policy to be the postponement of free convertibility of sterling until the achievement of sound internal economic and financial policies in the Commonwealth countries, adoption of good creditor policies by America and sufficient strength of the sterling area central reserves to cushion any unfavourable world money or trade trends.

Commonwealth dissatisfaction at U.S. trade policies had found expression in a speech by Mr. Hollard, Prime Minister of New Zealand. He had said that the American cut price disposal of surplus farm produce was a real threat to New Zealand's exports of meat and dairy produce.

### *SEADO Council Deliberations*

The Council of the Eight Nation South-East Asia Defence Organisation, (SEADO), which had come into being at a meeting of the foreign Ministers of the USA, UK, Finance Australia, New Zealand, Thailand, Pakistan and the Philippines last September, which officially came

into being on February 19, with the depositing in Manila of the instruments of ratification by the eight member countries, met for three days from February 23 to Feb. 25 in Bangkok, Capital of Thailand. All the participating Governments were represented by their respective Foreign Ministers except that France, which had no Foreign Minister as a result of the Government crisis, was represented by a delegation headed by M. Bonnet, former French ambassador to the USA.

The Council meeting had been preceded by intensive discussions in Washington ranging over many weeks among representatives of the member countries. According to a decision arrived at the Washington talks, the Powers concerned initiated strong diplomatic efforts to persuade India, Burma, Indonesia and Ceylon to reconsider their earlier rejection of the membership of the SEADO. In a despatch from Washington on Feb. 12 *Reuter* stated that "Extension of treaty membership to these nations was understood to be one of the major objectives of the eight Foreign Ministers due to hold their Manila pre-business session in Bangkok in 11 days' time."

Political circles in New Delhi however discounted suggestion of any more Colombo Powers joining the SEADO, and any shift of policy of the neutral Asian nations was considered unlikely before the outcome of the ensuing Afro-Asian Conference was known. India's objection to the alliance remained as strong as ever.

It was agreed during the Washington talks that the U.S.A., Great Britain, Australia and New Zealand would post additional troops in the treaty area. Those powers were also authoritatively stated to have had agreed to fill a "defence" gap south of China, basing a medium-sized force, powerfully equipped with the latest weapons, in Malaya.

Singapore would be the central base for a combined British-Australian-New Zealand aid force with a total strength of 500 planes and the airfields there would be adapted to accommodate the latest jets. United States air units would be able to use the fields in an emergency.

The Conference in Bangkok lasted three days. The Foreign Ministers to the Conference were accompanied by top-ranking military men of their respective countries. The British Foreign Secretary was accompanied by the Chief of Imperial General Staff, Field Marshal Sir John Harding; and the American Secretary of State, Mr. John Foster Dulles; by Admiral Felix Stump, U.S. C-in-C. in the Pacific.

*Reuter* points out that the meeting of military officers from the eight nations "was the biggest military conference in the area since World War II."

During the Bangkok discussions arrangements were decided upon to help carrying out the provisions of the SEADO treaty. Accordingly, the Council of the SEADO to be composed of the Foreign Ministers of the member Governments or their designated representatives, would meet at least once a year in some place in the treaty

area. Decisions would be taken by unanimous agreement.

During the second day's meeting it was decided that the permanent Headquarters of the SEADO would be situated in Bangkok to which body each of the eight Powers would assign a Resident Ambassador.

The Headquarters would have three key groups—"a military group will prepare plans for halting possible armed aggression, an anti-subversive group will co-ordinate action against infiltration by Communist agents and an economic aid group will help fight hunger."

Each member would send one representative to each of these three groups. Besides working with their groups, those representatives would also form part of their own country's delegation. Each Government would also have its own small secretariat and there would be an international secretariat as well.

The military group, the powers agreed, would be required to visit each of the member states in South-East Asia and there make plans for local defence while studying ways of "protecting" the whole area. Just after the military programme had been agreed upon the military experts reportedly left the conference hall for a top secret discussion on how to stem armed aggression.

The Military Advisers of the SEADO powers also issued a communique at the end of the Conference. According to *Reuter*, "It said that military staff planners would meet in Manila in April to initiate plans for implementing 'certain military' aspects of the pact. It also announced that the military advisers to the Council would meet in Bangkok soon after the Manila meeting."

There was some difference among the SEADO powers over economic plans. Pakistan reportedly favoured an overall economic plan while the Western Powers did not like the idea of interrupting existing aid programmes by the creation of a new authority.

In a speech before the SEADO Foreign Ministers on February 25, the U.S. Secretary of State, Mr. John Foster Dulles, said, reports *Reuter*, "that American military strategy in the Far East was based firmly on the atom bomb as a conventional defence weapon, according to conference sources."

"Mr. Dulles was said to have made this statement in explanation of an earlier statement that American military power in the Pacific was now equal to its peak in World War II."

"He said American military planners were now thinking of the atom bomb as a conventional military weapon rather than as a 'last throw' weapon."

Mr. Dulles' statement has caused much surprise and anxiety in political circles in New Delhi. Though no official comments have been made in view of India's firm attitude against atomic and hydrogen bombs, it was considered very unfortunate that such a statement was made by Mr. Dulles.

There was some apparent Anglo-American difference over Formosa. While the U. K. opined that Matsui

and Quemoy islands should be allowed to be occupied by the mainland Chinese, Mr. Dulles is reported to have expressed strong U.S. disapproval of such a suggestion.

There was a last minute hitch over whether Communism should be named as a menace to South-East Asia. Sir Anthony Eden's objections against the use of the word in the final communique was overruled by the other members, notably by Mr. Dulles and Mr. Casey.

The communique issued at the conclusion of the meeting stressed the defensive character of the arrangements already made or proposed to be made by the SEADO Powers. It was the belief of the members that the Manila Treaty which had set up SEADO had already exerted a positive influence for the maintenance of peace in South-East Asia and South-West Pacific.

"The Council discussed specific attempts by elements directed from outside to subvert institutions and Governments in the treaty area. The Council viewed the subversive with grave concern and was determined to help the peoples of the area to resist them," the communique said.

### *Malenkov Resigns*

The announcement on February 8 of the resignation of the Soviet Prime Minister, M. Georgi Maximilianovich Malenkov, took the world by surprise. On that date at a joint meeting of the two houses of the Supreme Soviet, the Chairman of the Soviet Union, M. A. P. Vorkov, read out a letter from M. Malenkov in which the latter requested to be released from the post of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. On a motion from Deputy A. M. Puzanov the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. unanimously resolved to accept the resignation of the Prime Minister.

In his letter of resignation M. Malenkov said that his decision to resign was "based on businesslike considerations of the necessity of strengthening the leadership of the Council of Ministers and the expediency to have at the post of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. another comrade possessing greater experience in government activities." He criticized himself for his "insufficient experience in local work and in direct supervisions of separate branches of national economy in a ministry or any other economic body" which had "detrimental effect upon the fulfilment of complicated and important duties of Chairman of the Council of Ministers." In this connection he specifically mentioned his failure to follow a correct policy in regard to agriculture.

The Supreme Soviet, meeting three hours later on the same date, approved the appointment of Nikolai Alexandrovich Bulganin, until then one of the Deputy Premiers and Defence Minister, as the new Prime Minister of the U.S.S.R., on a motion from Nikita S. Khrushchev.

M. Malenkov retained his Cabinet post by a decree of the Supreme Soviet on February 9, which approved of his appointment as one of the Deputy Prime Ministers and Minister of Power Stations of the U.S.S.R., relieving Alexei Sergeyevich Pavlenko from the latter post. M. Bulganin's post at the Defence Ministry went to Marshal Georgy Konstantinovich Zhukov.

Though the actual resignation of M. Malenkov came as a complete surprise to the world the western press had for some time been reporting on possible divergence of outlook among the Soviet leaders. For example, the *News Chronicle* wrote on January 10, about a month before Malenkov's resignation. "It seems from the signs that a dark and devious struggle for power is taking place now within the Kremlin. . . ."

Referring to what the newspaper considers to be the usual communist preference for a cover for their differences, it continued: "There will be no public debates in the Soviet Union, therefore, and the man-in-the street in Moscow will not be invited to make up his mind whether he prefers the co-existence line of M. Malenkov, head of the State, or the back-to-Stalin policy of Khrushchev, head of the Party. The 200,000,000 Russians whose future hangs upon the outcome of the Kremlin battle will not be consulted at any point. The decisions will be made by a few men responsible only to one another."

Western commentators have interpreted the ministerial change, in so far as it had any bearing on internal Soviet developments, as the reassertion of the policy of developing the heavy industry in Soviet Union and associate countries over a policy of the expansion of the light consumer industries. The change has also been interpreted to mean the personal ascendancy of the Party Secretary, M. Nikita Khrushchev. Thirdly, in its repercussion on the international situation, attention has been drawn to the significant coincidence of the resignation of M. Malenkov and the announcement the following day of the Chinese (Communist) Government's decision to introduce conscription. The inclusion of two Marshals in the Cabinet has also come in for some comment. It has been stated that a new phase in the Soviets' world politics has come in. And also that the control now passes over on to the army.

It is too early to come to any conclusion, particularly as the world is left guessing as to the real causative factors of this sudden change. As yet no significant change can be perceived in the outward policies of the Soviets. But it has caused the prevailing world tension to mount further.

### *Bulganin's Speech*

The new Soviet Prime Minister, Marshal Nikolai A. Bulganin, outlined the policies his Government proposed to follow in a speech before the Supreme Soviet on February 9.

M. Bulganin pledged the Ministry's continued adherence to the general line prescribed by the Communist Party. He said that the Government would follow a policy

of all round development of heavy industry which "has always been and remains the basis of the further advance of our national economy." Next, the government proposed to carry out measures for the development of socialist agriculture and it would strive to fulfil the task of raising in the 5-6 years the annual grain yield to at least ten thousand million poods, and that of increasing the output of major livestock products twofold or even more.

"On the basis of the further development of heavy industry and the upsurge of agriculture the production of consumer goods—clothing, footwear, foodstuffs, households goods and articles serving the cultural needs of the population—will be expanded," added M. Bulganin.

Referring to foreign policy, the Soviet Premier said that his Government would "continue to pursue consistently the policy—which has justified itself and been tested in practice—of strengthening peace and general security, the policy of friendly relations with all peoples."

He reiterated the Soviet Government's solidarity with the Government of the People's Republic of China in the latter's determination to recover the possession of Taiwan (Formosa) and condemned the attitude displayed by the UN on the matter.

### *The Soviet Budget*

Analysing this year's Soviet budget Mr. Benjamin E.-West writes that the funds allocated for the production of consumer goods and food this year would be 41 per cent under those of 1954, despite the fact that in total expenses the new budget virtually duplicated the last.

The 1955 Budget, approved by the Supreme Soviet on February 7, provided for outlays totalling 562,900 million roubles or nominally 140,000 million U.S. dollars compared with last year's total of 562,800 million roubles.

According to Mr. West the Soviet budget made four major provisions :

"(1) That light industry, which is concerned primarily with consumer goods production, receive 26,000 million roubles. This is 29 per cent under last year's figure of 36,500 million roubles.

"(2) That agriculture receive (5,200 million roubles, or 12 per cent less than the 74,400 million roubles allotted last year.

"(3) That heavy industry is granted 163,300 million roubles, or 23 per cent more than the 1954 allocation of 133,200 million roubles.

"(4) That 112,100 million roubles be set aside for military purposes. This represents an increase of 12 per cent over last year's 100,300 million roubles."

### *Soviet Offer Re: Atomic Weapons*

In a statement broadcast by the Moscow Radio on February 18, the Soviet Union urged the United Nations to call a world conference this year to reduce armaments

and ban atom and hydrogen bombs. She proposed that all nations should pledge themselves : "(1) To destroy all stocks of atom and hydrogen weapons and use atomic power exclusively for peaceful purposes ; and (2) not to increase their armed forces, or armaments or their military budgets above the level of January 1955" (*Reuter*).

"The Soviet Union declares itself in favour of setting up an appropriate international control for the supervision of these decisions," the statement said.

The Soviet Union considered that delivering the people from the threat of an atomic war was the most important task of the United Nations, and that an international pledge to refuse to use atomic weapons would be an important step towards banning them.

The statement repeated the Soviet dissatisfaction at the absence of an Asian representative on the disarmament Committee. Her proposal to include China, India and Czechoslovakia on the Committee had been rejected by the Western Powers.

### *Pakistan Constituent Assembly*

The Pakistan Constituent Assembly had been dissolved by an order of the Governor-General of Pakistan on October 24, 1954. Mr. Tamizuddin Khan, President of the Pak Constituent Assembly, had objected to the dissolution of the Assembly contending that the Governor-General had no power to do so and filed a petition in the Sind Chief Court challenging the validity of the Governor-General's order.

A full bench of the Sind Chief Court, in a unanimous judgment on February 9, declared the proclamation of the Governor-General dissolving the Constituent Assembly as illegal. A writ of mandamus was ordered by the Court to be issued restoring Moulvi Tamizuddin to office and restraining all the respondents from interfering with the duties of the President of the Constituent Assembly and from obstructing him in the exercise of his duties.

The Court allowed an appeal to be preferred by the Federation of Pakistan and other respondents in the Federal Court of Pakistan but refused to grant an order for the stay of execution of the order of the Court.

The *Statesman* reports :

The Chief Justice and Mr. Justice Bachal gave a joint judgment while Mr. Justice Vallani and Mr. Justice Mohammad Baksh gave separate judgments. The three judgments run to 103 pages.

Dealing with the Governor-General's power to dissolve the Constituent Assembly, the Chief Justice said that there was no case throughout the Commonwealth outside England where dissolution of the Legislature takes place except by express provision in the Constitution : There was no such provision in Pakistan's Constitution.

Mr. Justice Vallani felt that dissolution of the Constituent Assembly was null in law and that both it and the office of the President were still existent. He

said it was common ground that as a result of the proclamation, the petitioner had been prevented from performing the functions of his undoubtedly public office.

He observed that the Chief Court had the power to issue a writ against any Government, including the Federation of Pakistan. Section 306 of the Government of India Act 1935, confers personal immunity upon the Governor-General, but it did not limit the scope of the proceedings against the Government which, in the case of the Federation of Pakistan, corresponds to the Executive Authority of the Federation exercised by the Governor-General either directly or through officers subordinate to him.

The prerogative to dissolve the Constituent Assembly, he said, was governed by the express provisions of Sec 5 of the Independence Act, but the Act did not give power to the Governor-General to dissolve the Constituent Assembly.

He held that powers to set up the Constituent Assembly were given to Lord Mountbatten by his designation and not by person and did not confer powers upon the Governor-General for time being to set up another body of men as the Constituent Assembly.

Mr. Justice Vallani, dealing with the powers of the Constituent Assembly, observed :

"The supreme prerogative is granted solely to the Constituent Assembly and since the grant is without any words of limitation, exercise of it by the Constituent Assembly is as supreme and as unfettered as could be the exercise of Her Majesty.

He said that in the field of the Government of India Act, the Governor-General could exercise no power of Her Majesty unless it was assigned to him.

#### QUESTION OF POWERS

Mr. Justice Mohammad Baksh, in his 68-page judgment, dealt exhaustively with the question of the Governor-General's powers and the Constituent Assembly. He observed that the provisions of the Independence Act "leave no room for any manner of doubt that the Constituent Assembly was the sovereign body and was not subject to any checks and balances, restraints and restrictions and could make any law it liked, even though it was against the laws of England or the Independence Act.

"It was unthinkable that the only legislature of the country which was also a sovereign body under the Independence Act could be dissolved on the principles of justice, equity and good conscience. He had unshaken belief that the Governor-General had no power of any kind to dissolve the Constituent Assembly and there was no provision in the entire 1935 Act under which the Governor-General could issue a proclamation and it was apparently on account of this reason that no provision of law was cited in it."

The verdict of the Sind Chief Court, the *Vigil* writes in an editorial article on February 19, "must be regarded as a judgment of the highest importance for Pakistan not merely from a constitutional point

of view but in a far wider sense involving the very substance of a democratic political life. However, the legal issue is decided by the Federal Court, the emphatic and unanimous conclusion of the Sind Chief Court, namely, that the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly by a fiat of the Governor-General was illegal and void, must and should have a profound effect on public opinion in Pakistan."

There could be no illusion about the unrepresentative character of the Constituent Assembly—especially after the expression of the people's mind in the last general elections in Eastern Pakistan when the Muslim League Party had completely been routed, writes the newspaper. Neither the need for a new and more representative body was in question. "But a dissolution by a fiat of the Executive could never be the right thing. The proclamation of October 24 was not inspired by any democratic motive; it was rather, both in intention and effect an underhand blow to democracy."

Recalling its own original disapproval of the manner of the dissolution of the Assembly, the newspaper points to the misjudgment of those who had welcomed the Governor-General's action. In this connection the newspaper particularly criticizes the short-sightedness displayed by the United Front leaders of Eastern Pakistan in approving of the Executive's action—a fact fully borne out by later developments.

The decision of the Sind Chief Court, it is pointed out, presented new possibilities before the democratic elements in Pakistan to reassert themselves. At the same time it necessitated a re-appraisal of their position and policy. Those who had opposed the dissolution of the Assembly had not all been motivated by democratic interests. Neither did the Sind Court's ruling make the Assembly more virtuous than it had been before October 24, 1954. The Court's decision by putting the authoritarian elements on the defensive had only created a new psychological and moral atmosphere in which the democratic forces of Pakistan, given a good and unselfish leadership, could take the initiative in bringing about the unquestionably necessary reformation of the Constituent Assembly by democratic action.

#### *Amending the Constitution*

The need for amending Article 31 of the Constitution of India has been explained in an article by Sri Sisir Gupta in the *A-I. C. C. Economic Review* :

The introduction by the Prime Minister of the bill to amend Article 31 of the Constitution, Sri Gupta writes, constituted one of the most important steps in the direction of achievement of the ideal of creating a society wherein social and economic inequalities would be obliterated, an ideal long cherished by the masses of Indian people and re-iterated by the Congress on numerous occasions.

The vicissitudes through which the country had to pass in the wake of the attainment of independence necessitated a temporary postponement of the pursuit of those objectives; but with the gradual return to normalcy an eventual return to the path of that long-cherished goal was inevitable. The manifest contradiction between the declared objectives of the economic policy of the Government and the judicial interpretation of some articles of the constitution thus understandably prompted the Government to move for the amendment of those articles of the constitution which tended to obstruct its policy of engendering social justice and progressive economic equality thereby placing certain items of law above the purview of the Constitution, notwithstanding what appeared in other parts of the Constitution.

Sri Gupta writes that the laws above such interpretation, according to the proposed amendment, would be those relating to:

"(a) The acquisition by the State of any rights therein, or

"(b) The extinguishment or modification of any rights in estates or in agricultural holdings, or

"(c) The maximum extent of agricultural land that may be owned or occupied by any person and the disposal of any agricultural land held in excess of such maximum whether by transfer to the State or otherwise, or

"(d) The acquisition or requisitioning of immovable property for the relief or rehabilitation of persons displaced from their original place of residence by reason of the setting up of the dominions of India and Pakistan, or

"(e) The acquisition or requisitioning for a public purpose of any land, buildings or huts declared in pursuance of law to constitute a slum or of any vacant or waste land, or

"(f) The taking over of the management of any property by the State for a limited period either in the public interest or in order to secure the proper management of the property, or

"(g) The transfer of any undertaking wholly or in part from one company to another or the amalgamation of two or more companies either in the public interest or in order to secure the proper management of the undertaking or of any of the companies, or

"(h) The extinguishment or modification of any rights of managing agents, managing directors, directors, managers or shareholders of companies, or

"(i) The extinguishment or modification of any rights accruing by virtue of any agreement, lease or licence for the purpose of searching for, or winning, any mineral or mineral-oil or for the purpose of supplying power, light or water to the public or the premature termination or cancellation of any such agreement or licence."

Referring to the hue and cry raised in certain quarters against the proposed amendment, Sri Gupta pointedly draw attention to the fact that constitutions were made for the people and not vice versa, and if the interests of the people demanded it, they should justly be changed or amended. Refuting the objections based on the theory of the so-called sanctity of private property, Sri Gupta writes that it was now recognised almost universally that the right to private property could not be extended to a length which would curb the rights of the masses in many other spheres to such an extent as to check the growth of the majority of a country's people. Moreover, specifically the Directive Principles of State policy laid down in the constitution of India could hardly be reconciled with an unqualified granting of rights to private property.

The opposition of private enterprise and feudal aristocracy to the proposed amendment was understandable, writes the author. But it was surprising that they could enlist the support of some leading newspapers and personalities. It was, however, quite fortunate that the main political parties of the country had endorsed the propriety of the steps contemplated in the Constitution Amendment Bill.

No progress could be made in the development of the country without a complete change in the agrarian pattern which again could not be undertaken without an amendment of Article 31 of the Constitution.

The provisions in the proposed amendment which related to industries, mines, etc., were not designed to nationalise all private industry. The only aim was to put an end to the system of managing agency, which, though once an important aid to industrial growth, had now become a stumbling block in the way of the industrial progress of the country. Without such an amendment it would be impossible to act on the recommendations of the Company Law Reforms Committee for a thorough change in industrial organisations.

Lastly, the most important point was whether the proposed amendment tended to injure the spirit of the Constitution and the essentially democratic structure it wanted to build up. The answer was an emphatic no. Because, as Sri Gupta writes in conclusion, "Who knows this spirit better than the man who has moved the present amendment?"

We have quoted the above article fairly fully because of the importance of the subject-matter and the significance evidently attached to it by the journal containing it. We, however, do think that more enthusiasm than reason is displayed in the article. The modifications would give such comprehensive powers to the executive that any corrupt minister or high official could misuse it, with all the force of the Government behind it. Where are the safeguards

against that? Noble sentiments and pious wishes have a curious way of being subverted in the hands of the morally degenerate.

The *A-I. C. C. Economic Review* should clearly state whether it espouses the democratic procedure or the authoritarian. In democratic practice such laws clearly define reliefs to the private owner.

### *Rural University*

The *People* devotes its editorial article on February 13 to an examination of the functions of a rural university and of the question of setting up such a university in the Uttar Pradesh.

The most important characteristic of a rural university, that distinguished it from others, it is stated, lay in the fact that a rural university was intended to "catch the young and train them so well that they will have their stakes in the land." To achieve that end such a university would necessarily have to provide specialised training in soil improvement, sociology, rural social welfare, village planning, rural medical aid, sugarcane research, animal husbandry, forestry, etc. and so on.

The Government of the Uttar Pradesh had accepted in principle the suggestion of setting up a rural university in Gorakhpur in the eastern part of the State. The idea to establish India's first rural university there was undoubtedly prompted by the report of the Radhakrishnan Commission which had visualised a network of such universities throughout India.

Gorakhpur provided an ideal setting for such a university, the newspaper writes. It had an agricultural school with assets of over five lakhs of rupees. The existing technical school with an extensive plot of 100 acres could be developed into a first class school of technology. The nearby Kusumbi forest could be useful for forest research as could be the Kurraghat farm for sugarcane research. The Gorakhpur University Foundation Society, founded in 1949, had already collected land and funds valued at Rs. 24 lakhs.

Nothing more could apparently be required for starting the university, the newspaper continues. But the State Government instead had appointed a Committee under the chairmanship of Acharya Jugal Kishore to examine the question of having such a university in Gorakhpur. Though the Committee's reports had not yet been published it was understood to have had suggested a sort of an amalgam of a rural university and general university. The Committee had reportedly suggested that the proposed university should also provide sound training in other subjects besides providing for specialisation in rural subjects. It was also reported to have had suggested the reduction of existing degree colleges to the status of intermediate colleges.

Strongly critical of the reported suggestions of the

Jugal Kishore Committee, the *People* writes that those suggestions were only unwanted and there was no need to deprive the people of the locality of the existing degree colleges they already had, "nor can these colleges in any way stand in the formation of a rural university." In the view of the paper, there appeared to be some confused thinking about the purpose of a rural university. It was not clear why the State Government should have appointed a separate committee when the Centre had already appointed one to go into the question of starting rural universities. "At the most the U.P. Government ought to have waited till the Shrimali Committee report was out."

The newspaper concludes by saying that if Gorakhpur should eventually have a rural university, the two existing degree colleges could be affiliated to another university thereby enabling the former profitably to specialize only rural subjects on the model of Roorke University which specialized in Engineering subjects only.

### *Jammu and Kashmir University*

Welcoming the conversion of the University of Jammu and Kashmir into a teaching one, the *Kashmir Post* writes that "the measure, even though given effect to without any unnecessary delay, would come not a day too soon." Though the progress of the University since its founding a few years ago had not been very much impressive "there can be no denying the fact that it has been a tremendous convenience and a boon to the students of Jammu and Kashmir" for whom it had opened the vista of a brighter educational prospect.

The University had come into being at a time when the State's security had been gravely endangered by the invading tribes from Pakistan and it had so long been functioning purely as an examining body.

Considering all the handicaps under which the University had to function the newspaper however still expresses the view that its working had not been as it should have been.

The *Kashmir Post* regrets the insufficient attention so far given to such an important organisation as the University and expresses the hope that the Universities Grants Commission and the Government of India would "render the maximum possible assistance to the infant University"

### *Corruption in Kashmir*

The *Kashmir Post*, in an editorial article on February 4, criticizes certain provisions of the newly enacted Jammu and Kashmir Government Servants (Prevention of Corruption) Act and writes: "It is perhaps a tragic irony that while the present Government is very anxious to root out corruption, corruption itself should have been made a non-cognizable offence in the State."

Accordingly to the newspaper the above law, in the

first instance, "inevitably abrogates the general provisions of the Indian Penal Code" as a result of which the offence of receiving illicit gratification was no longer cognizable by the Police. Secondly, a special agency for receiving complaints had been created which by itself lacked suitable means of investigating those cases. Thirdly, that authority was vested in a particular set of officers who were stationed either in Jammu or Srinagar, thereby making it difficult for people in outlying areas to seek remedy.

"But perhaps the most serious flaw of the said Act, the newspaper continues; lies in the fact that the procedure for investigation is so slow and defective that it is well-nigh impossible to track down a culprit." It also criticizes the fact that the authority to regard a complaint as constituting a *prima facie* case should vest in a few individuals of the executive who in Jammu and Kashmir were not fully above board. "Another serious shortcoming of the special law seem to be that there is little protection provided to the people against the excesses of the police in the matter of demanding illegal favours and gratifications."

The recent attempts to amend the Act by an Ordinance, the newspaper continues, showed how carelessly important laws were passed in the State without forethought. It then goes on to criticize the composition of the Law Department of the State and advises the Government to obtain expert legal opinion before embarking on the enactment of important laws rather than deliberately making a "laughing stock of itself by rushing through measures which are so defective as to kill the very purpose of the legislation."

As a matter of fact corruption and evil practices are rampant all over the Union because of the fundamental weaknesses in the law and gross inefficiency in the executive.

The framers of the Constitution have left lacunae everywhere. But the greatest weakness is in the provision of Fundamental Rights. As matters stand we find that anyone who has the gumption and the means to approach and plead before the fairy-godmothers provided by the Constitution, can break all the laws of the land, regaining the eradication of corruption and black-marketing, with impunity. We find that the disadvantage lies with the law-abiding everywhere, like in the days of British rule. Evil is still the force in ascendant.

### Students and Newspapers

A newspaper readership survey was conducted among the College students by the Department of Journalism of Hilsop College, Nagpur, with a view to getting the students of journalism acquainted with the techniques and problems of making such a survey. The Survey which covered 234 students including about 28 girls, disclosed some interesting facts, reports the *Hilsop Herald*, the fortnightly magazine of the Department of Journalism of the Hilsop College.

About 59 per cent of the students interviewed were

found to have read either the *Hitavada* or the *Nagpur Times* of December 4, 1954. The survey was of those issues of the two English dailies. Five read both the papers. The readership appeared very poor in the case of undergraduates, particularly among those who resided in private lodges. Such students had not developed a reading habit but some of them who could not buy their own copies "would not miss the chance to read a newspaper if they could get it conveniently." About 101 students read other papers in addition to either of the above two dailies.

The students appeared to be more interested in local news than national or international, the survey disclosed. In the case of readers of both the dailies the stories of the murder of the proprietor of a cafe and the court proceedings of what was known as Shanta Apte case were found to have had the highest percentage of readers. "The New York cotton report was the least favourite of the collegians. The movie advertisements caught the attention of most of the readers. Commercial and other advertisements did not create much interest in them. The majority of the readers did not read editorials of that day." (*Hilsop Herald*, February 14).

### Mine Disasters

Fifty-five persons are reported to have been killed on February 6 in an explosion in a colliery near Jharia. This was the second mining disaster in three months—the first one, which had occurred in Chikah coal mines in Parasia, about 100 miles from Nagpur, killing 65 miners as a result of the flooding of the pits.

This unfortunate occurrence closely followed on the heels of another mining tragedy in the Jharia area on February 2 in which ten persons including four women and three children had been killed and eight others injured as the result of a sudden collapse of a portion of the Model Dharmaband Colliery together with its adjoining area containing the residential quarters of the miners.

The Government of India ordered a public inquiry into the explosion of the colliery. A Judge of the Patna High Court would preside over the Court of Inquiry.

The tragedy might have been more catastrophic but for the fact that out of a total of 1600 workers all but 257 had been away in Dhanbad to participate in the demonstrations before the States Reorganisation Commission.

These mining disasters, which took an unusually heavy toll in human lives, have exposed the utter inadequacy of the safety measures in our mines. While the enquiry promised by the Government of India would undoubtedly be helpful in discerning the cause of such tragic accidents and would point to the necessary precautions to be adopted, the frequency and seriousness of the tragic occurrences cannot but cause general anxiety.

# INDIA, SOUTH-EAST ASIA AND WORLD POLITICS\*

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WHEN one thinks of the cultural, political and economic history of the world, one finds that from ancient times Asia has played an important role. Let us not forget that religion is a vital part of man's culture and all the great religions of the world—Judaism, Christianity and Islam, the three Semitic religions, Zoroastrianism, Hinduism, Buddhism, Confucianism, Taoism and Shintoism originated in Asia. When the people of Europe were living like savages great empires flourished in Asia—the Persian Empire, the Indian Empire, the Chinese Empire and others. In the past, politically Asia was very powerful and a large part of Europe, for several centuries was under Asian rule and it was not until the 18th century that European powers began their domination in parts of Asia.

It was the wealth of Asia, especially that of India that attracted Europe's extra-European expansion. America was discovered because European merchants and rulers were interested in finding a sea-route to India. If we study the history of European expansion in Asia, then we find that the commerce of India and South-East Asia played a very great part. The Arabs, Portuguese, Dutch, British and French fought for Asian commerce during the fifteenth, sixteenth, seventeenth centuries. From the 18th century on, they fought amongst themselves to get control over Asia. Time will not permit me to go into details of the Asian angle of the Napoleonic War or the Anglo-French rivalry in world politics in the 18th and early 19th centuries. It is not generally emphasized that the British from India fought the French in South-East Asia (in Java) so that the French might not control that region which is so vital for the defense of India which was the heart of the then existing British Empire. It was Asia and particularly India which caused the Anglo-Russian rivalries, including the Crimean War, British opposition to Russia after the Russo-Turkish War. It was Asia—French expansion in South-East Asia, endangering Burma and India, which caused Anglo-French rivalry and brought about a Franco-Russian alliance. It was Asia, which was the prime cause of Anglo-Russian rivalry, during the latter part of the 19th and early 20th centuries. It was to check Russia from getting control over Korea and Manchuria. Japan was interested in forming an alliance with Britain, while Britain was interested in checking Russia and France from coming too near to Indian frontiers and sought Japanese support. Rivalry among the great Powers in Asia and also the rise of Japan, consciously working for independence, led to the Russo-Japanese War and later on the formation of the Triple Entente to check German march in Asia—West Asia by the Berlin-Bagdad Railway and in East Asia by

entrenching herself in the province of Shantung in China. The first World War was fought due to the great European Powers' rivalry amongst themselves primarily in Asia. One of the causes of the second World War was the rise of Japan as a great naval power and economic force marching into China and South-East Asia and trying to eliminate political control of Western Powers in these regions.

After World War I and II one of the most important features of world affairs has been and is going to continue the assertion of Asia to be free and independent from alien rule. Freedom of Asian people is one of the most important results of the World War II in which Asian people—the Chinese, Japanese, Indians and others—played an important role. The American and Western statesmen, unfortunately do not fully grasp the significance of the changes in Asia and they fail to think in terms that *Free Asia is as important as Free Europe or Free America*. To be sure the subjugated peoples of Asia, recently freed from the foreign yoke, have not yet developed great military potentials, but in matters of rights and potential possibilities free India cannot be treated as inferior. The same is the case with Japan and other nations in Asia.

Behind all important development in world politics, during the past five centuries or longer, Asia has played a significant role and it is certain from the second half of the 20th century onward, every vital issue of world politics will be influenced by Asia. Thus it is necessary for America to pursue such world policies which would lead to better understanding between Asian states and America for the cause of preservation of world peace with freedom and justice for all peoples.

Keeping this view before us, we shall try to discuss the definite question of India, South-East Asia in World Politics and World Peace.

## SOUTH-EAST ASIA IN WORLD POLITICS

In the arena of world politics of South-East Asia—Burma, Malaya, Indonesia, Siam, Indo-China and the Philippines—three forces have been in operation; they are (a) alien colonial imperialism, (b) nationalism and (c) efforts of great powers to use South-East Asia to their advantage in their rivalries. Alien colonial imperialism in South-East Asia have been struggling to keep the peoples in subjection and thus maintain their political, economic, cultural and racial supremacy in this vast region. This is in conflict with the forces of nationalism which are for emancipation of the peoples through their own efforts supported by outside forces. While the peoples of South-East Asia have been seeking outside aid to free themselves from their alien rulers, Soviet Russian imperialism, aided by Communist China, are trying to use the popular uprising of the peoples of South-East Asia to their advantage, against their opp-

\* The Sixth Annual Sudhindra Bose Memorial Lecture at the State University of Iowa, delivered on January 6, 1955.

nents in world politics. Thus in the arena of world politics, happenings in South-East Asia are mere parts and parcels of the broader issues of the cold war between Soviet Russia and her partners on one side and the United States of America and her allies on the other. It may be wise to remember that internal politics, party-politics of South-East Asian countries have been influenced and are being influenced by foreign Powers trying to secure support of the important strategic positions, raw materials and millions of the population of the region. In one sense, South-East Asian countries are holding a balance of power among Rival Factors. Thus, what is happening in South-East Asia lends a great deal of importance to world politics and to the cause of world peace.

In discussing the recent happenings in South-Eastern countries one should remember that as matters of internal politics, various political parties will have their rivalries for getting in power and maintaining it, but on the larger issues of upholding national interests involving national independence and territorial integrity of the state, leaders of these would follow policies which might seem to us to be opportunistic and not far-sighted. But before condemning these policies, we should try to understand the motives behind adopting such policies. Let us discuss the realities of world politics in South-East Asian countries from the points of view of those who are directing the affairs of state.

#### BURMA

In the struggle for Burmese independence from the British rule, the Burmese people as a whole were pro-Japanese and the Japanese, during World War II utilised Burmese support to their advantage to the fullest extent. But when it became evident that the Japanese, if victorious, would try to impose their rule over them, and the Japanese might be defeated, then the very Burmese who aided the Japanese in defeating the British in Burma, fought with anti-Japanese forces to establish their independence. Thus the change of sides, to the Burmese people and their leaders, was not abandoning the ideals of freedom, but changing the methods of operation for the success of their cause. After the conclusion of World War II one of the powerful parties, the dominant party in Burma were pro-British and some of the leaders were in favor of having a dominion status within the British empire, but the Republicans in Burma and the Communists started their campaign for complete emancipation of their country from British connection. At this juncture the pro-British Burmese leaders pleaded for absolute independence of Burma from British connection so that their political enemies might not get in power and the British agreed to grant absolute independence to Burma. This realistic Burmese policy of Britain made it possible for her to make arrangements in the field of economics and national defense.

The Burmese leaders, being interested in their national interests, were opposed to policies of the

nations which might undermine national security. At first they were concerned with the revolts—civil wars in Burma which were promoted by outside support. The Burmese held that Communist Chinese and Soviet Russia were aiding the communist rebels from the North and there were some British agents and American missionaries who were behind some of the rebel forces; and they were also opposed to the Nationalist Chinese of Chiang Kai Shek, who were interested in having armed forces in Burma to be used against communist China. Thus Burma sought for support of a nation which is vitally interested in Burmese independence, to further common interests. Burma found in India such a friend; because India was interested in Burmese independence; because Burma under foreign control would endanger India's national security in the regions of the north-eastern frontier and the regions adjoining the Bay of Bengal. Let me remind you that it was for the protection of India, the British penetrated into Burma and it was through Burma, the Japanese forces and the forces of Subhas Chandra Bose, the nationalist Indian leader, attacked India during the Second World War. It was the Indian forces, primarily, which freed Burma from the Japanese control. Thus it became quite clear to the Burmese and Indian statesmen that they have a common interest in matters of national security and thus must adopt common foreign policies concerning specific problems. This is the foundation of the existing cordial and co-operative Indo-Burmese policies existing today, although in 1930's some of the Burmese statesmen were anti-Indian, because they thought a free India might incorporate Burma as one of its provinces.

There was no conflicting interest between Burma and the United States, but when it became apparent that Chinese nationalists, receiving American support, were engaged in establishing bases in northern Burmese border for operation against Communist China and which might involve weak Burma into a war with powerful communist China, then the Burmese policies became anti-American and took the color of being pro-communist, although Burma was opposed to Chinese communist infiltration into Burma from the north and also to supplying arms to Burmese communists who were interested in overthrowing the Burmese Government.

But recently the Burmese attitude has partially changed toward the United States because the American government was the restraining influence over Chiang Kai Shek's policies in Burma and it may be apparent to the Burmese that American economic and other aid would lead to the development of Burmese economy and strengthen Burma's position in world politics. Because of the existence of a common interest between India and Burma that Communist China must not march any further into the south endangering the independence of Burma and other south

*Asian states, Mr. Nehru during his conference with Chou En Lei at New Delhi induced the latter to visit Rangoon and give an assurance to the Burmese statesmen that China would restrain her citizens from disturbing peace in Burma and also recognize the territorial integrity of her neighbors.*

After Mr. Nehru's visit to China, the Burmese Premier also went to Peiping; it seems that the two nations have come to some understanding that mutual respect for territorial integrity is essential for peace in South-East Asia and their own survival. It is also interesting that Communist China and Burma are going to have certain arrangements in matters of Trade by which Burma's surplus rice may be taken by China while the latter would supply other commodities needed for the development of Burmese industries.

One of the recent and most far-reaching developments in South-Eastern world politics is the conclusion of a peace treaty between Japan and Burma. The signing of this treaty was hindered for some time due to Burma's insistence for a large indemnity for the damages done by the Japanese forces in Burma. By this new treaty Japan will give Burma a sum of \$400,000,000 within ten years, partly by supplying goods and also investment of Japanese capital in Burma to develop Burmese industries. It is expected that Japan would purchase surplus rice from Burma which will help to develop Burmese-Japanese commercial collaboration. It is significant that already Japanese engineers are in Burma to explore possibilities of development of oil industries in this land and open up mines. It is not idle to think that development of economic and possible political collaboration between Japan and Burma has received the blessings of the United States which is interested in economic stability of Japan. It would mean that Japan will be indirectly participating in the development of underdeveloped areas like Burma. One may safely assume that existing American-Japanese friendship, newly established Japanese-Burmese collaboration, and the long established Indo-Burmese friendship and also Indo-Japanese friendship may have decisive effects regarding Communist Chinese policies toward South-East Asia.

It is interesting that the Burmese Premier will be visiting Washington in the near future and it may have special significance in solving the existing misunderstanding between the United States and Burma and other Asian powers.

#### MALAYA

The British government is a colonial power in Malaya and it intends to keep control over this region, very rich in raw materials and holding an important strategic position.

There is a war going on between the British and the guerrilla forces of the Malaysians, which is commonly termed as British efforts to root out communist rebels. British control of Malaya and particularly the post of Singapore was motivated by the policy of keeping strong

enemy powers from controlling this region, Indonesia and also the routes to Australia. Burma and India have vital interests in preventing Malaya from being used by any enemy power against them and as long as Britain's relations with these states remain cordial, they would not oppose British control over Malaya on the ground that removal of Britain from Malaya might mean Communist control of the region. In Malaya, like in other countries we find three forces are operating—the Communists under the leadership of Chinese communists of Malaya are carrying on guerrilla warfare against the British. They are evidently working for the ultimate policy of having Malaya incorporated as a part of Communist China or in alliance with the latter state; the Malayan nationalists composed of all racial elements are divided into two principal parties, one demanding dominion status and the other seeking Malayan independence. It seems for reasons of larger interests in world politics, the United States is at present not interested in any change in Malaya which might lead to the increase of communist control of the region. It is also expected that the stand of Siam, Indonesia, the Philippines, as well as South Indo-China and Japan will be opposed to Chinese expansion to Malaya.

#### INDONESIA

It is not generally well understood that the very creation of a free and independent Indonesia is more due to American support to the cause of Indonesian freedom than any other factor. To be sure Indonesian nationalism has contributed the most, but the external forces that created Indonesia were the support of the United States, India, Australia and other states. But Indonesian policy is not fully pro-American. The pan-Islamists in Indonesia are anti-American due to the Arab influence in Indonesian politics. They think that America is opposed to Islamic people and in favor of the Jews. Then the Communists have infiltrated into Indonesia and they have become an important factor in Indonesian politics and thus they have exerted an anti-American influence.

Indonesian politicians of all parties like those of India and Burma are opposed to the South-East Asia Treaty Organization created by the United States, Britain, France, Australia, Siam, Pakistan and the Philippines, because such an organization might lead to war between China and the Western allies which would be detrimental to the cause of peace and freedom in South-East Asia.

(The United States policy toward South-East Asia has been made clear by her defense pact with Japan, Australia, Nationalist China, the Philippines, New Zealand and also the formation of Seato.) The main object is to check a further march of communist states in South-East Asia. It is also to see that control of the Pacific and the Indian Ocean may not fall in the hands of Soviet Russia and Communist Chinese allies. Indonesia is opposed to Chinese expansion to the south, but Indonesia has a complaint against Netherland and

Australia regarding their policies of occupation of Iris or Eastern New Guinea to Indonesian control. In this matter, England, France, Australia, Netherland and the United States as well are opposed to her. To Indonesia and the Asian states supporting Indonesia, the issue involves not only colonialism, but racial imperialism. Thus it has a greater significance than is ordinarily understood in the United States.

Colombo Powers—representing India with a population of 367,000,000, Ceylon with 8,155,000, Indonesia with 78,163,000, Burma with 19,045,000 and Pakistan with 75,842,000—in their recent meeting at Jakarta have made a significant decision that in April, thirty Asian-African states, all independent Asian and African states including such widely separated nations as Communist China, the Gold Coast Federation, Laos and Ethiopia and also Japan would participate in a conference at Bogor, near Jakarta. This conference will have an important influence in developing the policies of Asia for the Asiatics and also ending all vestiges of colonialism in Asia. It is certain that Communist China will participate in this conference and it would mean that there would be more persistent demand for representation of Communist China in the United Nations and the coming conference of Asian-African Powers under the leadership of Colombo Powers will be a great event in world politics and its effect will be far-reaching.

#### CONCLUSION

It is quite clear to all that the world today is divided into two camps: the Western bloc of Powers, headed by the United States and Soviet Russia and her allies. The struggle in the diplomatic field between these two blocs of powers has taken the character that each group is trying to check the other from gaining allies. In Europe, Russian diplomacy, after getting control over Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Bulgaria and Romania tried to extend its influence further into the Balkan, specially Greece and in Asia towards Persia, which if succeeded, would have meant Soviet Russian control of the Eastern Mediterranean and also the Russian march into the Persian Gulf and thus to the Indian Ocean. This could not be tolerated by the Western Powers, specially U.S. because of her vital interests in this region. Furthermore Soviet Russia and Communist China in 1950 formed an alliance for twenty years, directed against Japan and the United States which has vital interests in the Pacific. The main policy of Soviet Russia in the Far East has been to secure support of China, Japan and India and also the countries in South-East Asia to extend her influence and if possible control of the Pacific. The United States cannot allow this to happen and has shaped her policies to prevent it. The United States is interested in winning co-operation of the people of Asia, especially those of India and South-East Asia to prevent Communist Chinese and Soviet Russian expansion.

As it is a fact and it need not be over-emphasised that to make a Soviet Russian march into Asia possible, she should make her position in Europe strong and protected. Thus the key-stone of Soviet Russian policy in Europe was to partition Germany to weaken the latter and then Sovietise both parts of Germany and utilise German power to strengthen Soviet Russia. Soviet Russian-Communist Chinese alliance in Asia has developed an expansionist policy of China and Soviet Russia which promoted the Korean War and also the prolongation of the war in Indo-China; and to prevent any further expansion, steps have been taken to develop a combination of powers. Similarly, to check any further expansion of Soviet Russia in Europe, steps have been taken to form the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in which Germany is to be taken in as a full partner, to develop a powerful defense force to check the march of Soviet Russia and her allies in free Europe. I am mentioning this to emphasize the inter-relation of developments in World Politics in Europe with those in Asia. If Soviet Russia and China can control South-East Asia, then with their combined force and resources, they would be powerful enough to threaten Western European Powers. Suppose Soviet Russia and Communist China form a bloc in East Asia as Japan tried to do before and during the Second World War—so-called East Asian co-prosperity region—and direct this force against the United States and other western powers and the peoples of South-Eastern Asia, then it would be far more dangerous than the Japanese adventure. Thus the defense of South-East Asia becomes a very important issue not only for the defense of Asia, but for free Europe.

*Regarding the defense of South-East Asia, India holds the key position.* It has been demonstrated in the past that without Indian support South-East Asian independence cannot be maintained from any attack from a first class power of the continent of Asia, or a nation having control over the Pacific. To make this point clear, permit me to emphasize that if India had been allied with Japan and Germany, actively, during the last World War II, then Japan and Germany might have been victorious. Suppose India gives her present policy of "neutrality" to and becomes an active partner of Soviet Russia as Communist China is today, then the whole picture of defense of South-East Asia would be seriously endangered.

It is apparent that India has been supporting Communist China diplomatically, but India under Mr. Nehru's rule is opposed to communism and by no means has been aiding Soviet Russia and China as Britain has notoriously been doing. Now Mr. Nehru has taken a positive stand against any further expansion of Communist China in Eastern Asia which would endanger the territorial integrity of any of the Asian Powers. This stand of India is possibly the most valuable asset to the cause of peace in South-East Asia, deterring Communist Chinese expansion in this region. There are many reasons for coming to this conclusion, but one of

the foremost reasons is that Communist China does not wish to lose Indian support and friendship in its present endeavors for becoming strong, and not to be wholly dependent upon Soviet Russian support. In many ways for the very existence of a sovereign China Indian support and support of Asian states, especially those that have a common border, are essential.

To avoid any misunderstanding, I wish to make it clear that I have been advocating Indo-American co-operation in world politics. I have advocated that an Indo-American-Japanese and if possible Chinese alliance is the only way to check Soviet Russian march into Asia. But Mr Nehru thinks differently. However, Mr Nehru's stand against the Chinese march to South-East Asia is far more important than what some of the powers associated in Seato may contribute for the maintenance of peace in South-East Asia. Thus I feel the United States government should find means to co-operate with India for the defense of peace and freedom in this region. If the United States fails to gain the support of India, it is dubious that she would be able to gain active support of Indonesia and Burma in the defense of South-East Asia.

In world politics Asia is holding an important position and the people of Asia and their rightful aspiration for freedom from alien rule cannot be ignored in formulating world policies to uphold peace and freedom. Thus the position of India and the countries in South-East Asia has a very great significance and it is desirable that American statesmen should find means to have a close and friendly collaboration with these countries.

I wish to conclude my talk with a few words regarding my late friend Dr. Sudhindra Bose, who was

one of the pioneers in promoting better understanding between the East and the West and particularly between India and the United States through furthering the cause of study of oriental history, politics and culture in American Universities. To be sure, he was the first among Indian students in America who came to the United States during the early part of the first decade of the twentieth century and worked his way through American Universities to learn what is best in America in the field of social sciences and then entered the field of teaching Asiatic history and politics in this university.\*

\*Dr. Taraknath Das concludes his article with the following paragraphs: Sudhindra travelled far and wide in the United States and spoke on Asian problems and wrote on these issues, because a section of the American people—a far-sighted minority—made his cause as their own. Sudhindra possibly died heart-broken for many reasons. But there is no doubt that the seed he sowed in the fertile soil of the University of Iowa and which has been so ably nurtured by his devoted wife and friends is in the process sprouting to become a stout and beautiful tree which will bear beautiful flowers and life-sustaining fruits for human brotherhood.

The Sudhindra Bose Memorial Lecture is a mere beginning made through the generosity of Mrs. Bose and friends. It is to be hoped that those who believe in the cause championed by the late Dr. Bose, the cause of better understanding between Asia and America, through spreading knowledge of Asia in America, through American educational institutions, will support it by their moral and economic support. It is my ardent prayer and an appeal to Indian students in the university that they should support the work started by the late Dr. Bose by making a small sacrifice of a regular annual contribution—at least the amount they spend for their own living for a day—to the fund. It is my hope that while the Sudhindra Bose Memorial Lecture will remain a permanent feature of the university activities for the promotion of international fellowship, it may be possible that through an active support of the university and from the income of the fund there may be a Sudhindra Bose fellowship in Oriental History, Politics and Culture and later there may be a permanent chair bearing the name of my esteemed friend who has left a legacy for us all.

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## SIGNIFICANCE OF THE AVADI SESSION

By PROF S N AGARWAL

THE sixtieth session of the Indian National Congress at Avadi near Madras will be of special significance from several points of view. Firstly, Congress workers from different parts of the country will be able to go to South once again after a number of years and get the opportunity of establishing living contacts with the people and the cultural heritage of Southern India. Such personal and organisational contacts between Congress workers of the North and the South are of great value in forging the cultural and psychological unity of India after the advent of political freedom. Secondly, the Avadi session will be presided over by a younger leader who has been chosen by our elders to serve the nation and the Congress with a fresh mind and method of approach towards a number of problems which still await solution. Thirdly, the Session would have the privilege of reviewing national and international events at a time when

India's prestige in foreign relations is rising higher and when in domestic matters the Prime Minister has been laying special emphasis on the need for establishing a Socialist economy in the country.

The Diamond Jubilee Session of the Congress will, surely, take note of international affairs, particularly relating to Indo-China, the Manila Pact and the Joint declaration by the Prime Ministers of India and China. The Five Principles or the Panch Shila have now become the basic principles of the foreign policy of a number of countries. The statements of Marshal Tito during his recent visit to India were also, more or less, along the same lines. Prime Minister Shri Nehru's pronouncements regarding the foreign policy of India have evoked the spontaneous appreciation of many nations and it is now being realised in an increasing measure that India stands for non-alignment with either

of the power blocs from the standpoint of ensuring world peace and co-operation. India's approach to international problems is not a negative or passive one; it is a positive and dynamic approach with a background of age-old culture and philosophy of life. The Father of our Nation taught us and the world the ideals of truth and non-violence and it is extremely gratifying to find that our Prime Minister is straining every nerve to follow those ideals in the international sphere with remarkable courage, of conviction. We have no doubt in our minds that India is destined to play a still greater role in establishing peace on earth and good-will among men.

In the economic sphere, India's achievements during the past seven years have, indeed, been considerable. It will be highly unpatriotic to under-rate our own achievements as compared with other countries of the world. But we do not entertain any ideas of self-complacency. Although much has been achieved, much more still remains to be achieved in the years to come. The Parliament of India has accepted a Socialist economy as the national goal and the Congress is also determined to move towards Socialism and greater socio-economic equalities. Our approach towards the Socialist ideal is not a doctrinaire approach; it is not an imitation of the Western systems of either democratic socialism or totalitarian Communism. In India, it must be clearly understood by all of us, Socialism can only mean Sarvodaya or the well-being of all. In the economic domain Sarvodaya implies the widest possible decentralisation of the industrial organisation in the form of small-scale, village and cottage industries. Although the basic or mother industries have to be generally on a large scale, our consumer goods industries must be reserved for the decentralised sector with a view to increasing production, providing fuller employment and securing greater social and economic justice. As Mahatma Gandhi put it, in place of 'mass production', the Indian type of Socialism would bring about 'production by the masses.' Gandhian Socialism, if we may use the term, essentially connotes the decentralisation of political and economic power in the form of village panchayats and industrial co-operatives. We earnestly hope that our basic economic policy would be stated in very clear and unambiguous terms at the Diamond Jubilee session of the Congress at Avadi. If the basic objectives and ideals are understood clearly by the people, the speedy application of those principles to practical problems does not present much difficulty. Just as we desire to steer clear of both the extremes in the international sphere, so we intend pursuing a middle course in the domain of economic affairs in India. The middle or the balanced economy would avoid the evils of both capitalism and authoritarianism and combine the good features of individual initiative and public control.

In the social sphere, the Avadi Session must warn the nation once against the dangers of casteism and communalism which are raising their ugly heads partly

owing to the frequent elections involved in the democratic method. It has to be realised beyond any shadow of doubt that communalism and casteism are the greatest enemies of national unity and solidarity and all Congressmen must resolve to surmount these evils at least in their own organisational sphere. Moreover, we should also realise that radical social reforms are as important as progressive economic reforms in building up a New India. In this connection, we welcome the recent Bills introduced in the Parliament regarding the abolition of Untouchability and reforms in the Hindu marriage system. Although the evil of untouchability has already been abolished under the Indian Constitution, it has now to be rooted out of the social fabric in a practical but firm manner. Mahatma Gandhi regarded untouchability as the greatest blot on the fair name of India. We are convinced that this curse must disappear from the social system if democracy in India is to be built up on sound foundations. The status of women in the country should also be raised in all spheres of life. They have been subjected to unjust treatment in our society for long. This state of affairs must now cease to be.

Above all, the Diamond Jubilee Session should solemnly resolve to give the highest priority to the needs of the poorest and the lowliest sections of our society. The philosophy of *Unto this Last* should underlie all our plans and projects. So far, we have, undoubtedly, tried to devote considerable attention to the needs of the rural areas, particularly in regard to agricultural improvements. But it has not yet been possible to take care of the neediest persons or regions. Even in our schemes of Community Projects and National Extension Services we have generally tried to help those who already possess something. But the person who is a "have-not" remains almost unattended to. In the cities, we may broaden the roads and tar them and build palatial structures for housing our offices. But the Second Five Year Plan will remain incomplete so long as we are not able to serve all our villages with at least half-pucca roads and so long as the slums in the cities do not yield place to well-planned colonies for the poorer sections of our population. On the great occasion of the sixtieth session of the Indian National Congress, let us remember with gratitude the glorious Talisman that the Father of our Nation gave us for our guidance:

"Whenever you are in doubt, or when the self becomes too much with you, apply the following tests: Recall the face of the poorest and the weakest man whom you may have seen, and ask yourself, if the step you contemplate is going to be of any use to him. Will he gain anything by it? Will it restore him to a control over his own life and destiny? In other words, will it lead to Swaraj for the hungry and spiritually starving millions? Then you will find your doubt and your self melting away."

# SOME ASPECTS OF OUR CONSTITUTION

## (IV) Fundamental Rights: Right to Equality (*Continued*)

By D. N. BANERJEE,

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### I

In my preceding article<sup>1</sup> in this series I dealt with one aspect of our Fundamental Right to Equality. In this article I propose to deal with some other aspects of this Right.

### II

Apart from Article 14, the implications of which were discussed by us in our preceding article,<sup>2</sup> there are subjects to what follows hereinafter, some other provisions in our Constitution for the prevention of unfair discrimination, and for the ensuring of equality of treatment, as between one citizen and another. We have particularly in mind here Articles 15, 16, 17 and 29 of the Constitution. Thus we find in Article 15:

"(1) The State shall not discriminate against any citizen on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex, place of birth or any of them.

"(2) No citizen shall, on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex, place of birth or any of them, be subject to any disability, liability, restriction or condition with regard to—

- (a) access to shops, public restaurants, hotels<sup>3</sup> and places of public entertainment; or
- (b) the use of wells, tanks, bathing ghats, roads and places of public resort maintained wholly or partly out of State funds or dedicated to the use of the general public.

"(3) Nothing in this article shall prevent the State from making any special provision for women and children.

1. See *The Modern Review* for January, 1955.

2. See *ibid.*

3. We find on page 663 of the *Constituent Assembly Debates* of 29th November, 1948, that on that day the Constituent Assembly had adopted an amendment of Mr. Mohd. Tahir (Bihar: Muslim) that "after the words 'restaurants, hotels' the words 'Dharamsalas, Musafir-khanas' be inserted." We wonder why these words do not occur in the Constitution of India! In moving his amendment to Article 9 of the Draft Constitution of India, 1948, corresponding to Article 15 of the Constitution of India, Mr. Tahir had said: "After the word 'hotels' the words 'Dharamsalas, Musafir-khanas' be added . . . We find that these two institutions are regularly run throughout our country by private funds. If a traveller who is in need of accommodation happens, fortunately or unfortunately, to be a scheduled caste or any other caste man who is not liked by the management of the 'Dharamsala' he is not allowed to halt in the 'Dharamsala.' And so is the case in respect to 'Musafir-khanas' also. Therefore I submit that these words 'Dharamsalas, Musafir-khanas' should be added after the word 'hotels.'" Mr. Tahir's amendment was a very sensible one.

"(4) Nothing in this article or in Clause (2) of Article 29 shall prevent the State from making any special provision for the advancement of any socially and educationally backward classes of citizens or for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes."

And we find in Clause (2) of Article 29 of the Constitution:

"No citizen shall be denied admission into any educational institution maintained by the State or receiving aid out of State funds on grounds only of religion, race, caste, language or any of them."

As we have seen before<sup>4</sup> in connexion with Articles 13 and 14 of the Constitution under Article 12 thereof, and unless the context otherwise requires, the word "State" in relation to our Fundamental Rights includes "the Government and Parliament of India and the Government and the Legislature of each of the States and all local or other authorities within the territory of India or under the control of the Government of India."

Now so far as the first three Clauses of Article 15, as quoted above, are concerned, not much need be said by way of explanation as they are practically self-explanatory. Discrimination is permitted in favour of women and children for obvious reasons, and special provision may be lawfully made for them. Otherwise discrimination against any Indian citizen is prohibited on grounds *only* of religion, race, caste, sex, place of birth or any of them. This is quite in consonance with the purposes of our Constitution as set forth in its Preamble,<sup>5</sup> and also follows as an inevitable corollary to the principles of secular democracy embodied in it. Nevertheless, there are certain points in Clauses (1) and (2) of the Article which perhaps need elucidation, and we propose to do it now.

In the first place, unlike Article 14 of our Constitution with which we have dealt before,<sup>6</sup> Article 15 is meant only for Indian citizens. Resident aliens in India, therefore, do not come within its scope.

Secondly, Clause (1) of Article 15 is meant to be a safeguard only against any discriminative action on

4. See *The Modern Review* for November, 1954, pp. 376-77, and for January, 1955, p. 26.

5. Also see in this connexion *The Modern Review* for September, 1954, pp. 194-96.

6. See *The Modern Review* for January, 1955.

the part of the State; whereas Clause (2) of the Article is a protection not only against any discriminatory action by the State but also by private persons who, or which, may lawfully come within its purview.

Thirdly, the word "only" both in Clause (1) and in Clause (2) is very significant. It means that no discrimination can be made on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex, place of birth or any of them. But it does not mean that no discrimination can be made, subject of course to the requirements of the other provisions of our Constitution, on grounds of requisite qualifications, health, morality, indecency, or disorderly conduct. Thus, for instance, the Principal of a Government Educational Institution may certainly refuse admission to a student if he or she does not possess the requisite academic qualifications. Similarly, the owner or the officer in charge of a hotel, public restaurant, theatre, or a cinema, may refuse admission to a person suffering from a contagious disease, or found indulging in some indecent or disorderly conduct, either as a result of drunkenness or otherwise.<sup>7</sup>

We have shown above that no discrimination is permitted on the ground of place of birth. But can any discrimination be permitted on the ground of residence? This is rather a ticklish question. We feel, however, that there is no constitutional bar to such discrimination under Clauses (1) and (2) of Article 15. It may be noted in this connexion that originally the expression "place of birth" did not occur in Article 9 of the Draft Constitution of India, 1948, prepared by the Drafting Committee of the Indian Constituent Assembly. Now this Article 9 corresponded to Article 15 of the present Constitution of India. The expression "place of birth" was inserted in Article 9 by way of amendment, on the motion of Syed Abdur Rouf<sup>8</sup> in the Constituent Assembly on 29th November, 1948.

"The intention of this article" (i.e., Article 9), said<sup>9</sup> Syed Abdur Rouf in support of his motion, "is to prohibit discrimination against citizens. We have prohibited discrimination on grounds of 'religion, race, caste or sex.' But I am afraid, Sir," the evil elements who might attempt to make discrimination against citizens will do so not on the ground of religion, race, caste or sex . . . In my opinion attempts may be made to make discrimination against citizens on (the) ground of place of birth and under the guise of local patriotism. To guard against this possibility, I have

brought in this amendment and I hope that it will be accepted."

The amendment was duly accepted by Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Chairman of the Drafting Committee, and also by the Constituent Assembly.<sup>11</sup> And thus it occurs in Clauses (1) and (2) of Article 15 today.

Now the question is: Is the expression "place of birth" sufficient by itself to fulfil the object which Syed Abdur Rouf had in mind when he moved his amendment, namely, the prevention of what is generally known as "provincialism"? We are afraid it is not. A place of birth does not necessarily mean a place of residence. And a State may, for instance, insist on some residential qualification for admission to its educational institutions: It may lay down a rule that no person will, apart, from other requirements, be eligible for admission to a College maintained by it unless he or she has lived in the State for a certain, prescribed number of years. Under Clause (1) of Article 15 as it stands, there is, to our mind, no constitutional bar to such a rule being laid down. We may even give an extreme illustration. The owner or manager of a hotel or a public restaurant in Madras may refuse admission to a Bengali, even though the latter may have been born in Madras, on the ground that he is not ordinarily a resident of Madras and that the hotel or the restaurant is meant only for the *bona fide* and habitual residents of Madras. Such refusal of admission would not, it is submitted, be constitutionally wrong today.<sup>12</sup> Thus the law as it stands now is not an adequate protection against "provincialism." It may be interesting to note here that the word "residence" occurs, as we shall see later on, after the expression "place of birth," in Clause (2) of Article 16 of our Constitution. It may also be interesting to note here that the position in the Commonwealth of Australia in this respect is much better than what it is in our country. Thus under Section 117 of the Commonwealth of Australia Constitution Act, 1900:

"A subject of the Queen, resident in any State, shall not be subject in any other State to any disability or discrimination which would not be equally applicable to him if he were a subject of the Queen resident in such other State."

We do not know whether the omission of the word "residence" in Clauses (1) and (2) of Article 15 and also of the words "place of birth" and "residence" in Clause (2) of Article 29 as quoted before, was deliberate or due to an oversight. At any rate, this omission is unfortunate and would not help the growth of a national feeling and a sense of national solidarity in our country. We, therefore, suggest that these omissions should be rectified at the earliest

7. Also see in this connexion Durga Das Basu, *A Commentary on the Constitution of India*, 1951, p. 82.

8. Assam: Muslim.

9. *Constituent Assembly Debates*, 29th November, 1948, pp. 650-51.

10. The Chairman of the meeting of the Constituent Assembly (Vice-President, Dr. H. C. Mookherjee) was meant.

11. *Constituent Assembly Debates*, 29th November, 1948.

12. Also see in this connexion Durga Das Basu, *op.cit.*, pp. 81-82.

possible opportunity by necessary constitutional amendments.

Fourthly, it may be noted here that the word "shops" in Sub-clause (a) of Clause (2) of Article 15 has been used in a very wide sense. When, for example, a member<sup>13</sup> of the Constituent Assembly inquired of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Chairman of the Drafting Committee, on 29th November, 1948, whether the word "shops" in the expression "access to shops" in Article 9<sup>14</sup> of the Draft Constitution of India, also included places like "a barber's shop," or "a shaving saloon," or "laundries" where people purchased "services" rather than "things," Dr. Ambedkar's reply was:

"Well, so far as I am concerned, I have not the least doubt that the word 'shop' does include laundry and shaving place. To define the word 'shop' in the most generic term one can think of is to state that 'shop' is a place where the owner is prepared to offer his service to anybody who is prepared to go there seeking his service. A laundryman therefore would be a man sitting in his shop offering to serve the public in a particular respect, namely, (to) wash the dirty cloths of a customer. Similarly, the owner of a shaving saloon would be sitting there offering his service for any person<sup>15</sup> who enters his saloon."<sup>16</sup>

At this stage, a member of the Constituent Assembly inquired whether the word 'shops' included the offices of a doctor and a lawyer. Dr. Ambedkar replied:<sup>17</sup>

"Certainly it will include anybody who offers his services. I am using it in a generic sense. I should like to point out therefore that the word 'shop' used here is not used in the limited sense of permitting entry. It is used in the larger sense of requiring the services if the terms of service are agreed to."

On this occasion Dr. Ambedkar also made it clear in reply to some other questions that the word 'tanks' in Article 9<sup>18</sup> included 'ponds', and that the expression "places of public resort" would include a burial (or cremation) ground, subject to the fact that such a burial ground was "maintained wholly or partly out of public funds."<sup>19</sup> He added, however:<sup>20</sup>

"Where there are no burial grounds maintained by a municipality local board or taluk board or Provincial Government or village panchayat, nobody of course has any right, because there is no public place about which anybody can make a

claim for entry. But if there is a burial ground maintained by the State out of State funds, then obviously every person<sup>21</sup> would have every right to have his body buried or cremated therein . . . the word 'public' is used here in a special sense. A place is a place of public resort provided it is maintained wholly or partly out of State funds. It has nothing to do with the definition (of the word 'public') given in the Indian Penal Code."

Finally, we should like to say a word or two in regard to the expression "State funds" in Article 15. This expression was substituted by the Constituent Assembly on 29th November, 1948, for the corresponding expression "the revenues of the State"<sup>22</sup> in the Draft Constitution of India, 1948, on the motion of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar himself.

"The reason," said Dr. Ambedkar in support of his motion,<sup>23</sup> "why the Drafting Committee felt that the words 'the revenues of the State should be replaced by the words 'State funds' is a very simple thing. In the administrative parlance which has been in vogue in India for a considerably long time, we are accustomed to speak of (the) revenues of a Provincial Government or (the) revenues of the Central Government. When we come to speak of local boards or district boards, we generally use the phrase local funds and not revenues. That is the terminology which has been in operation throughout India in all the provinces. Now, the honourable members of the House<sup>24</sup> will remember that we are using the word 'State' in this Part<sup>25</sup> to include not only the Central Government and the Provincial Governments and Indian States, but also local authorities, such as district local boards, or taluk local boards or the Port Trust authorities. So far as they are concerned, the proper word is 'Fund.' It is, therefore, desirable, in view of the fact that we are making these Fundamental Rights obligatory not merely upon the Central Government and the Provincial Governments, but also upon the district local boards and taluka local boards, to use a wider phraseology which would be applicable not only to the Central Government but also to the local boards which are included in the definition of the word 'State'."

We shall now refer to Clause (4) of Article 15 as quoted before. This Clause has a history. It did not originally occur either in the Draft Constitution of India, 1948, or in the Constitution of India. It was inserted in Article 15 by Section 2 of the Constitution (First Amendment) Act, 1951,<sup>26</sup> as a consequence<sup>27</sup> of

13. Shri S. Nagappa (Madras : General).

14. Corresponding to Article 15 of the Constitution of India, as stated in the text before.

15. Of course, this person must be an Indian citizen. This follows from the context.

16. *Constituent Assembly Debates*, 29th November, 1948, p. 661.

17. See *ibid.*, p. 661.

18. See foot-note 14 above.

19. See the *Constituent Assembly Debates* of 29th November, 1948, p. 662.

20. See *ibid.* pp. 661-62.

21. See foot-note 15 above in this connexion.

22. See Article 9 of the Draft Constitution of India, 1948.

23. *Constituent Assembly Debates*, 29th November, 1948, p. 654.

24. I.e., the Constituent Assembly of India.

25. I.e., Part III (Fundamental Rights) of the Draft Constitution of India, 1948.

26. This Act of our Parliament received the assent of the President on 18th June, 1951.

27. See the *Parliamentary Debates (India)* of May and June, 1951, Official Report.

the judgment of the Supreme Court of India in Case No. 270 of 1951 (The State of Madras vs. Srimathi Champakam Dorairajan) and Case No. 271 of 1951 (The State of Madras vs. C. R. Srinivasan).<sup>28</sup> These cases were "appeals from the judgment passed" by the High Court of Madras on 27th July, 1950, "on two separate applications under Article 226 of the Constitution (of India) complaining of breach of the petitioners' fundamental right to get admission into educational institutions maintained by the State."<sup>29</sup> Briefly speaking, the facts of the cases in which the judgment of the Supreme Court was delivered by Mr. Justice S. R. Das on 9th April, 1951, were as follows:<sup>30</sup>

It appears from the judgment of Das J. that the State of Madras maintained four Medical Colleges and that only 330 seats were available for students in those four Colleges. Out of these 330 seats 29 were reserved and the rest were "apportioned between four distinct groups of districts in the State." Similarly, the State of Madras maintained four Engineering Colleges and the total number of seats available for students in those Colleges were only 395. Out of these, 33 seats were reserved and the rest were "apportioned between the same four distinct groups of districts."

For many years before the commencement of the Constitution of India on 26th January, 1950, the seats in "both the Medical Colleges and the Engineering Colleges so apportioned between the four distinct groups of districts used to be filled up according to certain proportions set forth in what used to be called the Communal G.O." Thus, "for every 14 seats to be filled by the Selection Committee, candidates used to be selected strictly on the following basis:

Non-Brahmin (Hindus)	6
Backward Hindus	2
Brahmins	2
Harijans	2
Anglo-Indians and Indian Christians	1
Muslims	1"

Subject "to the aforesaid regional and what have been claimed to be protective provisions, selection from among the applicants from a particular community" from each of the groups of districts "used to be made on certain principles based on academic qualifications and marks obtained by the candidates." It also appears from the said judgment that "the proportion fixed in the old Communal G.O." had been adhered to even after the commencement of the Constitution and, indeed, "G.O. No. 2208, dated June 16, 1950, laying down rules for the selection of candidates for admission into the Medical Colleges substantially" reproduced "the communal proportion fixed in the old Communal G.O."

Now on 7th June, 1950, Srimathi Champakam Dorairajan made an application to the High Court of Madras under Article 226 of the Constitution for the protection of her fundamental rights under Article 15(1) and Article 29(2) thereof, and "prayed for the issue of a writ of mandamus or other suitable prerogative writ" restraining the State of Madras and all its officers and subordinates "from enforcing, observing, maintaining or following or requiring the enforcement, observance, maintenance or following by the authorities concerned of the notification or order generally referred to as the Communal G.O. in and by which admissions into the Madras Medical Colleges were sought or purported to be regulated in such manner as to infringe and involve the violation of her fundamental rights." It appeared, however, from the affidavit filed by her that she had not actually applied for admission to any Medical College, but that on inquiry she had come to know that she would not be admitted to any such college as she belonged to the Brahmin community. By its judgment on 27th July, 1950, the High Court of Madras "allowed this application of Srimathi Champakam Dorairajan." The State of Madras thereupon appealed to the Supreme Court against this judgment.

Sri C. R. Srinivasan "who had actually applied for admission into the Government Engineering College at Guindy, filed a petition praying for a writ of mandamus or any other writ restraining the State of Madras and all officers thereof from enforcing, observing, maintaining or following the Communal G.O. in and by which admission into the Engineering College was sought to be regulated in such manner as to infringe and involve the violation" of his fundamental right under Article 15(1) and Article 29(2) of the Constitution. By the same judgment the High Court of Madras followed this application also, and the State of Madras filed an appeal to the Supreme Court against it. The Counsel "appearing" for the State of Madras conceded that these two applicants would have been admitted to the educational institutions they intended to join and they would not have been denied admission if selections had been made on merits alone."

Das J. referred in this connexion to Clause (1) and Clause (2) of Article 29<sup>31</sup> of the Constitution and then observed as follows:

"It will be noticed that while Clause (1)<sup>32</sup> protects the language, script or culture of a section of the citizens, Clause (2) guarantees the fundamental right of an individual citizen. The right to get

31. Presumably, before the Supreme Court of India, although this is not very clear from the text of the judgment of Das J.

32. We have quoted before in this article Clause (2) of Article 29. Clause (1) of this Article lays down: "Any section of the citizens residing in the territory of India or any part thereof having a distinct language, script or culture of its own shall have the right to conserve the same."

33. Of Article 29. See the preceding foot-note in this connexion.

28. See *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1951, Vol. II, Part V, May, 1951.

29. See *ibid.*

30. See *ibid.*

admission into any educational institution of the kind mentioned in Clause (2) is a right which an individual citizen has as a citizen and not as a member of any community or class of citizens. This right is not to be denied to the citizen on grounds only of religion, race, caste, language or any of them. If a citizen who seeks admission into any such educational institution has not the requisite academic qualifications and is denied admission on that ground he certainly cannot be heard to complain of an infraction of his fundamental right under this article. But on the other hand, if he has the academic qualifications but is refused admission only on grounds of religion, race, caste, language or any of them, then there is a clear breach of his fundamental right."

With regard to the question of Fundamental Rights *vis-a-vis* the Directive Principles of State Policy<sup>34</sup> raised by the Advocate-General for Madras in connexion with the cases under consideration, Das J. remarked:

"The learned Advocate-General appearing for the State (of Madras) contends that the provisions of this Article<sup>35</sup> have to be read along with other articles in the Constitution. He urges that Article 46<sup>36</sup> charges the State with promoting with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people, and, in particular, of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, and with protecting them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation. It is pointed out that although this article<sup>37</sup> finds a place in Part IV of the Constitution which lays down certain directive principles of State policy and though the provisions contained in that part are not enforceable by any Court, the principles therein laid down are nevertheless fundamental for the governance of the country and Article 37<sup>38</sup> makes it obligatory on the part of the State to apply those principles in making laws. The argument is that having regard to the provisions of Article 46 the State is entitled to maintain the Communal G.O. fixing proportionate seats for different communities and if because of that Order, which is thus contended to be valid in law and not in violation of the Constitution, the petitioners are unable to get admissions into the educational institutions, there is no infringement of their funda-

mental rights. Indeed, the learned Advocate-General of Madras even contends that the provisions of Article 46 override the provisions of Article 29(2). We reject the above noted contentions completely. The directive principles of the State policy which by Article 37 are expressly made unenforceable by a Court, cannot override the provisions found in Part III which, notwithstanding other provisions, are expressly made enforceable by appropriate Writs, Orders or Directions under Article 32. The Chapter of Fundamental Rights is sacrosanct and not liable to be abridged by any Legislative or Executive Act or Order, except to the extent provided in the appropriate article in Part III. The directive principles of State policy have to conform to and run as subsidiary to the Chapter of Fundamental Rights. In our opinion, that is the correct way in which the provisions found in Parts III and IV have to be understood. However so long as there is no infringement of any Fundamental Right, to the extent conferred by the provisions in Part III there can be no objection to the State acting in accordance with the directive principles set out in Part IV, but subject again to the Legislative and Executive powers and limitations conferred on the State under different provisions of the Constitution."

Referring next to Article 16<sup>39</sup> of the Constitution, Das J. stated:

"It will be noticed that Article 16 which guarantees the fundamental right of equality of opportunity in matters of public employment and provides that no citizen shall, on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex, descent, place of birth, residence or any of them, be ineligible for, or discriminated against in respect of, any employment or office under the State, also includes a specific clause in the following terms:

"(4) Nothing in this article shall prevent the State from making any provision for the reservation of appointments or posts in favour of any backward class of citizens which, in the opinion of the State, is not adequately represented in the services under the State."

"If the arguments founded on Article 46 were sound, then Clause (4) of Article 16 would have been wholly unnecessary and redundant. Seeing, however, that Clause (4) was inserted in Article 16, the omission of such an express provision from Article 29 cannot but be regarded as significant. It may well be that the intention of the Constitution was not to introduce at all communal considerations in matters of admission into any educational institution maintained by the State or receiving aid out of State funds. The protection of backward classes of citizens may require appointment of members of backward classes in State services and the reason why power has been given to the State to provide for reservation of such appointments for backward classes may under those circumstances be understood. That consideration, however, was not

34. See Part IV of our Constitution.

35. I.e., Article 29(2) of our Constitution.

36. Article 46 lays down: "The State shall promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people, and, in particular, of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation." The word 'State' in this Article has also the same meaning as in Article 12 of our Constitution.

37. I.e., Article 46.

38. Article 37 has laid down: "The provisions contained in this Part (i.e., Part IV of the Constitution) shall not be enforceable by any Court, but the principles therein laid down are nevertheless fundamental in the governance of the country and it shall be the duty of the State to apply these principles in making laws." The word 'State' in this Article has the same meaning as in Article 12 of our Constitution.

39. Quoted and dealt with by us in detail hereinafter.

obviously considered necessary in the case of admission into an educational institution and that may well be the reason for the omission from Article 29 of a clause similar to Clause (4) of Article 16."

In conclusion Das J. observed:

"Take the case of the petitioner Srinivasan. It is not disputed that he secured a much larger number of marks than the marks secured by many of the Non-Brahmin candidates and yet the Non-Brahmin candidates who secured less number of marks will be admitted into six out of every 14 seats but the petitioner Srinivasan will not be admitted into any of them. What is the reason for this denial of admission except that he is a Brahmin and not a Non-Brahmin. He may have secured higher marks than the Anglo-Indian and Indian Christians (*sic*) or Muslim candidates but, nevertheless he cannot get any of the seats reserved for the last mentioned communities for no fault of his except that he is a Brahmin and not a member of the aforesaid communities. Such denial of admission cannot but be regarded as made on ground only of his caste.

"It is argued that the petitioners are not denied admission only because they are Brahmins but for a variety of reasons *e.g.*, (a) they are Brahmins (b) Brahmins have an allotment of only two seats out of 14, and (c) the two seats have already been filled up by more meritorious Brahmin candidates. This may be true so far as these two seats reserved for the Brahmins are concerned but this line of argument can have no force when we come to consider the seats reserved for candidates of other communities, for, so far as those seats are concerned, the petitioners are denied admission into any of them not on any ground other than the sole ground of their being Brahmins and not being members of the community for whom those reservations have been made. The classification in the Communal G.O. proceeds on the basis of religion race and caste. In our view the classification made in the Communal G.O. is opposed to the Constitution and constitutes a clear violation of the fundamental rights guaranteed to the citizen under Article 29(2). In this view of the matter we do not find it necessary to consider the effect of Articles 14 or 15 on the specific articles discussed above.

"For the reasons stated above we are of opinion that the Communal G.O. being inconsistent with the provisions of Article 29(2) in Part III of the Constitution is void under Article 13."<sup>40</sup>

As noted before, this judgment led to the insertion of Clause (4) in Article 15 in 1951. Under this clause notwithstanding anything in Article 15 or in Article 29(2) of the Constitution special provision may be made, as in the case of women and children under Clause (3) of Article 15, for the advancement of any socially and educationally backward classes of

citizens or for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes. It may be interesting to note here that when Article 9<sup>41</sup> of the Draft Constitution of India, 1948, was before the Constituent Assembly, Professor K. T. Shah had moved an amendment on 29th November, 1948, that "at the end of Clause (2)<sup>42</sup> of Article 9, the following be added:

'or for Scheduled Castes or backward tribes' for their advantage, safeguard or betterment'."

Dr. Ambedkar had opposed the amendment on the ground that it might "have just the opposite effect."

"The object," he added,<sup>43</sup> "which all of us have in mind is that the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes should not be segregated from the general public. For instance, none of us I think, would like that a separate school should be established for the Scheduled Castes when there is a general school in the village open to the children of the entire community. If these words are added, it will probably give a handle for a State to say, 'Well we are making special provision for the Scheduled Castes.' To my mind they can safely say so by taking shelter under the article if it is amended in the manner the Professor wants it. I therefore, think that it is not a desirable amendment."

Thus Professor Shah's amendment had been negatived by the Constituent Assembly. People thought otherwise, however, in 1951 after the judgment of the Supreme Court referred to above.

But as it stands, Clause (4) of Article 15 is not free from difficulties. As was pointed out by more than one speaker when the Constitution (First Amendment) Bill, 1951, was before our Parliament the power conferred by the Clause may be abused by a State Government and thus the object of Article 15 may be largely defeated by it. Moreover, the expression "socially and educationally backward classes of citizens" in the clause is very vague and not capable of any precise definition. Further, whether any action taken by a State Government under the clause is justiciable or not, is a matter on which there may be an honest difference of opinion. It is, therefore, sincerely hoped that the power conferred by the clause will be exercised by our State Governments cautiously and reasonably.<sup>44</sup>

41. As noted before, this corresponded to Article 15 of the Constitution of India.

42. It ran as follows: "Nothing in this article shall prevent the State from making any special provision for women and children."

43. *Constituent Assembly Debates*, 29th November, 1948, p. 661; also see pp. 655-56.

44. It may perhaps be interesting to note here that in its letter No. 120142 E4/54-1 Education, dated 17th January, 1955, the Secretary in the Government of Madras, "The 'h. Education and Local Administration Department,' has kept" "d us fr' t 'ly to an inquiry that in 1951 the Govern" "d" "our C 15 per cent of the seats available"

40. For Article 13 of our Constitution see my article in *The Modern Review* for November, 1954, pp. 377-82

Before we leave this topic, we should like to invite the attention of the reader to the absence of the words 'sex' and 'place of birth' in Article 29(2), and of the word 'language' in Article 15. It, therefore, appears to us that, subject, of course, to the other provisions of our Constitution, discrimination, on the ground of sex or place of birth, under Article 29(2), or, on the ground of language, under Article 15, will not be constitutionally invalid. At any rate, this point needs clarification. Further, as will appear from what follows, the word 'descent' occurs in Clause (2) of Article 16, but it does not occur either in Article 15 or in Article 29(2). Does it, therefore, imply that, subject, again, to the other provisions of the Constitution, discrimination may be made, under Articles 15 and 29(2), on the ground of descent, origin, or lineage? This point, too, needs clarification.

### III

We may now pass on to Article 16 of our Constitution. It lays down:

"(1) There shall be equality of opportunity for all citizens in matters relating to employment or to appointment to any office under the State.

"(2) No citizen shall, on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex, descent, place of birth, residence or any of them be ineligible for, or discriminated against in respect of, any employment or office under the State.

"(3) Nothing in this article shall prevent Parliament from making any law prescribing, in regard to a class or classes of employment or appointment to an office under any State specified in the First Schedule or any local or other authority within its territory any requirement as to residence within that State prior to such employment or appointment.

"(4) Nothing in this article shall prevent the State from making any provision for the reservation of appointments or posts in favour of any backward class of citizens, which in the opinion of the State is not adequately represented in the services under the State.

"(5) Nothing in this article shall affect the operation of any law which provides that the incumbent of an office in connexion with the affairs of any religious or denominational institution or any member of the governing body thereof shall be a person professing a particular religion or belonging to a particular denomination."

Reference<sup>46</sup> may also be made in this connexion to Article 335 of the Constitution, which runs as follows:

be reserved for candidates belonging to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and not less than 25 per cent of the seats for socially and educationally backward classes," and that "from the year 1952 onwards, 15 per cent of the seats have been reserved for (the) Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and 25 per cent for the backward classes."

45. It is also worthy of note here that special provision has been made in the Constitution for the appointment of members of the Anglo-Indian community to posts in certain services. See Article 336 in this connexion.

"The claims of the members of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes shall be taken into consideration, consistently with the maintenance of efficiency of administration in the making of appointments to services and posts in connexion with the affairs of the Union or of a State."

After what we have stated above in connexion with Articles 15 and 29(2), we need not say much by way of explanation with regard to Clauses (1) and (2) of Article 16. The object of these clauses is, ordinarily, to provide for an equality of opportunity to all citizens of India in matters of public employment, irrespective of their religion, caste, race, etc. The absence, however, of the word 'language' in Clause (2) seems to imply that discrimination is, subject, of course, to the other requirements of the Constitution permissible on the ground of language. No discrimination is ordinarily permissible on the ground of residence, but Parliament and not the legislature of a Constituent State in India specified in the First Schedule to the Constitution, nor any local or other authority therein can make a law under Clause (3) providing for a residential qualification as a prerequisite for certain types of appointment as stated in the clause. It may be noted here that neither the word 'residence' in Clause (2) nor Clause (3) itself originally occurred in Article 10<sup>47</sup> of the Draft Constitution of India 1948. They were inserted in the Article by the Constituent Assembly on 30th November 1948 by way of amendment on the motion of Shri Jaspat Roy Kapoor<sup>48</sup> as amended by Shri K. M. Munshi and Shri Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar<sup>49</sup>. Moving for the insertion of the word 'residence' in Clause (2) of the said Article, Shri Kapoor said<sup>50</sup> that his object was to ensure that "every citizen of the country wherever he might be living should have" an "equal opportunity of employment under the State . . . anywhere in the country;" and that "there being only one citizenship for the whole country it should carry with it the unfettered right and privilege of employment in any part and in every nook and corner of the country."

Unfortunately he continued "for some time past we have been observing that provincialism has been growing in this country. Every now and then we hear the cry 'Bengal for Bengalis' 'Madras for Madrasis' and so on and so forth. This cry . . . is not in the interests of the unity of the country or in the interests of the solidarity of the country . . . I can easily understand a Provincial Government laying it down as a rule that only those who possess adequate knowledge of the provincial language shall be eligible for employ-

46. Corresponding to Article 16 in the Constitution of India.

47. "United Provinces: General."

48. *Constituent Assembly Debates*, 30th November, 1948, pp. 676-78 and pp. 699-703.

49. *Ibid.*, pp. 676-77.

ment in the province. I can also understand . . . a rule being laid down that a person who wants employment in the province should have adequate knowledge of local conditions . . . All that is easily understandable in the interests of efficiency of the services. I, therefore, submit that in the matter of employment there should be absolutely no restriction whatsoever unless it is necessary in the interests of the efficiency of the services. The unity of the country must be preserved at all costs; the solidarity of the country must be preserved at all costs. We must do everything in our power to preserve the unity of the country, and the amendment that I have moved aims at this and is a step in this direction."

Shri Kapoor's motion as amended by Shri K. M. Munshi and Shri Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar, was accepted by Dr. B. R. Ambedkar on behalf of the Drafting Committee. In justification of this acceptance Dr. Ambedkar observed,<sup>50</sup> among other things:

"It is the feeling of many persons in this House that since we have established a common citizenship throughout India, irrespective of the local jurisdiction of the provinces and the Indian States it is only a concomitant thing that residence should not be required for holding a particular post in a particular State because, in so far as you make residence a qualification you are really subtracting from the value of a common citizenship which we have established by this Constitution or which we propose to establish by this Constitution. Therefore in my judgment, the argument that residence should not be a qualification to hold appointments under the State is a perfectly valid and a perfectly sound argument. At the same time, it must be realised that you cannot allow people who are flying from one province to another, from one State to another, as mere birds of passage without any roots, without any connection with that particular province, just to come, apply for posts and, so to say, take the plums and walk away. Therefore, some limitation is necessary. It was found, when this matter was investigated, that already today in very many provinces rules have been framed by the provincial governments prescribing a certain period of residence as a qualification for a post in that particular province (*sic*). Therefore the proposal in the amendment that, although as a general rule residence should not be a qualification, yet some exception might be made, is not quite out of the ordinary. We are merely following the practice which has been already established in the various provinces. However, what we found was that while different provinces were laying down a certain period as a qualifying period for posts, the periods varied considerably. Some provinces said that a person must be actually domiciled. What that means, one does not know. Others have fixed ten years, some seven and so on. It was therefore felt that, while it might be desirable to fix a period as a qualifying test that

qualifying test should be uniform through India. Consequently, if that object is to be achieved, *viz.*, that the qualifying residential period should be uniform, that object can be achieved only by giving the power to Parliament and not giving it to the local units, whether provinces or States. That is the underlying purpose of this amendment putting down residence as a qualification."

It is perhaps not necessary for us to say anything further in regard to the word 'residence' in Clause (2), or in regard to Clause (3), of Article 16 after what we have quoted from the speeches of Shri Jaspal Roy Kapoor and Dr. B. R. Ambedkar in the Constituent Assembly. These extracts from their speeches make the object of the word 'residence' as well as of Clause (3) very clear and one can hardly disagree with it.

We may now pass on to Clause (4) of Article 16. This Clause is apparently simple, but the expression "backward class of citizens" in it is so vague that it may create difficulties in practice. As more than one speaker pointed out in the Constituent Assembly on 30th November, 1948, in the absence of a clear definition, the expression is liable to different interpretations by different persons and may "lead to a lot of litigation."<sup>51</sup> This apprehension was not altogether unfounded. Dr. Ambedkar, however, thought otherwise. "Somebody asked me," he said,<sup>52</sup> "What is a backward community?" Well, I think any one who reads the language of the draft (Constitution) itself will find that we have left it to be determined by each local Government. A backward community is a community which is backward in the opinion of the Government. My honourable friend, Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari asked me whether this rule will be justiciable. It is rather difficult to give a dogmatic answer. Personally I think it would be a justiciable matter. If the local Government included in this category of reservations such a large number of seats, I think one could very well go to the Federal Court (*sic*) and the Supreme Court and say that the reservation is of such a magnitude that the rule regarding equality of opportunity has been destroyed and the court will then come to the conclusion whether the local Government or the State Government has acted in a reasonable and prudent manner." It is rather difficult to agree with Dr. Ambedkar in this view. In the absence of any definite criteria for judging of the 'backwardness' of a class of citizens, we fail to see how the court of law can help in the matter. That is to say, there will be no precise and unchanging yard-stick for judges to act upon in this matter: no possibility of any mechanical application of a measuring rod by them. As a result, the length of the judicial yard-stick used will change from case to case accord-

50. *Ibid.*, pp. 699-701.

51. *Ibid.*, p. 699.

52. *Ibid.*, p. 702.

ing to the discretion of the judges who will apply it. Thus there will naturally be a certain amount of uncertainty in the whole matter.

At the same time, we can appreciate the difficulties of those who had to draft this provision. In this connexion what Dr. Ambedkar said in the Constituent Assembly on 30th November, 1948, is certainly worthy of consideration. In regard to the "use of the word 'backward' in Clause (3) of Article 10"<sup>53</sup> (of the Draft Constitution of India, 1948), Dr. Ambedkar observed:<sup>54</sup>

"I should like to begin by making some general observations so that members might be in a position to understand the exact import, the significance and the necessity for using the word 'backward' in this particular clause . . . There are three points of view which it is necessary for us to reconcile if we are to produce a workable proposition which will be accepted by all. Of the three points of view, the first is that there shall be equality of opportunity for all citizens. It is the desire of many members of this House that every individual who is qualified for a particular post should be free to apply for that post, to sit for examinations and to have his qualifications tested so as to determine whether he is fit for the post or not and that there ought to be no limitations, there ought to be no hindrance in the operation of this principle of equality of opportunity. Another view, mostly shared by a section of the House is that, if this principle is to be operative—and it ought to be operative in their judgment to its fullest extent—there ought to be no reservations of any sort for any class or community at all, that all citizens, if they are qualified, should be placed on the same footing of equality so far as the public services are concerned. That is the second point of view we have. Then we have quite massive opinion which insists that, although theoretically it is good to have the principle that there shall be equality of opportunity, there must at the same time be a provision made for the entry of certain communities which have so far been outside the administration . . . The Drafting Committee had to produce a formula which would reconcile these three points of view."

Thus, continued Dr. Ambedkar, addressing the members of the Constituent Assembly:

"If honourable members will bear these facts in mind—the three principles, we had to reconcile.—they will see that no better formula could be produced than the one that is embodied in sub-clause (3) of Article 10 of the Constitution;" they will find that the view of those who believe and hold that there shall be equality of opportunity,

has been embodied in sub-clause (1)<sup>55</sup> of Article 10. It is a generic principle. At the same time, as I said, we had to reconcile this formula with the demand made by certain communities that the administration which has now—for historical reasons—been controlled by one community or a few communities, that situation should disappear and that the others also must have an opportunity of getting into the public services. Supposing, for instance, we were to concede in full the demand of those communities who (*sic*) have not been so far employed in the public services to the fullest extent, what would really happen is, we shall be completely destroying the first proposition upon which we are all agreed, namely, that there shall be an equality of opportunity \* \* \* Therefore the seats (posts?) to be reserved, if the reservation is to be consistent with sub-clause (1)<sup>56</sup> of Article 10, must be confined to a minority of seats (posts?). It is then only that the first principle could find its place in the Constitution and (be) effective in operation. If honourable members understand this position that we have to safeguard two things, namely, the principle of equality of opportunity and at the same time satisfy the demand of communities which have not had so far representation in the State, then, I am sure they will agree that unless you use some such qualifying phrase as 'backward,' the exception made in favour of reservation will ultimately eat up the rule altogether. Nothing of the rule will remain. That I think, if I may say so, is the justification why the Drafting Committee undertook on its own shoulders the responsibility of introducing the word 'backward' which, I admit, did not originally find a place in the fundamental right in the way in which it was passed by this Assembly. I think this is sufficient to justify why the word 'backward' has been used."<sup>57</sup>

It is clear from the above that Clause (4) of Article 16 of the Constitution which corresponds in essence to Clause (3) of Article 10 of the Draft Constitution of India, 1948, is a sort of compromise between the demands of the abstract principle of equality of opportunity for all citizens and the demands for the reservation of posts in the services of the State in favour of certain communities which were in the past very inadequately represented in those services on account of their social, economic, educational and, consequential, political backwardness. But it must be noted here that, although the reservation of posts in favour of what may legitimately be regarded as a 'backward' class of citizens is thus constitutionally permissible, it is not permissible for

53. Corresponding to Clause (4) of Article 16 of the Constitution of India.

54. *Constituent Assembly Debates*, 30th November, 1948, pp. 701-702.

55. Dr. Ambedkar obviously meant here Clause (3) of Article 10 of the Draft Constitution of India, 1948, corresponding, as noted before, to Clause (4) of Article 16 of the Constitution of India.

56. *I.e.*, Clause (1) of Article 10 of the Draft Constitution of India, 1948, corresponding to Clause (1) of Article 16 of the Constitution of India.

57. *I.e.*, Clause (1) of Article 10 (Draft Constitution of India, 1948). Also see the preceding footnote.

58. *Constituent Assembly Debates*, 30th November, 1948, pp. 701-702.

the State to reserve any post or appointment on religious or communal grounds, except as allowed for the Anglo-Indian community, during a short period, under Article 336 of the Constitution. This principle was definitely established by the judgment of our Supreme Court in the case of *B. Venkataramana (Petitioner) vs. The State of Madras and another (Respondents)*, delivered by Das J. on 9th April, 1951. This case arose<sup>59</sup> as a result of an application under Article 32 of the Constitution "complaining of the infringement of the petitioner's fundamental right to employment in the State service of the first respondent." The facts of the case were briefly as follows:<sup>60</sup>

By a notification, dated 16th December, 1949 the Madras Public Services Commission "invited applications for 83 posts of District Munsiffs in the Madras Subordinate Civil Judicial Service. It was notified that out of the 83 posts to be filled by direct recruitment, 12 were to go to persons already in the service holding certain classes of employment in the Madras Civil Judicial Department," and that the remaining 71 posts were to be "filled up from among the Official Receivers, Assistant Public Prosecutors and practising members of the Bar. It was further notified that the selection of the candidates" were to be "made from various castes, religions and communities in pursuance of the rules prescribed in what are popularly described as Communal G. Os., namely, for Harijans 19, Muslims 5, Christians 6, Backward Hindus 10, Non-Brahmin Hindus 32 and Brahmins 11." Moreover, "different and unequal age limits for candidates of the above-mentioned different classes were fixed and no age limit was fixed for Harijans and Backward Hindus."

It was admitted that the petitioner possessed "the requisite qualifications for being selected as a District Munsiff" and that "the marks secured by him would entitle him to be selected if the provisions in the Communal G.O. were disregarded." It appears that "out of the 83 posts, 12 were selected from the Madras Judicial Department," and that in its Notification in the Supplement to Part 1-B of the *Fort St. George Gazette*, dated 6th June, 1950, the Madras Public Services Commission "published the list of selected candidates under each community." The petition of B. Venkataramana "was filed on 21st October, 1950, praying for an order declaring that the rule of the communal rotation, in pursuance of which the selection to the posts of District Munsiffs was made in the Madras Subordinate Civil Judicial Service, was repugnant to the provisions of the Constitu-

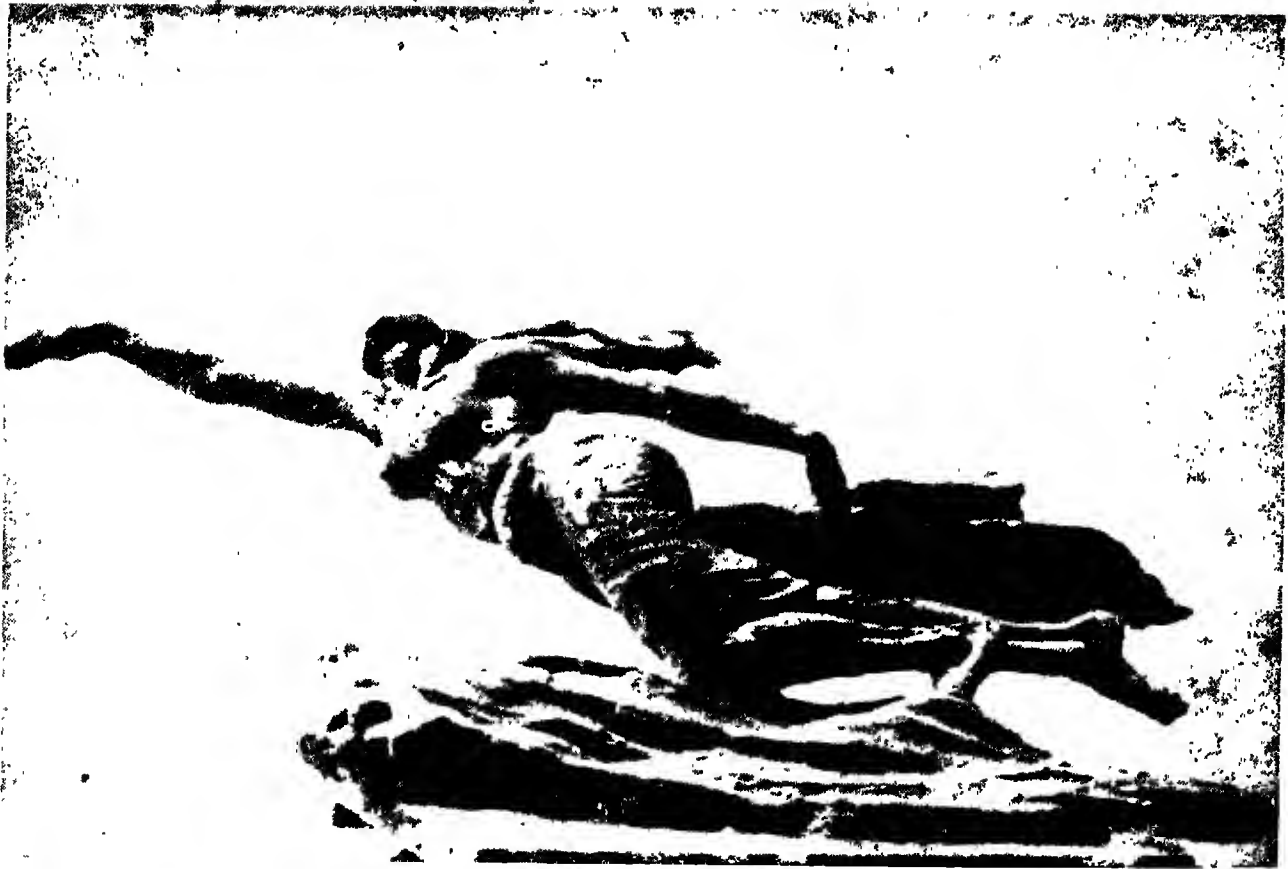
tion and, therefore, void, for directing the Madras Public Services Commission to cancel the selections already made, prohibiting the State of Madras from filling up the posts from out of the candidates selected in pursuance of the Notification, dated 16th December, 1949, and for directing the disposal of the petitioner's application for the said post after taking it on the file on its merits and without applying the rule of communal rotation."

"The Constitution by Article 16," said Das J., "specifically provides for equality of opportunity in matters of public employment. The relevant clauses are as follows"<sup>61</sup>. . . Clause (4) expressly permits the State to make provision for the reservation of appointments or posts in favour of any backward class of citizens which, in the opinion of the State, is not adequately represented in the services of the State. Reservation of posts in favour of any backward class of citizens cannot, therefore, be regarded as unconstitutional. The Communal G.O. itself makes an express reservation of seats for Harijans and Backward Hindus. The other categories, namely Muslims, Christians, Non-Brahmin Hindus and Brahmins must be taken to have been treated as other than Harijans and Backward Hindus. Our attention was drawn to a Schedule of Backward Classes set out in Schedule III to Part I of the Madras Provincial and Subordinate Service Rules. It was, therefore, argued that Backward Hindus would mean Hindus of any of the communities mentioned in that Schedule. It is, in the circumstances, impossible to say that classes of people other than Harijans and Backward Hindus can be called Backward Classes. As regards the posts reserved for Harijans and Backward Hindus it may be said that the petitioner who does not belong to those two classes is regarded as ineligible for those reserved posts not on the ground of religion, race, caste, etc., but because of the necessity for making a provision for reservation of such posts in favour of a backward class of citizens but the ineligibility of the petitioner for any of the posts reserved for communities other than Harijans and Backward Hindus cannot but be regarded as founded on the ground only of his being a Brahmin. For instance the petitioner may be far better qualified than a Muslim or a Christian or a Non-Brahmin candidate and if all the posts reserved for those communities were open to him, he would be eligible for appointment, as is conceded by the learned Advocate-General of Madras, but, nevertheless, he cannot expect to get any of those posts reserved for those different categories only because he happens to be a Brahmin. His ineligibility for any of the posts reserved for the other communities, although he may have far better qualifications than those possessed by members falling within those categories, is brought about only because he is a

59. *The Supreme Court Journal*, Madras, Vol. XIV, 1951, pp. 318-20; also *The All-India Reporter*, Nagpur, 1951, pp. 229-30; also Durga Das Basu, *Cases on the Constitution of India*, 1950-51, pp. 37-39.

60. *Ibid.*

61. Das J. quoted here Clauses (1), (2) and (4) of Article 16 of the Constitution. These clauses have been quoted by us before in this article.



Swimmer The last stroke (*Bronze*)  
Sculptor —D. P. Roy Chowdhury

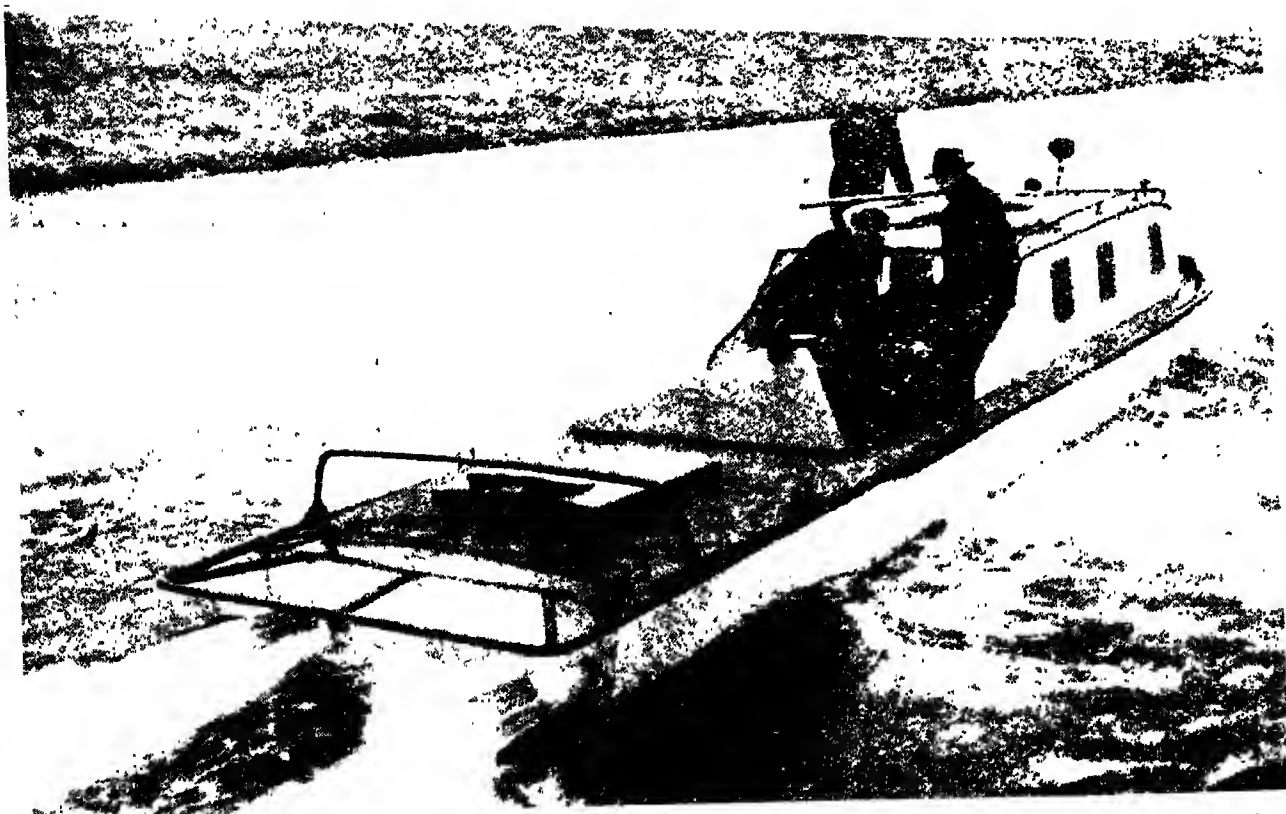


Southern Slav nationals, Hungary



Fir Tree party for school-children, Moscow. The children at the Trade Union-House party are enjoying the Punch and Judy show enormously

Photo : V. Nosov and D. Sholomovich



A new shallow-draught hydro-jet cutter designed for use in the upper reaches of rivers and in their shallow tributaries. Moscow

Photo : V. Koshovoy

Brabmin and does not belong to any of those categories. This ineligibility created by the Communal G.O. does not appear to us to be sanctioned by Clause (4) of Article 16 and it is an infringement of the fundamental right guaranteed to the petitioner as an individual citizen under Article 16(1) and (2). The Communal G.O., in our opinion, is repugnant to the provisions of Article 16 and is as such void and illegal . . . We, therefore, direct the respondents to consider and dispose of the petitioner's application for the post after taking it on file on its merits and without applying the rule of communal rotation. The petitioner will be entitled to his costs of this application."

Thus the petition of B. Venkataramana was allowed by the Supreme Court, and the principle was established that there could be no reservation of posts, on religious or communal grounds, in the services of the State, except, as noted before for the Anglo-Indian community during a brief period.

We need not say anything in regard to Clause (5) of Article 16 as quoted before as it is self-explanatory and as the exception provided for in it is not merely reasonable, but is also a logical consequence of the principle of religious neutrality which our State has adopted as one of its fundamental features.

#### IV

We shall now say a few words in regard to Article 17 of our Constitution, corresponding to Article 11 of the Draft Constitution of India 1948. It lays down:

"Untouchability" is abolished and its practice in any form is forbidden. The enforcement of any disability arising out of 'untouchability' shall be an offence punishable in accordance with law."

This is a very important provision of our Constitution and its object is to abolish some iniquitous social customs and disabilities from our country. As we have seen before<sup>62</sup> in connexion with the question of the Preamble to our Constitution, the Constitution wants, among other things, to come to all the citizens of India 'social justice' and 'equality of status,' and also to promote among them all "fraternity assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity of the Nation." Article 17 properly implemented, will certainly help to achieve these objects. It may also be noted here that this Article, as Dr. Ambedkar pointed out<sup>63</sup> in the Constituent Assembly on 29th November, 1948, instead of leaving it to our Parliament or to a State Legislature to make the enforcement of any

disability arising out of untouchability a crime, itself declares any such enforcement an offence punishable by law.

The Article however, is not free from difficulties. Although we generally understand what is meant by the word 'untouchability' in the context of our social system, yet, as a legal term, it lacks precision since it has not been defined anywhere in our Constitution. It obviously means 'untouchability' on the ground of descent, caste, race, or religion. But the word 'untouchability' is applicable to so many varieties of things or conduct in different parts of our country that, in the absence of a clear definition, it may lead to any amount of vexatious litigation with the ever-increasing sense of self-respect in the minds of those in whose interest the Article has been framed. A certain type of conduct has been declared to be a penal offence, and yet it has now been considered necessary to define or describe it in the language of law. We appreciate the difficulties in the way of such definition or description, yet we fail to see how we can avoid it if the object of the Article is to be fulfilled. The same criticism also applies to the expression "any disability arising out of 'untouchability'" in the Article. This expression too, needs a clear definition or, at least, an illustrative elucidation, both for the enlightenment of the general public and for the guidance of the judiciary. It may, however, be noted in this connexion, that, except as otherwise provided in Clause (b) of Article 35 of the Constitution, under Sub Clause (a) of Clause (a) of the same Article, the Parliament of India alone, and not the Legislature of any constituent State, has been empowered by the Constitution to make a law for prescribing punishment for any offence envisaged by Article 17; and that the Parliament has been required by the Constitution, as soon as may be after its commencement, to enact necessary legislation for the purpose. This power has been rightly given to Parliament alone with a view as Dr. Ambedkar stated<sup>64</sup> in the Constituent Assembly on 29th November, 1948, to ensuring uniformity of legislation on the subject throughout the country. As far as we know, no such legislation has yet been enacted although the matter has for some time been under the active consideration of the authorities concerned. We sincerely hope that such legislation will be enacted without any further delay.

In our next article we propose to begin the consideration of our Fundamental Right to Freedom.

62. See *The Modern Review* for September, 1954, pp. 191-96.

63. See the *Constituent Assembly Debates* of 29th November, 1948, p. 661.

64. With reference to Article 27 of the Draft Constitution of India, 1948, which corresponded to Article 35 of the Constitution of India.—*Ibid.*

# AGRARIAN FINANCE IN INDIA

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## II

### THE CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES

THE co-operative societies, next to the village moneylenders and indigenous bankers, form the most important source of rural credit. These societies, according to the Gadgil Committee, constitute 'the ideal agency for rural credit' and according to the Rural Banking Enquiry Committee, are regarded as 'miniature banks for village and the only appropriate organisations through which banking facilities can reach the vast mass of the rural population.' Indeed, they are deemed not only as the appropriate agencies of supplying rural credit but also of mobilising rural savings. The Planning Commission also have considered these co-operatives as "the most effective agency for providing finance for agricultural purposes." The co-operatives, according to the Commission, have the following special advantages: (1) A co-operative society organised by the people for their economic and social welfare places proper emphasis on the character of a member without losing sight of his material security; (2) Compared to State agency a Co-operative can exercise better supervision and it can ensure utilization of loans for productive purposes more effectively; (3) The recovery of loans is also facilitated as, besides coercive action, public opinion is also brought to bear against wilful defaulters; and (4) Co-operatives are also in a better position to mobilize local savings.

With this importance of the co-operative societies, let us examine their origin, growth and present position and see how far the hopes reposed in them by the Rural Banking Enquiry Committee and the Planning Commission can be fulfilled.

#### ORIGIN AND GROWTH

As regards their origin, they are not the result of a spontaneous democratic movement, but the outcome of Government policy and are restricted to the problem of rural credit. The immediate impulse was to stop the rapid deterioration of agricultural situation on account of the piling load of rural indebtedness and to save the small and poor farmers from the paralysing grip of the village money-lenders, in the last decade of the 19th century. In 1901, the Government of the day appointed a Committee to consider the question of the establishment of agricultural banks and the report of this Committee resulted in the passing of the Co-operative Credit Societies Act of 1904. The Act aimed at encouraging thrift, self-help and co-operation among agriculturists, artisans and persons of limited means, and the societies that were to be started were intended to be small simple credit societies for small and simple folks with simple needs

and requiring small sums only. Knowledge of confidence in their fellow members which are the keystone of success was ensured by providing that a society should consist of persons residing in the same town or village or groups of villages and should be members of the same tribe, class or caste. The Act introduced the principle of unlimited liability for rural societies. The seed thus sown has grown in the course of 45 years into a fine tree with twigs and branches, spread out in many directions.

This Act was full of defects, viz., (a) it left primary societies unaided; (b) it sanctioned for credit societies only; (c) it provided for no central agencies for supervision and supply of capital, etc. To remedy these defects, was passed the co-operative societies Act of 1912 according to which (a) non-credit co-operative societies were also started; (b) new organisations for supervision, audit and supply of capital were recognised in the shape of (i) unions, consisting of primary societies for central supervision and audit; (ii) central banks for co-ordinating the activities of and financing the primary credit societies; and (iii) Provincial Co-operative Banks for the supply of capital. Thus the Act of 1912 made provision not only for the formation of central credit societies, but also for the formation of co-operative institutions of almost all types and for all purposes.

The Constitutional Reforms of 1919 made this co-operation a transferred subject and the Provinces were given the option either to form co-operatives according to the Act of 1912 or to pass their own enactments to suit their own local requirements.

In the first few years of the movement the number of societies grew very slowly but the growth was considerably accelerated from 1910 and the average number of societies from 1910 to 1915 was about 12,000. The pace of growth still further quickened after 1915 but came to a stand-still in 1929. The period between 1919 and 1939 in the history of the co-operative movement was a period of Reform, Rehabilitation and Reorganisation rather than that of expansion.

The whole movement was confronted with such serious problems as heavy overdues and sharp curtailment of fresh advances. The situation was so grave that various provinces appointed Committees to take stock of the position and to devise ways and means of reorganising the movement. In some provinces definite schemes for rehabilitation were drawn up. Their cardinal feature was to examine the loans due to societies and scale them down to the paying capacity of the borrowers. The Governments of the

respective provinces agreed to give financial assistance to help the process of rehabilitation.

The years between 1939 and 1946 were the years of far-reaching developments in the movement. The war unleashed certain economic forces which changed the character of the movement and now the movement covers a wider area of economic life of the agriculturists. In the first place, the greatest contribution of the war to the co-operative movement was the shifting of the emphasis from the credit aspect to its productive and distributive functions, or more generally, to its multipurpose potentialities—a long-felt need for imparting that richness and balance which is necessary for the proper development of the movement.<sup>1</sup> The most noted advance had been in the direction of the consumers' movement. Again, both the military and civil needs of the country during this period have caused the creation of new types of producers' societies and a marked growth in existing types. Thus weavers' societies, milk supply unions and societies, and several other societies for cottage industries—all showed heavy increase in their number and business. In the second place, the war also saw a general improvement in the overall position of the movement. There was an appreciable increase in (a) number of members; and (b) in the amount of working capital. In terms of percentage, the increase since 1938-39 were 41.0, 70.6 and 54.0 respectively.<sup>2</sup> But the increase in the working capital was not in proportion to the war time inflation, on account of two reasons; (a) the societies themselves discouraged any larger augmentation of their funds owing to decreased demands on the same and (b) the farmer, once he cleared his burdensome debts out of his increased earnings, lost further incentive to save and lapsed into his traditional habits of improvidence.

The co-operative financing did not play any important part during the war period. The repayments exceeded the amount of fresh loans, and the co-operative borrowers liquidated a good part of their old dues. Thus with a large turnover, accelerated repayments and shrinkage in the overdues, the societies gained in strength and vigour. So the tasks as left by the war before the co-operators were firstly to maintain the progress achieved so far and secondly, to further its uniform progress by their own earnest efforts, as these developments were very largely products of abnormal and artificial conditions engendered by the war.

Thus from the above analysis it will be clear that the co-operative movement, even during its heydays could not achieve the end of promotive thrift among the co-operators—a fact which was also noted by the Rural Banking Enquiry Committee (1950) which observed:

"Their ability to attract deposits and stimulate thrift has, however, continued to be low, deposits at present being only Rs. 3.04 crores."

In the second place, whatever improvement the movement made, was by no means uniform in all the provinces. Uttar Pradesh and Madras had a large number of societies while other major states like Bombay, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Assam showed smaller figures.

States	No. of societies	No. of societies per one lakh inhabitants
Punjab	13,251	105.1
West Bengal	....	63.9
Coorg	....	202.9
Ajmer	....	130.5

The total number of members of primary societies stands on the 30th June, 1950 at 126 lakhs. Taking the normal family at a little under 5, it is clear that about 6½ crores of people in India are being served by this movement.

The above figures give us a very rosy picture of the progress of the movement but viewed in the other way, the following figures will show that the movement has been able to touch only the fringe of the population and the area of its operation cannot be widened unless the very income of the agriculturists is not adequately increased or supplemented.

In 1945-46 there was one society for every 3.8 villages and the population touched by the movement was 10.6 per cent of the total.<sup>3</sup> The reports of the various provinces submitted in response to the queries put to them by the Famine Enquiry Commission, 1945 tell the same tale.<sup>4</sup> Besides the co-operatives supply only 3.1 per cent of Rs. 750 crores which are borrowed every year by the Indian farmers to meet their current requirements.<sup>5</sup>

The number of membership per thousand in most of the states of Bombay and Madras is 61.3 and 56.6 only. Reduced in terms of percentage the movement has touched only 6 per cent of the inhabitants of Bombay and 5.6 per cent of those of Madras. In other states, except in a few 'C' States like Coorg and Ajmer, the number of membership per hundred of their inhabitants is much smaller.

## FINANCIAL STRUCTURE OF THE MOVEMENT

The financial structure of the co-operative movement is largely composed of three parts: (1) Primary Co-operative Societies; (2) Central Co-operative Banks; and (3) The State or Provincial Banks.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 2.

4. *Famine Enquiry Commission*, 1945, p. 495.

5. All-India Rural Credit Survey, 1954, published in the *Statesman*, December 22, 1954: "At the current level of borrowing, which makes little allowance for the planned increase of agricultural production, the all-India figure for the loans obtained by the cultivator from all sources may be broadly placed at Rs. 750 crores per annum. Out of this amount, the Government supplied as little as 3.3 per cent and co-operatives the equally insignificant proportion of 3.1 per cent."

1. *Review of the Co-operative Movement, 1939-46*, p. 1.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 2.

The Primary Co-operative Societies, which form the base of the co-operative credit structure, are of two types: (a) agricultural and (b) non-agricultural. Agricultural societies counted the largest among the number of co-operative institutions and even among the agricultural societies, the credit societies formed nearly 85 per cent in 1939-40 77 per cent in 1945-46, and 66 per cent in 1947-48 of the total. These figures indicate that the non-credit aspect has been gaining prominence. Between 1939 and 1946, on account of the rise in the price level, there was an all-round improvement in the financial position of the Primary Societies. The number of their membership and their deposits position—all increased. The repaying capacity of the borrowers also increased so much so that overdues went down from Rs. 11.2 crores to Rs. 6.2 crores. Much of the large amount of loans considered frozen and irrecoverable was recovered.

But although their over-all financial position improved they were not able to develop among the co-operators the habit of frugality in proportion to inflation and as such the measures of dependence on external sources of finance was disproportionately large.

(In crores of rupees)			
Year	Deposits	Working capital	Index No. of wholesale prices
1938-39	2.8	31.6	100
1945-46	5.4	33.0	272.6
30th June 1950	1.09	35.21	499.7

The figures indicate that in spite of the improved position in the working capital, the deposits still play an insignificant part on account of the rise in the cost of living and cultivation of the members of the agricultural societies and of the lack of active efforts on the part of the co-operative institutions to tap and conserve the savings of the agriculturists.

The all-round improvement referred to above does not however mean that the progress made has been of the same order in all provinces and states. While from the point of view of the number and membership of the societies, the province of Bengal would seem to be the most outstanding with 39,800 societies and 11.1 lakh members from the qualitative point of view, it would seem to be the most disappointing area, with nearly 80 per cent of the outstanding overdue. On the other hand, Punjab fared worse. Its total working capital showed a big decline of Rs. 1.20 crores. In the province of Bihar the co-operative movement underwent a process of intense rehabilitation. The most important trends in the movement during 1939-46 had been (a) the all-round improvement in the position of the agricultural societies, though it was not uniform in all the provinces; (b) reduction in overdues; and (c) diversification of the functions of the primary societies in the direction of non-credit ones.

### THEIR RESOURCES

The funds of an agricultural credit society are raised from—

1. Entrance fees,
2. Share capital,
3. Deposits or loans from non-members; and
4. Loans from Co-operative Institution, from Government and Reserve Funds.

The financial position of the agricultural credit societies on 30th June, 1950, was as noted below:

(In thousands of Rupees).

Share capital	7,16.67
Reserve and other funds	8,12.66
Deposits	4,09.76
Loans	35,21.75 <sup>a</sup>

These figures indicate that the income from share capital and deposits is small compared with that from loans. Loans from Central Banks in fact, furnish the bulk of the working capital of these agricultural societies at present.

Low dividends and voluntary services resulting in low cost of management have made it possible to divert a substantial proportion of the profits of these societies to reserve funds; and thereby provide against unforeseen losses, bad debts and investment depreciation. The general practice in regard to the use of the reserve funds in the business of the societies is that it is used as ordinary working capital.

These figures calculated in terms of per capita agricultural finance (assuming the number of agriculturists in India to be 25 crores at the rate of 70 per cent of our population) give us a figure of Re. 1 and As. 6 and pies 4 only. If an agricultural family consisted of 5, the figure will be nearly Rs. 7 which is its annual share of agricultural co-operative finance—a negligible fraction of its total credit requirements. Thus the greatest problem of the agricultural credit societies is the *Paucity of Funds*.

### NARROW BASE

Besides the base of these societies is also not broad, as the movement has not been found very popular among all classes of our agriculturists. The proportion of the rural population benefited by the movement is indicated by the figures in the following table:

Province	Percentage of members of agricultural credit societies to families in rural areas
UP	1.8
C.P. & Berar	2.3
Bihar-cum-Orissa	3.1
Assam	2.9
Bengal	3.8
Madras	7.0
Bombay (combined)	8.7
Punjab	10.2 <sup>a</sup>

6. *India and Pakistan Year Book*, p. 77.

7. *Famine Enquiry Commission Report*, p. 292.

These figures relate to the situation in 1928, but even in 1945-46 the picture is almost the same. In 1945-46 there was one society for every 3.8 villages and the population touched by the movement was 10.6 per cent of the total.<sup>8</sup>

The figures indicate that the growth of these societies has been sectional, not general. They have not been able to make themselves popular to all classes of agriculturists small, medium and big. Thus the second greatest problem of our agricultural credit societies is its narrow base.

#### PAUCITY OF FUNDS

'Paucity of funds' is a qualified term. It means only the dearth of local funds. The societies have failed to attract sufficient local deposits which constitute a highly desirable method of raising funds as they imply 'thrift in the village' from a good lying or reserve of money, and they tend to interest in the management of the society as a useful body of men who stand as sentries over their own deposits.<sup>9</sup> Following are the most important causes of the low local deposits: (a) Paucity of savings among the villagers; (b) Land-mindedness, cash-mindedness and gold-mindedness of the agriculturists; (c) Comparatively low rates of interests which the society offers to the depositors against the higher rates of interest fetched by money-lending and commerce.

As regards Rural Savings it is generally suggested that the rural sector has no savings worth mentioning and whatever savings might have taken place in the rural sector have been drawn from the urban areas. But the Rural Banking Enquiry Committee (1950) did not accept this assumption as 'wholly correct'. The Committee observed:

"The Rural population consists of various classes some of whom at least, such as big landholders, cultivators of economic holdings and the thrifty sections of small holders and tenants and traders, possess, except during periods when conditions are abnormal a margin for saving. The surplus enjoyed by such people have generally been invested in the purchase of lands, in acquiring additional livestock, etc. Sometimes a portion of such surplus has also flowed into urban enterprises, such as trade, establishment of processing industries and the acquisition of urban real estate—Indian imports from 1920-21 to 1930-31 having amounted to Rs. 422.1 crores. It is well known that a substantial portion of these imports ultimately found their way among the rural people with whom, as with the rest of the people of this country precious metals have for various reasons been a favourite medium of investment. To suggest that there has been no substantial saving in the rural sector in normal times is to ignore the existence of the relatively more affluent and thrifty sections among the rural population. We consider

therefore, that it would not be unreasonable to assume some net savings in the rural sector of our economy even in normal years."

Thus it is clear that the co-operative societies have not been able to attract the relatively more affluent and thrifty sections among the rural population. The Committee has dealt at length with the various measures and machineries to be adopted for the mobilisation of rural savings. Here it will be sufficient to say that the societies have failed to achieve their ends of making available to the needy the surplus of the well-to-do brethren through the medium of the society. The existing village credit societies, instead of consisting of more or less of all sections of the population of the village are very largely made up of the needy section, the well-to-do keeping aloof and playing or trying to play the *sahukar*. They can be attracted by either stopping by Government legislation their investments in other channels or by giving an offer of comparatively higher rates of interest. Land-mindedness can be removed by means of fixing the maximum ceiling of land per family of cultivator and consolidation of economic holdings; cash-mindedness can be replaced by an adequate development of banking habit among the rural population while gold-mindedness by offering more stable and secure channels of investment to them.

As regards its narrow base the idea that these societies must act up to the principles of sound banking is its great cause. It means two things: (a) Liquidity and (b) Profitability. In practice these principles guide these societies to advance loans only to those who are creditworthy, who have something (landed property generally) to offer as security against the loans. Thus nearly 30 per cent of the rural population who are agricultural landless labourers or very small farmers do not come into the orbit of these principles, as they have nothing to offer as security against loans. The procedure involved in the advance of loans requires so much detailed information about the economic positions of the borrowing families that very few really show readiness to divulge their economic secrets for a morsel of loans—perhaps Rs. 100 per bigha only.

Thus the ideal co-operative security of honesty and character of its members has been replaced in practice by the material security which, combined with cumbersome process of advancing loans, has deprived the most needy section of the community of the advantages of co-operative movement and has made it a movement of middle class farmers. Nor does it satisfy the two more important of the three essential characteristics of short-term finance, viz., elasticity and promptness. Besides, the activities of co-operative societies have hitherto been mostly confined to the sphere of supplying credit, which touches only one aspect of the agriculturist's life. It is a

8. *Review of the Co-operative Movement, 1939-46*, p. 2.

9. *MacLagan Committee Report*, p. 48.

happy augury that during and after the World War II, non-credit aspect of co-operation has been gaining importance and today in almost all provinces emphasis is now being laid on the organisation of multipurpose societies which are intended to cater to the several needs of our agriculturists.

#### CENTRAL CO-OPERATIVE BANKS

The Co-operative Societies Act of 1912 provided for the registration of Central Co-operative Banks and since then, their number has grown rapidly specially in the Punjab, West Bengal and United Provinces.

The functions of these central banks are not only to supply the required capital to the primary societies, but also to make the surplus resources of some societies available to other societies in want of funds and to provide proper guidance to and inspection over them. The central banks, however, are essentially financial agencies. Besides financing the affiliated societies, most central banks do other banking business, viz., accepting of deposits of various types; collecting bills, cheques, hundies, dividend warrants and railway receipts; issuing drafts and hundies, safe custody of valuables, purchase and sale of securities, etc.

There are four main sources from which a central bank derives its working capital which stood in 1949-50 at Rs. 50 crores: (a) Share Capital, (b) Reserves, (c) Deposits and (d) Loans.

The paid-up share capital and reserves of central banks constitute the owned resources of these banks as distinguished from borrowed resources and provide the guarantee fund against which additional funds are raised by them in the shape of deposits or loans. It is usual to prescribe a suitable proportion between the owned and borrowed resources of central banks in each State.

The most usual proportion observed in practice between the borrowed and owned resources is 1 to 8. Deposits from members and non-members constitute the owned and borrowed resources of central banks. The total amount of deposits held by central banks in the year 1949-50 from individual and other sources amounted to Rs. 23½ crores and from primary societies to Rs. 11 crores.

In addition to funds obtained by deposits, central banks raise loans from outside banks, from other central banks, from the local State Bank and from the Government. Central Banks ordinarily do not directly borrow loans from the Government. The main source of loan is, therefore, the State Bank; and where the State Bank exists, the central banks are generally prohibited from having any direct dealings with either the Imperial Bank or the Reserve Bank or any other Government stock banks or with one another.

They also advance loans to the individual members. In Bombay and Madras, these loans amounted to 8½ crores of rupees in 1949-50. Advances are made to the individuals on the pledge of agricul-

tural produce thus combining trading with banking which is against sound banking principles and is thus roughly un-co-operative since they finance the very middlemen whom comparative sale seeks to eliminate. Besides, such advances encroach upon the domain of marketing finance and hamper the growth of co-operative marketing.

#### STATE CO-OPERATIVE BANKS

State Co-operative Banks have been characterised as apex institutions for the co-operative financial structure in each State and their functions are:

(i) To act as bankers to the co-operative societies, both as urban and rural, as also to the central co-operative banks,

(ii) To provide financial accommodation needed by the Co-operative Societies and the Central Co-operative Banks, and

(iii) To act as balancing centres and co-ordinating agencies for the provinces or the State concerned.

There are 12 such institutions in the whole country. Their constitutions vary considerably; yet their functions are more or less the same, namely, the co-ordination of the work of the central banks and utilisation of finance in them for the entire State.

#### ROLE OF RESERVE BANK

The Reserve Bank of India extends financial assistance to the agricultural operations only indirectly. Its direct participation, it is said, is not possible on account of its positions as 'Bankers' Bank' and the 'Lender of the last resort.' These two functions put so onerous a financial burden on the Reserve Bank that it is not deemed as desirable that the Reserve Bank should finance agriculture, which is a risky adventure in view of its uncertain character and as such against the principles of sound banking. And hence the activities of the Reserve Bank in this sphere are confined only to the following:

(i) It can sell, purchase and rediscount agricultural bills and promissory notes endorsed by a scheduled bank or a provincial co-operative bank, drawn for the purpose of financing seasonal agricultural operations or marketing of crops and maturing within 15 months as against 90 days only in case of commercial bills;

(ii) It can make loans or advances for 90 days to State Co-operative Banks and central land-mortgage banks, declared to be State Co-operative Banks and through them to co-operative central banks; and

(iii) It can extend advance to provincial co-operative banks for 90 days against the security of promissory notes of central co-operative banks drawn for financing seasonal agricultural operations, etc.<sup>10</sup>

10. The main provisions of the Reserve Bank of India (Amendment Act), 1951, among others, were: (1) the eligibility for re-discount of commercial paper by the Bank under Section 17 extended to bills bearing the signature of a State Co-operative Bank; (2) the period of maturity of bills drawn for the finance of, etc.

This indirect participation of the Reserve Bank of India has been criticised by some as based on orthodox banking principles and as such they advise at least the grant of cash credit facilities to Co-operative Banks by the Reserve Bank of India. Although in the new perspectives as set up by the Rural Banking Enquiry Committee, 1950, regarding mobilisation of rural savings, the character of the rural indebtedness and agrarian finance has changed,<sup>11</sup> yet the necessity of supplementing the local deposits will remain on the Reserve Bank level as they are not expected to meet the total credit needs of the Indian agriculturists.

No doubt, the emphasis has, in most places, shifted to the mobilisation of rural savings and towards a reconstruction at the base rather than at the apex, yet the base cannot get sufficient strength without reconstruction and reform at the centre. It may be in the shape of Reformed and Reserved Bank of India, or Agricultural Credit Corporation which we shall discuss further.

Thanks to nationalisation that it has increased the role of the Reserve Bank of India in the sphere of agricultural credit. Now (a) the Reserve Bank can provide clean or unsecured advances to the apex institutions (i.e., State Co-operative Banks) for financing seasonal agricultural operations or the marketing of crops.

(b) It has also been authorised to grant secured advances against Government securities and land-mortgage bank debentures, and to grant advances against documents of title to goods, although such advances have been very little on account of the absence of warehouses.

(c) An amendment made in 1951 has raised the maturity of agricultural bills in India from 9 to 15 months. Besides, the accommodation made available by the Reserve Bank could be used by the apex banks not only to finance only 'A' and 'B' class societies, but also 'C' class societies on the recommendation of the Registrar.

(d) Till recently, all loans taken by Co-operative Banks from the Reserve Bank had to be repaid on a certain fixed date. The Reserve Bank has now decided to allow all loans taken by Co-operative Banks to run for their full periods, though the total outstanding at any time should not exceed the credit limit fixed for any year for the institutions concerned. Co-operative Banks have also been granted substantial concessions in interest rate charged for Reserve Bank accom-

modation. They can still borrow at 2 per cent even though the Bank rate was raised to 3½ per cent in November, 1951. They also enjoy usual remittance facilities granted by the Reserve Bank to all scheduled Banks at concessional rates. Thus for increased agrarian financial assistance from the Reserve Bank rural India depends primarily on the future healthy growth of her co-operative movement.

The above analysis shows that the activities of the Reserve Bank are confined only to the provision of short-term credit alone in the field of agriculture. Medium-term and long-term credits are statutorily outside its scope. Nevertheless, it participates in the provision of long-term agricultural finance indirectly, i.e., by subscribing to the debentures of land-mortgage Banks which are guaranteed by the State Government.

A perusal of these facts will indicate that the action of the Reserve Bank of India in the field of Agricultural finance has been performed through the medium of Co-operative Banks which get (a) opportunity of longer usance in the case of agricultural bills and (b) concessional rates at which they are allowed to borrow from the Reserve Bank. The effectiveness of these devices adopted by the Central Bank in causing its funds to flow into the channels of agriculture depends on how far agricultural finance is used in the form of rediscountable bills and how efficient is the organisation of ware-housing in the country.<sup>12</sup> Financing through bills of exchange is almost non-existent except the practice of drawing up of hundies in India. Besides, the agricultural sector is also not properly organised and effectively integrated into the money market structure—a fact which is most essential for the successful financial assistance of the Reserve Bank into the field of agrarian finance. It will be evident from the records of the Reserve Bank,<sup>13</sup> that the Bank has been granting, from time to time, concessions to moneylenders (in 1938), and to co-operatives (in 1942, 1944, etc.) in the matters of borrowing from it for agricultural purposes. But the response to these concessions was, as the bank itself recognised, 'very poor,' as is evident from the figures given below:

*Amount Borrowed by the Co-operative Banks from the Reserve Bank of India at 1½ per cent<sup>14</sup>*

Year	Amount advanced Rs.
1946-47	1,150,000
1947-48	1,700,000
1948-49	10,300,000
1949-50	27,100,000

sonal agricultural operations of the marketing of crops, eligible for rediscount by the Bank, is extended from 9 to 15 months, etc. (*Report on Currency and Finance, 1950-51, p. 67*).

11. "Secondly, the primary purpose of mobilising rural savings is to make them available for investment in rural development, either directly by the agriculturists or indirectly through projects undertaken by Government." (*Rural Banking Enquiry Committee Report, 1950, p. 44*).

12. Dr. S. N. Sen, M.A., Ph.D. (London) : *Central Banking in Underdeveloped Money Market*, p. 214.

13. Reserve Bank of India Bulletin, August, 1947.

14. 'The Co-operative Banks were asked to maintain minimum cash balances with the Reserve Bank amounting to at least two and a half per cent of their demanded deposits and one per cent of

Thus the maximum loans granted by the Reserve Bank of India in any year have not exceeded Rs. 271 lakhs, which is completely inadequate to meet the

their time deposits, the rates being five per cent and two and a half per cent respectively for the commercial banks. In 1942, the Bank prepared another scheme, offering to grant accommodation for the marketing of crops at a concession rate of 1 per cent below the Bank rate, provided the benefit of their rate was passed on to the agriculturists. In 1944, this scheme of rebate was extended to cover bills and promissory notes drawn for the purpose of financing seasonal agricultural operations and the rebate was increased to one and a half per cent in 1946. *Central Banking in Underdeveloped Money Market* by Dr. S. N. Sen, p. 216.

seasonal needs of our agriculture.<sup>15</sup> This failure of the Bank to attract good response from the rural financial institutions has led us to think of the reorganisation of the machinery of rural credit.<sup>16</sup>

15. "At the current level of borrowing, which makes little allowance for the planned increase of agricultural production, the all-India figure for the loans obtained by the cultivators from all sources may be broadly placed at Rs. 750 crores per annum. "All-India Rural Credit Survey," published in the *Statesman*, December 22, 1954, p. 4.

16. K. K. Sharmā : *The Reserve Bank of India and Rural Credit*, 1947.

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## THE AGRICULTURAL LAND OF ANCIENT INDIA

By Prof BHAWANI SHANKER SHUKLA, M.A.

THE real owner of the land in Ancient India was, according to some scholars,<sup>1</sup> the sovereign and not the private individuals. But the truth is just the other-wise. The Hindu Law recognised the principle of private ownership of the land. The owner of such property exercised absolute right over it. Dr. Jayaswal quotes the following lines from Colebrooke's *Essay on Mimansa* :

"The earth is not the king's, but is common to all beings enjoying the fruit of their own labour. It belongs, says Jainini,<sup>2</sup> to all alike ; therefore, although a gift of a piece of ground to an individual does take place, the whole land cannot be given by a monarch, nor a province by a subordinate prince. . . ."

The same view is held by Nilakantha who says that

"Proprietary right in the whole land with regard to villages and lands, etc., lies in their respective land-lords, etc. . . . The king's right is limited to the collection of tax therefrom."<sup>3</sup>

Several other authorities, e.g., Madhava, Katyayana and the commentary Bhattadipika say the same thing in their own way.<sup>4</sup>

1. Vide *Early History of India* by Dr. Vincent Smith ("The native law in India has always recognised agricultural land as being crown property"). Dr. V. R. R. Dikshitar writes : "The fact that the lands are given to tenants for life, or for a period of time on contract and are confiscated at any moment bear testimony to the regulation of public lands only. Thus Kautilya had in mind both crown lands and communal lands when he used the terms *sita* and *bhaga*. Foreign travellers could hardly be expected to understand the complexity of land tenures and hence their accounts cannot certainly be taken at their face value. Strabo and Diodorus speak of the king's ownership of all lands, the cultivator's claim being one-fourth of the produce as remuneration. Arrian does not state anything about the proprietorship of land, but records that a certain tribute was paid to the king for land by husbandmen."—*Hindu Administrative Institutions*, pp. 365-66. The king could have a fixed share of the produce of the land in lieu of the services that he renders in the State. — *Baudhayana Dharmasutra*.

2. Na bhumiṣyat surianprati misishtanāt—(Jaimini- *Purva Mimansa*, VI)

3. Dr. K. P. Jayaswal *Hindu Polity* p. 344

4. *Sampurna prithvi mandalasya tattadgrama kshetradi satvam tu tattadbhūmikhudīnumera rajnam tu karagrāhana matram.*—*Vyārahara-mayukha*.

Thus the private ownership of the land was an established fact. Apart from it, certain kind of land was held by the crown also. But this private ownership of the land was confined only to arable (*vastu*) land. Pasture was held in common by the people. About the forests Manu writes that

"He who clears a piece of land is the owner of it." "Beyond a distance of 600 feet round a village begins a common zone, not that it belongs to the community, but because it is a 'no man's land'."

The community-land was managed by the village panchayat which appointed a special Land Management Committee for it. The panchayat controlled the entire land of the village. The land held by private people or crown or devoted to the temple was usually excluded from such control. But the acquisition of the land was not an impossibility. In the first instance, "fresh clearing" was one of the sources through which the assembly acquired new land. Sometimes the assembly dissolved the private ownership of land if the revenue of the land was not paid within a stated period. According to one South Indian Inscription, 'By royal order defaulters for a period of three years were liable to such confiscations.' The assembly could further confiscate the land of private people as a mark of punishment if the people who held such land were found to be antagonist to village (*gramadrohi*). That land was also acquisitioned after properly compensating its holder if it was to be used for public welfare.

The disposal of land held by the assembly was done in many ways. The land could be allotted to any person if the latter paid a prescribed tax for it to the assembly. If the person wanted to purchase it for ever, it could also be so done. But such sales

5. Land is not his (king's) property because sovereignty is for protection and growth only.

"Deva na ta mahobhumiḥ satvad raja dadatu tam  
Palnasyaṭu rajatānuḥ svambhūdyate na sa."

—Madhava : *Nyayamāla*.

"When the king is called the Swamin (master) of the land and in no case of any other wealth, he only becomes entitled to receive the one-sixth share of the produce from it, not (that he is master) in any other way."—*Katyayana*.

were usually made if the land was to be endowed to a temple. The village assembly always encouraged such transactions and often provided a good number of facilities to purchasers. Public bodies, e.g., guilds also sometimes purchased the land for welfare-work. And if the object of purchase of land was pious and charitable, the assembly often granted the land free of cost. On certain occasions the assembly sold the land by public auction. Private owners could also auction their land if they wanted. A procedure was fixed for such sale.

A land transaction always involved a number of formalities to be observed. First, a proper description of the land for sale was given and boundaries were marked out. If the village assembly was the seller, it fixed the price of its land. Then a deed of sale was executed. The following is the language of a deed of sale where 1/20 veli of land was sold to a lady by an assembly :

"We the assembly of—sold the following land at a price settled by the assembly—The price which we have to receive from her for this one-twentieth veli of land and on which we have agreed is one good Kasu current at the time. Having received this one Kasu in full into the hand, we, the assembly of—sold the land and made and gave a deed of sale. For this one-twentieth veli of land, this alone shall be the record of the final payment of the money besides this. Having thus agreed, having received this one Kasu and having sold this one-twentieth veli of land at the full price, we, the assembly of—, have received the money in full."

The above draft was to be engraved on copper or stone. The transfer was not complete unless the draft was signed by proper persons and witnesses whose signatures, too, were attested by other persons, usually priest or blacksmith of the village. The witness wrote :

"I (so and so, know this, this my writing."

The attesting formula was :

"This is writing of so and so. Thus do I know (his occupation being also stated here)."

The transferer gave away all the rights vested in him to the transferee with execution of the transfer.

The village assembly also 'exercised the rights of preemption as against outsiders.' But transfers of property to outsiders were sometimes permitted with the consent of the assembly.<sup>6</sup>

The king got the land surveyed by his officers who sought help for this purpose from land survey committee of the village assembly and fixed the royal revenue. The revenue could be paid both in cash and kind. In case the revenue was not paid within the stated time, the land could be confiscated as referred to above. The assessment was made according to the quality of the land and its different uses.<sup>7</sup> The extent,

6. Dr. R. K. Mookerji: *Local Government in Ancient India*, pp. 226-27.

7. Kautilya: *Arthashastra*, III, Ch. 9.

8. Kautilya classifies the entire land into the following divisions: Sandy, swampy, wet and dry. Of these sandy and swampy lands are useless for culturable purposes. Tamil literature makes

ownership and the assessment classification of land were to be noted in the village and temple registers by specially appointed clerks and both such registration and possession were deemed essential to establish ownership.<sup>9</sup>

Irrigation facilities were provided to farmers and for that a water-tax was levied which was usually one-fifth of the produce.<sup>10</sup>

We often come across land-grants in the inscriptions. Many such grants were made to Brahmanas. The land granted to Brahmanas for their maintenance was called *Brahmadeya* land and it was free from taxes and forced labour. The holder of such land either cultivated for himself or got it cultivated by others. 11a—b Certain perpetual settlements which had cultivated land, well, etc., were known as *paribhoga* land. Besides the above, there were *bhatta* villages, *savamanya* and *ekabhoga* grants.

Private owners could also grant the land of their own accord. But such grants were usually made in the form of religious endowments. All the transfers were made in documentary form.<sup>12</sup> And their registration in the State Record Office was necessary. The language of the entry of these grants into government records was very precise. The draft of grants contained specific conditions under which they were held. The illustration of the concluding portion of the famous Nasik Cave Inscription informs us as follows :

"And all this has been proclaimed and registered at the records office according to the customs."

Undoubtedly, sometimes red-tapism also occurred in these offices and the transactions and transfers were delayed but the efficiency of the system of land management, specially of agricultural land, was on the whole very remarkable and satisfactory.

similar classification of land but on regional basis, i.e., (1) *Neytal* (maritime), (2) *Morutam* (fertile), (3) *Mullai* (pasture), (4) *Palai* (desert) and (5) *Kuttaji* (hill).

9. Dr. R. K. Mookerji: *Local Government in Ancient India*, p. 182.

10. The following shares of produce payable as water-tax (*Udakabhaga*) are laid down:

*Hastopravartama*—when the water has to be raised by manual labour—one-fifth

*Skandhapravartama*—when the water is raised by water-lifts worked by bullocks—one-fourth,

*Srotayantrapravartama*—when the water is supplied by irrigation channels—one-third.

*Nadisaratatakakupodghata*—when the water is supplied by rivers, lakes, ponds or wells—one-fourth.

F. J. Monahan: *The Early History of Bengal*, p. 65

11 (a) "To those upon whom he (king) has bestowed (land) he must give a document destined for the information of a future ruler, which must be written upon a piece of cloth, or a copper-plate, and must contain the name of his (three) immediate ancestors, a declaration of the extent of the land and an imprecation against him who should appropriate the donation to himself, and should be signed with his own seal." *Vishnu*, II. Several such records have been engraved on copper-plates or rocks.

(b) The land could also be granted to village assemblies, guilds and other like organizations as religious endowment for maintaining temples, burning lamps inside the temple, or feeding Brahmanas or other charitable acts. The king sometimes granted the land to his officers as pension for their maintenance. Vide *Arthashastra*.

12. *Supra*, foot-n. 11a.

# THE ART OF MATISSE

By E. M. J. VENNIYOOR

THE early years of the present century saw the advent in Paris of a group of young painters whose creeds and techniques were conditioned by their aversion towards the cold intellectualism of hyper-scientific painting. They sought to relieve the art from the complexities of neo-Impressionist painting, to make it simpler and to secure a maximum of expression with a minimum of means. They evinced a childish fancy for bright clean colours; their canvases had no perspective, no light and shade, and no depths. The art-circles of Paris were scandalised and quite promptly they branded the upstart group with a never-to-be-forgotten epithet, "fauves" or wild beasts. The canvases shown in the "Salon d' Automne"—the group held their annual show in autumn, and hence the name—were condemned as impossible, "not art, but a dangerous and infectious disease."



M. Henri Matisse

It was Henri Matisse who headed the rebellion. Naturally, therefore, he came in for the highest honour to be bestowed by the critics, "King of the fauves." Posters appeared on the walls of Montparnasse, "Matisse turns people mad; he is more dangerous than absinthe!" It was not the French alone who condemned him; in the famed Armory Show of Chicago held in 1913, effigies of his masterpieces were burnt in public

places. But Matisse withstood all vicissitudes of fortunes and fashions and lived long enough to be regarded as an Old Master. His art has become an important and integral part of what has been called "The Modern Movement," and his claim as one of the greatest painters of his time will ever be honoured.

It was rather in an unusual way that Matisse chose his vocation as a painter. He was born of middle-class parents at Cateau-Cambresis, a country of calm and poise in the north of France on the thirtyfirst of December, 1869. His father wanted him to qualify for Law, but rebelling against parental discretion, he chose to be a painter. He was convalescing once after an operation, when, for the first time, he was given a box of colours to paint his idle hours away. In this he experienced an unusual happiness, a happiness of which he said later :

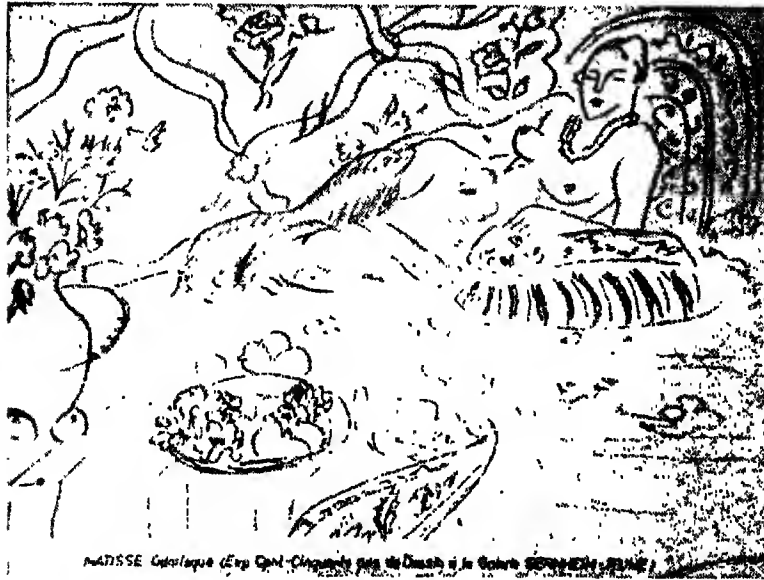


A Pencil Sketch

"I found myself in a sort of Paradise, where I was completely free, alone, in peace, whereas I always felt anxious and bored in all other things one asked me to do."

But he had his share of tribulations to brave for this decision. He had to earn his way through schooling copying the old masters in the Louvre. He had to

support his family for months—he married Amelie Moellie Parayre in 1893—on the four hundred francs an art-dealer gave him for all his still lifes. But one day he had a strange experience. He had just finished one of his pictures. It was quite as good as the previous one, and on its delivery, he would get the money he sorely needed.



A Nude. It illustrates the artist's stress on rhythm and arabesque and the remarkable power of his line

"I looked at it and then and there a feeling came over me that it was not I, that it did not express me or express what I felt."

He tore the canvas, counting on his emancipation from that day.

He began by painting still lifes in dull colours, and four of his works were for the first time exhibited in 1896. Impressionism claimed him subsequently, but his flirting with its intellectual tendencies soon came to an end. He abandoned the mosaic method of painting and used a sweeping brush and large planes of colour to fill in the masses of what are essentially linear designs. In a memorable statement, the painter Maurice Denis sums up thus the vital role of colour in modern European painting: "Always remember that a painting is not primarily the rendering of, say, a horse, a woman or some other scene, but it is first and foremost a flat surface covered by colours which are assembled in a certain order." It was indeed a bold deviation from the academic concepts about colour, particularly in regard to the indispensability of complementary colours. So the exhibition of the "Salon d'Automne" in 1905 came as a rude shock to the critics and they branded him and his confreres as "fauves," wild beasts. Thus a new school of painting took shape, and critics named that school "Fauvism."

The "wild" canvas exhibited by Matisse in 1905 was a picture of three nude figures on ochre on an

alternatively red, green and blue, painted in large flat surfaces of pure colours with a remarkable emphasis on rhythm and arabesque. He started an art school but pupils refused to go to him. He was still regarded as a dangerous fauve, though the younger generation adored him and many successful exhibitions of his paintings were held in a few countries. In 1908 he met Picasso and they became life-friends. By this time, he had codified his creeds and techniques and his conceptions would henceforth express themselves with a complete disdain of traditional ideas.

He wandered over Morocco and the Pacific islands to assimilate a taste for simplification, purity and schematization. His mission was successful and henceforth he would paint only the durable and the essential. In 1917, he settled at Nice, met Renoir and painted a celebrated piece, "Interior at Nice," using black as a colour with a perfection which was never reached before by any other artist. He concentrated subsequently on painting 'Interiors' and 'Odalisques' or nudes, in very bright colours. His pictures became more sensuous but the sensuousness was expressed only by colour and the element of luxury and splendour was more pronounced than femininity. This period lasted till about 1930.



Grand Interior Rouge, 1948

In 1929, he received the first prize in the Pittsburgh International Exhibition for a still life and soon many exhibitions of his paintings, some retrospective, were organised in many countries. He was polishing all the while the reckless crudities of Fauvism and by 1933 his art underwent a remarkable change. Henceforth he would give greater importance to the composition or the pattern of the canvas rather than to the subject supposed to be represented. The contours are always



Two Young Girls

important as they impart structure and rhythm; and the drawing and colouring are envisaged wholly in relation to decoration. It was, however, in decorating the Chapel of Vence in the South of France, towards the end of his career that he tested all his theories on painting, decoration and architecture.

By 1934, Matisse was hailed everywhere as a great master. One masterpiece after another followed, and with them his innovations too. In 1941 he underwent a serious operation from which he never recovered fully. He was partly bedridden during the decoration of the Vence Chapel that took him full four years to complete. When the work was over, a work he regarded as his masterpiece, he declared, "My bags are packed." He

was living at Nice since 1917 but on his eighty-third birthday, he donated a hundred of his works, valued at one and a half crores of dollars to his home town of Le Cateau. Death came swiftly to the aged artist on the fourth of November, 1954 at the age of eighty-four, an event he was awaiting with a serene composure of mind.

Matisse held no common ground with those who considered modern art as a new mode. Every art is a logical reflection of the time in which it is produced, an orderly and rational development of what had gone before. He began his career by believing with Gauguin and others that modern civilization is a disease.

"If modern life is diseased, modern art must be diseased also. We can restore art to health by starting it afresh like children or savages."

Thus he became a protagonist of Fauvism; but Fauvism, as a school, did not last long, though he went on refining its crudities till it became in his hands, "one of the subtlest and most delectable of painterly languages." He was passionate and inventive, elegant and intelligent, but was never obsessed by the cold intellectualism of Picasso and other modernists. He was one of the world's greatest colonists possessed with an unerring sense of pattern. He believed that representation in art is only a means to an end, and not the end itself. He observed:

"By mechanical means an image is now fixed on a photographic plate in a few seconds—an image more precise and exact than it is humanly possible to draw. And so, with the advent of photography disappeared the necessity for exact reproduction in art."

His greatness lay in accomplishing the extremely difficult synthesis between instinct and intelligence, between form and colour, and in this he has very few equals in the long history of art.

But with all his startling innovations, Matisse has upheld the values of art the old masters believed in. He used his techniques for a serious purpose, and that is the rarest quality in modern art—to dispense happiness. He believed that

"A work of art should be for the businessman as well as for the literary artist, a thing which calms his brain, something akin to a good armchair which gives him rest from physical exertion."

His message to the world of art is simple, but its significance is ineffable.

"Art is a search after truth, and truth is all that counts . . . . An artist has to look at life without prejudices, as he did when he was a child."



## HUNGARIAN FOLK ART\*

By Dr. H. C. MOOKERJEE, M.A., Ph.D. D.Litt.,  
*Governor of West Bengal*

THE tremendous gulf between the town and the village, the enormous differences between the educated city-dweller and his less fortunately placed peasant countryman, are far from being restricted to this country. For many centuries in the West, very much like what we find in India, the townsman looked down upon the village "yokel," smiled at his odd clothes, at his quaint habits, his supposed "uneducated" conversation and his so-called "primitive" art.

In the West too, it was first the music of the peasant people that roused the classical composers of towns to admiration; and it was in Hungary that this endless treasure-house of consummate music was taken very seriously by two of the greatest composers of this age. From 1848 onwards, there has been a growing love of peasant music; and, in the last decade of the last century, some sixty years ago, the world-famous composers, Bela Bartok and Professor Kodaly started



Bori Kisianko, Master of Folk Art. Matyo

In India we are just beginning to awake to the fact that the much despised villager and hillman has a deeply rooted culture of his own, different from our city ways, nonetheless beautiful and full of genuine feeling. As a matter of fact, it is only in the last few years that we have come to realise the value no less than the beauty of the vast treasure we have in folk dancing and folk music, the so-called culturally "backward" peasant has evolved. And we needed the genius of a lone adventurer, such as Mr. Jamini Roy to show us the exquisite charm, the grace and the fascination of village painting and village toymaking.

\*Speech delivered at the inaugural ceremony of an Exhibition of Hungarian Folk Art under the auspices of the National Academy of Art at the Ashutosh Hall, Ashutosh College, Calcutta, on Friday, the 11th February, 1955.



Embroidery work by Young Women of Kalocsa

on long treks, to collect the folksongs of Hungarian peasants. Many other countries followed, and the finest composers of the music of France, Russia, Germany and Hungary based their music on the inspiration derived from this inexhaustible source of spontaneous and truly beautiful singing.

The revival of interest in other folk arts has taken longer. It is only lately that the great beauty of peasant embroideries, village pottery and the people's carvings has been realised by the sophisticated townsman.

The first reaction in the twenties of this century was to exploit these village industries with the result that commercial firms commissioned villagers to mass-manufacture for export what was originally made, for the satisfaction of their artistic instincts only. This had the effect of replacing the old love of the villager, for what is essentially beautiful and what he produced



Embroidery. Kalocsa girls

for the satisfaction of his own needs, by the liking of the townsman for what is cheap and meretricious, the more so because the former was being more and more rapidly drawn towards urbanisation on account of the amenities available in towns no less than of the opportunities they offer for reaching higher economic levels.

This tendency towards urbanisation manifested itself in such matters as giving up the wearing of the old beautiful costumes in favour of ugly machine-made fabrics, using highly decorated mass-produced pottery instead of the old earthenware pottery made by village people themselves. At the same time, the old arts and crafts, such as embroidery, continued to be practised, not because they were valued or their beauty loved, but because of the brisk demand for them in the export market. The tragedy lay in the fact that the makers of these articles, the beauty of which foreigners realised gradually, lost their sense of beauty so that they were

unable to create new and beautiful patterns and had therefore to adhere to the traditional patterns. It is thus that individuality in their products is being lost and a dull and monotonous uniformity is gradually replacing it.

A few beauty-loving enlightened people fought and are today fighting this tendency with the result that, during the last two decades, the tide has turned. Now, especially under the new regime, the peasant is given credit for and feels pride in his own homely arts and crafts; the beauty-loving and discerning townsman not only patronises, where he can, his embroideries, his ceramic ware, his carvings, but the producer is also made to realise that here is an inheritance of which he must be proud, and which he must not lose.

The Hungarian peasant is, by inclination, a born artist. The variety of embroidered and decorated dresses that he wears is enormous, especially when the

small size of the country is taken into account. The ceramic ware is full of invention and originality. The painted walls of houses, the stitch-decorated fur-coats that resemble so much the sheepskin coats of the Afghan and the Pathan tribesmen, are a joy to behold; and there is not a horseman, not a swineherd in the great plains of Hungary, who would go about with a plain whip in his hand; it must have carved and incised decoration.

The scholars in the Institute of Ethnography in Budapest have taken infinite pains to piece together the history of these crafts and of the motifs that dominate the Magyar peasants' handiwork. I understand that they have succeeded in tracing back most of the crafts as far back as the 16th century, in some cases to even earlier times. Visitors to this exhibition will be struck by some of the motifs—most of them will be found to be floral motifs—as remarkably similar to some Indian elements of decoration. No doubt all peasant crafts have something in common, even though the place of the lotus flower of our country may be taken by the rose in another country.

It is these similarities and dissimilarities that make such an exhibition fascinating; but what I think is the

most urgent message for us is the love, the affection, the understanding, the Hungarian educated classes bear, for their fellow-Hungarians in the villages. I express the hope that we too, in India, will learn to admire the



Artistic decoration on pottery by Kaloosa women

handicrafts of our brothers and sisters in the villages, the seven lakhs of villages to which Mahatma Gandhi was the first to draw our attention. There is much we can learn from the villagers, whether they live, move and have their being in Hungary or in India.

—:O:—

## THE HOLY CITY OF BANARAS

By M. R. SEN

THE attention of the public was focussed recently on the Holy City of Banaras when Dr Sampurnanand, Chief Minister of U.P., inaugurated the renovation work of the magnificent bathing ghats at Banaras, many of which were either crumbled or were badly damaged.

The holy city of Banaras needs no introduction. Even the illiterates are familiar with the name Kashi and Banarasi, though they do not know anything about their geographical situation.

Although a part of U.P., Banaras looks like a city of Bengal, because Bengalis mostly predominate here. Unfortunately the interior of the city is dirty, clumsy and unplanned. The lanes and bye-lanes are veritable puzzles. To reform the holy city is perhaps an unholy affair.

Bulls at Banaras play a prominent part in the civic life. They have a status of their own and probably their civil liberties are guaranteed. They have a well-planned group particularly at Dasaswamedh

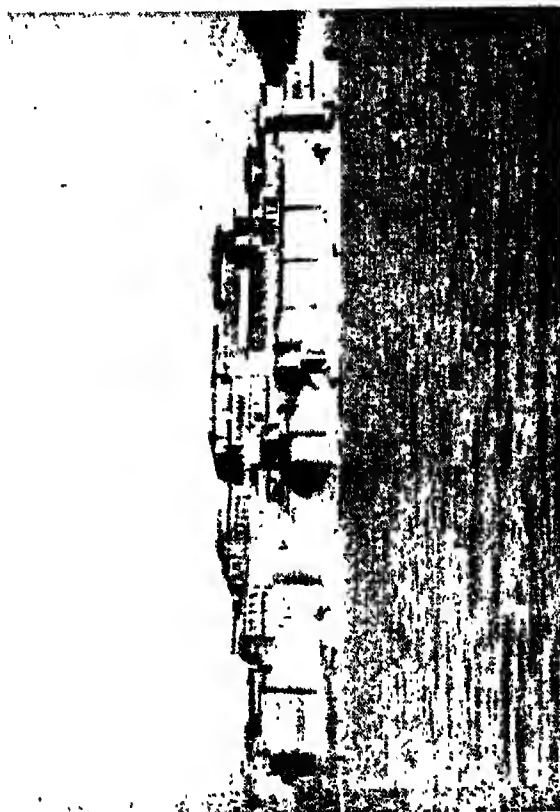
bazar so that when attacked by pilgrims they know how to do battle. Since their names are associated with some religious acts they are not kept in yokes. They live in *Ram Rajya*. In some lanes bulls often form a hallow square and their horns are presented to the enemy strictly in religious fashion. Walking down lanes and bye-lanes is a difficult job and a visitor has to be extra-cautious all the time because a bull in the city of Banaras belongs to a "privileged class." Incidentally I had once made a complaint to the present Chief Minister of U.P. and suggested to him to engage extra police squad to deal with these redoubtable bulls, but he expressed his inability to do anything without consulting the members of the Legislative Assembly because this meant extra expense!

### PANDAS

Like those of all holy places the Pandas of Banaras stand as a good example of social parasites. They haunt a visitor like C.I.D. men. A Panda is an object of



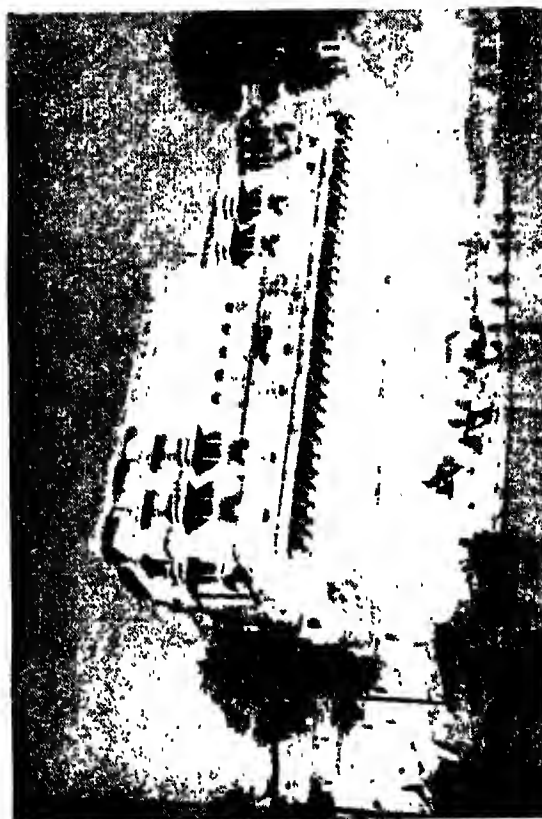
Panchganga Ghat



Rannagar Fort



Dasaswamedh Ghat



Manmandir Ghat

social study. He lives and grows on the religious sentiments of uneducated people. Pandas do not seem to be religious as they pretend; yet in the name of religion they have been exploiting the innocent pilgrims who fall a prey to their pseudo-religious traps. By nature a Panda is shrewd. He has an x-ray eye which enables him to detect the rich and the poor.



Chait Singh Ghat

He will probably treat a poor man with sympathy but will not spare a rich man. What a fine profession indeed in the name of religion!

#### RELIGIOUS SIGNIFICANCE

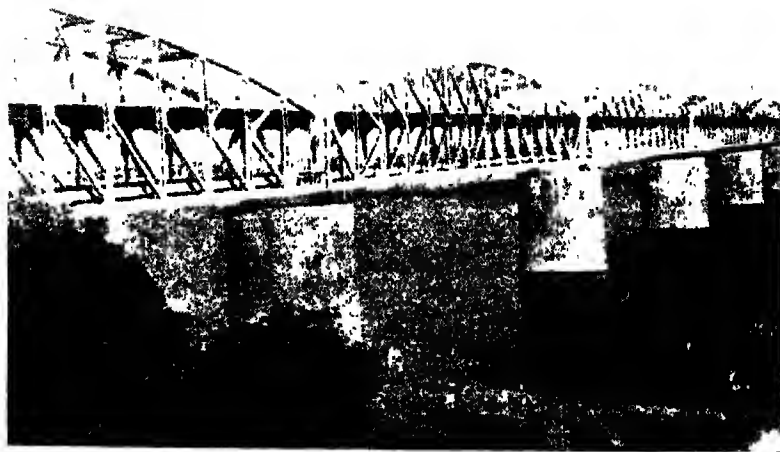
Banaras of course, is a city of great religious significance—although historically it is no less important. Referring to the tradition and sanctity of Banaras, the Rev. M.A. Sherring said:

"Of its great antiquity stretching back through the dim ages of early Indian history far into the clouds and mists of the Vedic and prehistoric periods there is no question. Banaras is a city of no mean antiquity. Twenty-five centuries ago, at least, it was famous. While many cities and nations have fallen into decay and perished, on the contrary for long ages past, it has shone with utmost meridian splendour. Her illustrious name has descended from generation to generation and has been a household word venerated and beloved by the whole Hindu family. Notwithstanding the manifestation in her physical aspects of repeated changes, yet as a city no sign of feebleness, no symptom of impending dissolution is apparent in any of the numberless references to her in native records. As a queen

she has ever received the willing homage of her subjects scattered all over India: as a lover she has secured their affection and regard."

#### HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Being the centre of Hinduism, Banaras received the attention of the Mahomedan invaders in the middle ages. During the eleventh century Mahmud of Ghazni conquered Banaras and destroyed its shrines and put an end to the rule of Hindu dynasties. Again in 1194 A.D. it was ravaged by Kutubuddin, and lastly it became the victim of Aurangzeb's fanaticism when he levelled down the city's temples in 1669 A.D. including the old temple of Viswanath. Throughout the Mughal rule Banaras continued as a *Subah* of the imperial rulers of Delhi except for a time when Shah Shuja of Bengal snatched it from the Mughals. In the general confusion that followed Aurangzeb's death, Banaras passed into the hands of Saadat Ali Khan, the Vizir of Oudh. Mansa Ram, one of the Hindu lieutenants of the rulers, was the founder of the present dynasty of the Rajas of Banaras.



Malaviya Bridge

Mansa Ram moved tactfully with his Mussalman masters and his sovereignty was soon recognised by the rulers of Oudh. He was succeeded by Balwant Singh in 1738 who by virtue of his military prowess firmly established his dynasty in alliance with the East India Company. His successor Raja Chait Singh incurred the displeasure of Warren Hastings who put an end to the dynasty in 1785. Lord Minto

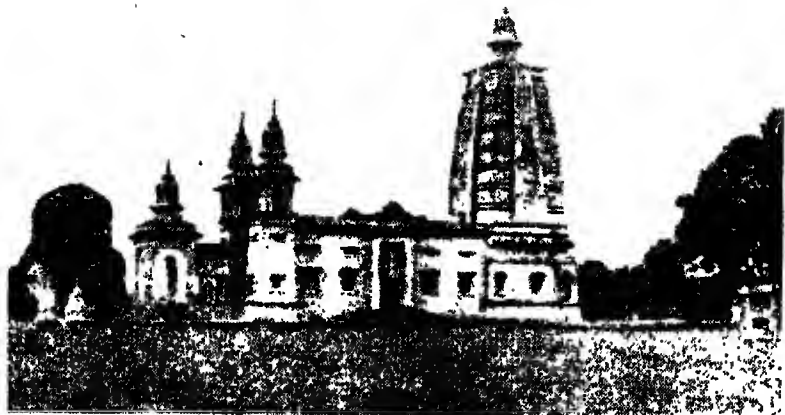
restored the state to Raja Chait Singh's successors but Banaras city was placed under the direct administration of the Government of India. The State of Banaras with its capital at Ramnagar on the other side of the Ganga continued under the Rajas of Banaras till after the independence of India it was integrated with the Indian Union on October 16, 1949.



Bharatmata Mandir

Geographically Banaras is in the Uttar Pradesh and situated in the centre of India. Banaras is the most important of the seven cities sacred to Brahmanism. From the train one gets the first view of the city over the Ganges lined up by beautiful ghats and temples with their shooting spires and gilded pinnacles. Such a panorama of lovely sights for miles together along the watery course—and all set apart for religious purposes—could hardly be found anywhere in India. There are about 1500 Hindu temples. As most of them are dedicated to Shiva, it is not illogical to suppose that the Shiva influence was more predominant in the city than that of the Vaishnava cult. Most of the temples were built during and after the 18th century. Truly speaking, Banaras is the religious capital of India. Here the ghats are really attractive and are accredited with great sanctity and millions of pilgrims gather there daily to perform religious acts. During Shiva Ratri or other festivals, the banks of the Ganges present a seething mass of humanity. The bathing ghats which total about 80 are built of stone slabs and spread for four

miles. Of these 16 are considered most important. Assi Ghat near the Assi Sangam (now dried up) marks the southern limit of Banaras. Historically this ghat has some significance because here the famous Hindi poet Tulsidas died in 1623 A. D. Dasaswamedh Ghat is so called because Brahma, the God of creation, once performed the famous ten horse-sacrifice here being inspired by Shiva. Visitors make it a point to visit this ghat first because apart from facilities of river excursion it is an important point of river traffic. Of the temples in Banaras, the first in point of religious importance is the Golden Temple of Viswanath who is the principal Hindu deity in the holy city of Uttar Pradesh. For the Hindus the centre of the world lies immediately beneath the dome of this temple. Hindus consider this spot as a pyramid which is said to have been brought here by Brahma Himself. This pyramid is not an ordinary one. Not larger than a thimble, it is made up of sixty forms of little disks of gold, each smoother than the last. There are three little posts, around one of which lies the pyramid. The demolition must be performed by removing one disk at a time and by placing it either on an



Side view of Mulagandhakuti Vihara, Sarnath

unoccupied post or a larger disk. The millions of pilgrims that visit Banaras throughout the year go to offer their prayers at this shrine. The temple is, however, not very striking from the point of view of art and architecture: of course its religious importance is immense.

#### SARNATH

Banaras is a holy place not only for the Hindus but also for the Buddhists since this place was fixed

upon by Lord Buddha as the centre from which his faith should be preached. Buddha made Sarnath the venue of his religious teachings. It was from this place that the world first received the immortal message of Lord Buddha. Sarnath with its quiet pastoral surroundings is a striking contrast to Bana-

As a companion I found him quite interesting. Harsh Bahadur of his own accord said:

"Babuji, I am sure you will like Sarnath: it is a quiet place: neat and clean, better than your Banaras. Here you have seen Buddhist Bhikshus—how simple and amiable."

I nodded my head and agreed with him and thought myself that in any case they were not like the Pandas of the Golden Temple!

My young friend surprised me most when he refused to accept *Baksis*. He said he was not a professional guide: he loves to help visitors in his humble way. Being questioned he told me that he was good at lessons at school and his aim was to obtain the highest degree of the University and do something better. When I bade him good-bye I thought myself whether his poverty would enable him to pursue higher studies. Who knows if given a chance this boy might become a



Mahaparinirvana Stupa, Kushinagar

ras city. When I visited Sarnath recently I was greeted by a young Nepali boy aged 9 years. I cannot forget him as I write these lines. He gave his name as Harsh Bahadur. I found he had a better knowledge of Sarnath not that he had committed anything to memory. His intelligence impressed me. He said that his father was a Chowkidar in the Museum who had since died. He is a student of 5th class of the local High school. He spoke with firmness that he was a student of history and that Buddha and his relics were his special subjects. He answered me all intricate questions with remarkable ability. Here is a specimen of his lecture when he took me to the excavated site:

"Here Buddhist remains lie scattered over the ground. Here Buddha explained the wheel of Law (Dharma Chakra) to his first five disciples. Here Buddha used to discuss with the Bhikshus many difficult problems of Buddhism. Thus Banaras became an important centre of Buddhism for 800 years. In many parts of the Holy City you will find ancient Buddhist remains and here in Sarnath these colossal relics of big monasteries have been discovered as a result of excavation."

My young friend continued:

"Two Viharas still attract numerous Hindu and Buddhist pilgrims from all parts of India."

Pointing to Mulagandha Kuti Vihara he commented:

"This is the beautiful modern Buddhist temple built by Mohabodhi Society in 1931. Look at the elaborate colourful murals and fresco paintings done by Japanese artists which depict the whole life-history of Lord Buddha."



Lion Capital, Sarnath

leader of the nation. But is there any possibility under the existing circumstances? I asked myself.

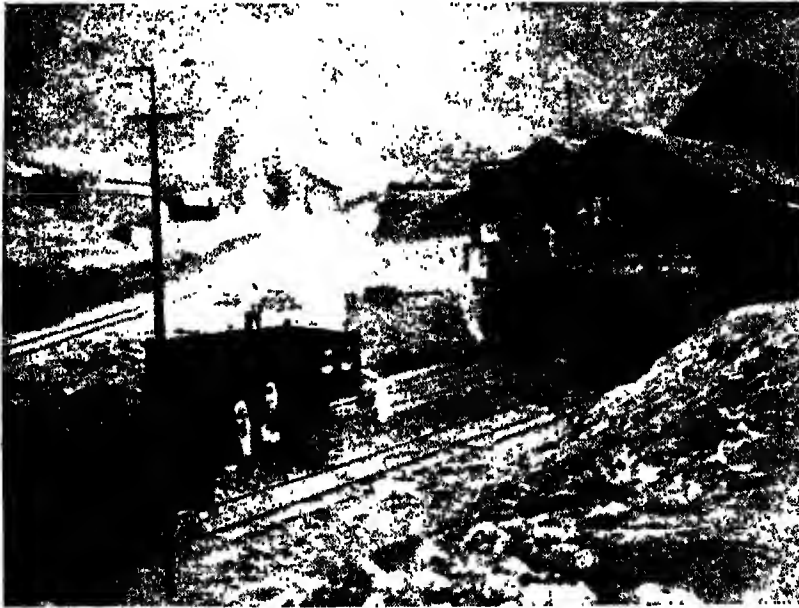
# THE WORKING OF A COAL MINE

By SUDHIR BRAHMA

## INTRODUCTION

"THE more popular the teaching of science becomes, the greater would be the chances of establishing democracy in the country"—this is because science has for us a new message, a new philosophy. Science has

of air and under great pressure of the earth. It is formed from wood and other vegetable matter, remnants of forests buried underground and which have undergone a long process of decomposition beneath the surface crust of the earth. An analysis of different stages reached from wood to the best anthracite coal proves the existence of wood in coal. Coal is a hard, black, rocky combustible matter producing heat energy of a high degree. It is defined in the *Memoris of the Geological Survey of India*, (Vol. LXI, page 259), as "a compact stratified matter of mummified plants (which have in part suffered arrested decay to varying degrees of completeness) free from all save a very low percentage of other matter."



Interior view of a coal-mine of Bargoli

not only harnessed the forces of nature and has given us a new outlook on life, but also has provided us with a new method of approach to all problems of life. Scientific analysis starts with man's desire to know about things which are not well-known. We see men grow old and die; we see horses and quadruped animals; and conclude that every man will grow old and die, that every cow will give milk and every horse will be a quadruped. This is a vague generalisation based on a few specimens that have been observed. But scientifically the generalisation may not be correct. Some day somebody may discover a man who does not grow old and die. may happen to see a cow which does not give milk, may see a horse which has only three legs. This is the reason why men remained in the primitive stage so long as they confined themselves to deductive reasoning.

It is difficult to know precisely how coal was formed. It is believed to have been formed by the gradual decomposition of vegetable matter in absence

Coal is found in many countries of the world. In India, it is found at Jharia, Gnidhi, Bokaro, Ramgarh and Daltongunj in Bihar, Asansol and Ranigunj in Bengal, Chanda and Karanpora in the Central Provinces, Umaria and Rewa State in Central India. Singareni in Hyderabad, Makum and the hills south of the Brahma-



The wagons loaded with coal are coming out of the mine

putra in Assam, Damdot in the Punjab, Mian-Wali in the North-West Frontier Province, Quetta and Kalat in Baluchistan. Coal deposits are found in layers lying in the crust of the earth varying in thickness from a few inches to over a hundred feet and are found slightly

or heavily inclined. At some places a seam of coal is near the surface and at other places it occurs at a great depth. In the former case, it is economical and worthwhile to work coal in the open by cutting a 'quarry.' In some places it is not economical to work coal by excavating a quarry and so inclined paths are cut and roads are made to reach the coal seams under the rock. This is called working coal by 'Inclines.' But when coal seams exist at greater depths, say, beyond a hundred feet or so, wells called 'Pits' are sunk to the seam. Whereas in India pits are sunk to a depth of sixteen hundred feet only, in Europe they are sunk to a depth of three thousand feet.

Big cages of iron suspended by steel wire ropes and run by steam or electricity are lowered down the pipes to the depth of the coal seam and hauled up to the surface. The miners go underground through these shafts, make a tunnel and cut coal by means of hand picks (such miners are called 'Kachia Malkatta,' or ordinary miners-) or by blasting coal with dynamite (such miners being called 'Pakia Malkatta' or C.P. Miners as this process was first introduced in India in the coal mines of the C.P.) or by coal-cutting or drilling machines (such miners being called machine-miners).

The coal thus cut is loaded in tubs. These tubs are then hauled up on train lines by stationery haulage engines or locomotives or conveyors from the points of workings and brought near the bottom of the shaft from where they are lifted up by an engine operating on the surface by steel wire ropes working over pulleys fitted on pit-head steel-frames. They are then carried by trucks and emptied near the railway siding from where the coal is loaded on the railway wagons and sent to places wherever wanted.

The working conditions underground are full of difficulties that have got to be overcome. As a measure of protection against these accidents the miners and other underground workers are not allowed to carry match boxes with them or to smoke underground. Another difficulty is that the roof of the mine supported by pillars of coal or pit-props may collapse due to high pressure. To protect themselves from this, those underground must always remain alert and watch the roof. If they find big pieces of coal falling from the roof or hear a rumbling noise, they hurry to a safe corner inside the mine, or if possible, they come out of the mine through the shafts. Then there are difficulties which crop up in the process of working, namely, the pumping of water and ventilation. These entail huge

expenditure. As the work is done at great depths, the pumping of water has to be done whenever water accumulates inside the mine. In shallow mines, water is pumped out to the surface by steam pumps, but in big mines it is pumped out by electricity. The question of underground ventilation is yet another problem. Ventilation is natural in mines which are only a hundred to two hundred feet deep, the air passing underground through various pits. But in deep and extensive mines, big ventilating fans having the capacity of thousands of cubic feet of air have to be installed and kept running day and night for circulating air throughout the mine.

Owing to the great importance of the coal industry from the point of view of national welfare and the difficult circumstances under which the workers engaged in the coal mines to work, the management must be entrusted to skilled and experienced mining engineers or geologists. The Royal Commission on Labour said that "Both in law and fact the manager is responsible for safety of workmen." Having regard to the safety of the miners and other underground workers, the contractors employing labour in a colliery should be a mining engineer or at least a mining man with some knowledge of geology. It is then that the output per man per shift can be speeded up and brought to the level of the European countries in years to come. Living quarters are provided for the workers near the pits, but they are no good. They are temporary huts, poorly made with corrugated iron sheets for roofs and no proper sanitation. The result is that the workers' health is poor. Drinking water can be had from the wells all over the collieries and the more wells a company has, the better are its chances of attracting labour. Reference has been made to some welfare facilities for the benefit of the Indian coal miners.

Coal is the life-blood of modern industry. Hydro-electricity from waterfalls can be used in place of coal for certain purposes, but not for all. It cannot be used for smelting metallic ores, nor can it yield the various useful chemicals that we get from coal. Electricity cannot be used for raising steam for boilers. When subjected to destructive distillation (i.e., heating out of contact with air) coal yields various bye-products, viz., coal tar, ammoniacal liquor, coal-gas, coke and a lot of other chemicals. One such is benzol, a good substitute for petrol. The position regarding coal industry cannot improve so long as the governments of respective provinces do not take over the control of the running of coal mines in their own hands.



itself in food and clothing from the produce of the land. Thirty acres are reserved as pasture for the cattle, and another ten acres of irrigated land are used for the provision of green fodder throughout the year for milch cows. The pasture land also produces date-palms from which *gur* is obtained. Forty acres of land is under cotton and eighty acres under cereals (*juari* and wheat) and other "dry" crops, pulses, oil seeds, etc. The remaining thirty acres are irrigated vegetable and fruit gardens. All members of the community share in the work of the Farm according to their age and circumstances, and gardening is an important secondary craft in all departments, even where it is not the primary medium of education. The value of the students' work is credited to them in the Farm account and the produce is sold to the Community kitchen or the Khadi section at standard rates. Any surplus produce (cotton or fruits) is sold in the local market. The Farm accounts for 1952-53 show a profit of Rs. 1,336.

In May, 1953, the dairy herd consisted of 22 cows, 11 pairs of bullocks, 1 stud-bull and 67 calves. Of these 4 cows and 3 bullocks had been added during the year to the mature working herd from among our own calves.

This herd produced during the year 26,693 lbs of milk, and the accounts for the herd, excluding the feed of the calves, show a surplus of Rs. 667-8-0. The cows do not give enough milk for the daily needs of the community (calculated at 20 tolas per head per day) except in the hot season when some departments are wholly or partially closed and numbers are reduced. The Talimi Sangh has, therefore, been actively concerned for several years in the organisation and daily management of a Milk Producers' and Consumers' Co-operative Society which receive milk from producers in several villages round about, maintains the standard by regular scientific testing, and distributes it to consumers in the various Sevagram Institutions or converts the surplus into *ghee*, *dahi*, *khoya*, etc.

During the last two years the cattle have been re-housed outside the courtyard which they formerly shared with the post-basic boys' hostel. The whole courtyard is now available for living quarters for senior boys and teachers of the post-basic and University section. The girls hostels have also been expanded and improved, the office has been enlarged to give much-needed space for the publication department, "Santi Bhavan" has been extended by a paved annex which gives additional space for meals, evening meetings, etc. A few new staff quarters have been built. The most significant addition to the accommodation, however, is "Kabir Bhavan" which was built in 1950-51 and came into full use as the workshop of the Khadi department in 1951-52. It had become impossible to give the members of the grow-

ing community any adequate training in weaving, or the opportunity to weave their clothes, on the few looms which could be crowded into the back of the Basic school building. Kabir Bhavan cost Rs. 9000, and has fifteen shuttle looms and 30 looms of Assamese and other special types. The first of these began work in July-August, 1951; during the year 1952-53, 1520 sq. yards of cloth were produced on shuttle looms and 374 yards of 16 ins. width on Assamese looms. The improved accommodation and equipment has not only increased productive efficiency but has also released space in the school buildings which is being utilised by the sewing and tailoring, bakery and other home science activities.

The expansion of activity and production in all these departments means that the importance of an efficient workshop where tools and accessories of all kinds can be made and repaired, and where carpentry and other building industries can be developed as scientific educational crafts, has been keenly felt. Interest in these crafts and rural industries has been stimulated in the community by a number of factors, particularly by the contacts which the Talimi Sangh has had with the International group of workers in the Service Civil International, and by the thought given to the development of work at a University level.

A special feature of the work of the last four years is the steady growth and consolidation of the Uttar Buniyadi Bhavan (Post-Basic School). By 1947, a number of pupils in Basic schools both in Sevagram and in Bihar had completed the full eight years' course of Basic Education, and some of them were eager to continue their studies at a more advanced level. The Talimi Sangh has been engaged in working out principles, methods and standards of education for the adolescent period between the fifteenth and the nineteenth years of life, in close consultation with others engaged in similar work. Pupils have been admitted to the Uttar Buniyadi Bhavan both from the Anandaniketan Basic School at Sevagram and from complete Basic schools in the parts of India where post-basic education could not be provided at present. A full course of normally four years' duration has now been organised, and in 1951 and again in 1952 a group of students completed this post-basic course. Certificates of post-basic education were presented to them by the Prime Minister of India on the occasion of his visit to the Eighth All-India Basic Education Conference at Sevagram on November 1st, 1952.

The total number of pupils in the post-basic school is now about 80 of whom 14 are girls.

The aim or self-sufficiency at the post-basic stage is not, like the Basic school, to meet the current expenses of the school salaries and contingencies. The post-basic school is a "school-village," a society

## AFTER FIFTEEN YEARS

### A Survey of the Work of the Hindustani Talimi Sangh in Nai Talim, 1952-53

By RAMKISHORE,

Secretary, Hindustani Talimi Sangh, Sevagram, Wardha

FIFTEEN years ago, in the year 1937-38, Mahatma Gandhi placed before the country the plan of Basic National Education. The articles in which he outlined his principles and methods began to appear in *Harijan* in July, 1937; in October the National Education Conference was convened at Wardha, and the Zakir Hussain Committee was appointed to draw up a tentative syllabus as a basis for experiment. The Committee completed its work during the following two months, and in the spring of 1938 the Indian National Congress adopted the scheme as its educational policy and established the Hindustani Talimi Sangh as an autonomous body charged with the experimental working out of its principles in actual school practice.

The resolution of the Congress ran as follows:

"The Congress has emphasised the importance of National Education ever since 1906, and during the non-co-operation period many national educational institutions were started under its auspices. The Congress attaches the utmost importance to a proper organisation of mass education and holds that all national progress ultimately depends on the method and content and objective of the education that is provided for the people . . . It is necessary to lay down the basic principles which should guide such education and to take other necessary steps to give effect to them. The Congress is of opinion that for the Primary and Secondary stages a basic education should be imparted in accordance with the following principles:

"1. Free and compulsory education should be provided for seven years on a nationwide scale.

"2. The medium of instruction must be the mother-tongue.

"3. Throughout this period, education should centre round some form of manual and productive work, and all other activities to be developed and training to be given, should as far as possible, be integrally related to the central handicraft chosen with due regard to the environment of the child.

"Accordingly, the Congress is of opinion that an All-India Education Board to deal with this basic part of education be established, and for this purpose requests and authorises Dr. Zakir Hussain and Shri E. Aryanayakam to take immediate steps under the advice and guidance of Gandhiji to bring such a Board into existence, in order to work out in a consolidated manner a programme of Basic National Education and to recommend it for acceptance to those who are in control of state or private education.

"The said Board shall have power to frame its own constitution, to raise funds and perform all such acts as may be necessary for the fulfilment of its objects."

The scheme thus outlined had not sprung fully grown out of nothing. Behind Mahatma Gandhi's

articles in *Harijan* in July-August, 1937, lay the forty years of his own social and educational thought and experiment, and the whole dynamic of the spiritual and cultural renaissance of India which had inspired Swami Shradhdhananda's Gurukula and Rabindranath Tagore's Brahmanacharya Ashram. From 1920 onwards the National Vidyapiths and independent schools had been contributing to the pool of experience, and the constructive programme was acquiring a richer content and becoming more and more clearly an essentially educational venture on a national scale. In 1937-38, Basic education was placed before the nation as a whole as a practicable plan for universal education, whose immediate objective was to provide a seven-years' course for children of school age. The Basic course of eight years was later adopted in the light of experience.

The story of the development of Basic Education during the period of pre-war Provincial Government from 1937 to 1940, during the independence struggle between 1940 and 1945, and during the period of re-adjustment and new beginnings from 1946-49, has been told in successive reports of the Hindustani Talimi Sangh, particularly in *The Story of Twelve Years* presented to the fifth All-India Basic Education Conference in May 1949. There is no need to repeat the record of work which is summarised there. This report will describe the position which has been reached in the summer of 1953 and indicate the developments which have taken place in the work of Nai Talim during the last four years.

The Hindustani Talimi Sangh has had from the beginning a double responsibility. It has had to conduct its own experimental institution, trying out modifying, and developing method of education both in and out of school, in the light of actual experience with children and young people of various ages in a concrete village situation. It has also had to use its experience to advise and guide educationists in other parts of India, and workers in both Government and non-Government agencies, in the conduct of Basic schools and training schools for teachers. These two functions are closely inter-related, and it is not possible to draw any hard and fast line between them in an account of the work.

The Nai Talim community at Sevagram is now farming 190 acres of land. The larger part of this was acquired in 1945-46 when it was decided that agriculture, the basic rural industry, should be the basic craft of the post-basic school which was then being planned for. The object of the work is that the community of about 200 adults and 100 children who are normally in residence should be able to maintain

itself in food and clothing from the produce of the land. Thirty acres are reserved as pasture for the cattle, and another ten acres of irrigated land are used for the provision of green fodder throughout the year for milch cows. The pasture land also produces date-palms from which *gur* is obtained. Forty acres of land is under cotton and eighty acres under cereals (*juari* and wheat) and other "dry" crops, pulses, oil seeds, etc. The remaining thirty acres are irrigated vegetable and fruit gardens. All members of the community share in the work of the Farm according to their age and circumstances, and gardening is an important secondary craft in all departments, even where it is not the primary medium of education. The value of the students' work is credited to them in the Farm account and the produce is sold to the Community kitchen or the Khadi section at standard rates. Any surplus produce (cotton or fruits) is sold in the local market. The Farm accounts for 1952-53 show a profit of Rs. 1,336.

In May, 1953, the dairy herd consisted of 22 cows, 11 pairs of bullocks, 1 stud-bull and 67 calves. Of these 4 cows and 3 bullocks had been added during the year to the mature working herd from among our own calves.

This herd produced during the year 26,693 lbs of milk, and the accounts for the herd, excluding the feed of the calves, show a surplus of Rs. 667-8-0. The cows do not give enough milk for the daily needs of the community (calculated at 20 tolas per head per day) except in the hot season when some departments are wholly or partially closed and numbers are reduced. The Talimi Sangh has, therefore, been actively concerned for several years in the organisation and daily management of a Milk Producers' and Consumers' Co-operative Society which receive milk from producers in several villages round about, maintains the standard by regular scientific testing, and distributes it to consumers in the various Sevagram Institutions or converts the surplus into *ghee*, *dahi*, *khawa*, etc.

During the last two years the cattle have been re-housed outside the courtyard which they formerly shared with the post-basic boys' hostel. The whole courtyard is now available for living quarters for senior boys and teachers of the post-basic and University section. The girls hostels have also been expanded and improved, the office has been enlarged to give much-needed space for the publication department, "Santi Bhavan" has been extended by a paved annexe which gives additional space for meals, evening meetings, etc. A few new staff quarters have been built. The most significant addition to the accommodation, however, is "Kabir Bhavan" which was built in 1950-51 and came into full use as the workshop of the Khadi department in 1951-52. It had become impossible to give the members of the grow-

ing community any adequate training in weaving, or the opportunity to weave their clothes, on the few looms which could be crowded into the back of the Basic school building. Kabir Bhavan cost Rs. 9000, and has fifteen shuttle looms and 30 looms of Assamese and other special types. The first of these began work in July-August, 1951; during the year 1952-53, 1520 sq. yards of cloth were produced on shuttle looms and 374 yards of 16 ins. width on Assamese looms. The improved accommodation and equipment has not only increased productive efficiency but has also released space in the school buildings which is being utilised by the sewing and tailoring, bakery and other home science activities.

The expansion of activity and production in all these departments means that the importance of an efficient workshop where tools and accessories of all kinds can be made and repaired, and where carpentry and other building industries can be developed as scientific educational crafts, has been keenly felt. Interest in these crafts and rural industries has been stimulated in the community by a number of factors, particularly by the contacts which the Talimi Sangh has had with the International group of workers in the Service Civil International, and by the thought given to the development of work at a University level.

A special feature of the work of the last four years is the steady growth and consolidation of the Uttar Buniyadi Bhavan (Post-Basic School). By 1947, a number of pupils in Basic schools both in Sevagram and in Bihar had completed the full eight years' course of Basic Education, and some of them were eager to continue their studies at a more advanced level. The Talimi Sangh has been engaged in working out principles, methods and standards of education for the adolescent period between the fifteenth and the nineteenth years of life, in close consultation with others engaged in similar work. Pupils have been admitted to the Uttar Buniyadi Bhavan both from the Anandaniketan Basic School at Sevagram and from complete Basic schools in the parts of India where post-basic education could not be provided at present. A full course of normally four years' duration has now been organised, and in 1951 and again in 1952 a group of students completed this post-basic course. Certificates of post-basic education were presented to them by the Prime Minister of India on the occasion of his visit to the Eighth All-India Basic Education Conference at Sevagram on November 1st, 1952.

The total number of pupils in the post-basic school is now about 80 of whom 14 are girls.

The aim or self-sufficiency at the post-basic stage is not, like the Basic school, to meet the current expenses of the school salaries and contingencies. The post-basic school is a "school-village," a society

of students and teachers living together in residence, and its aim is therefore to provide by its own work the food and clothing needs of all its members, not to accumulate earnings on a money basis. During the year 1952-53 a "life-sufficiency" of 65 per cent of life needs was attained by the Uttar Buniyadi Bhavan.

The pattern of post-basic education developed at Sevagram is characterised by its stress on agriculture as the basic craft and on the development of mature personality able to shoulder full adult responsibilities. During the first two years each student is given a chance of experience in every aspect of the work of the farmfield crops, vegetable and fruit gardening, care of animals, dairying and the subsidiary industries of oilpress, palm-*gur* extraction, poultry and bee-keeping. In the latter part of the course he or she is encouraged to specialise in those aspects of the work which are most in line with his own gifts and tastes. All are expected, as parts of the qualification for entrance to the course, to be able to weave their own cloth, and are given opportunity in rotation to do so. Individuals who show a special interest in and talent for weaving, or for some other rural craft such as carpentry, or for health and first-aid work may be given an opportunity to become skilled workers in these fields. The pattern, that is to say, is of the development of hand and mind together through a thorough scientific and responsible use of the system of apprenticeship. The vigorous, efficient functioning of the various industries which supply the primary needs of the community is therefore of great importance. Equally important to the education of the emotions and the development of character is the practice of organising the post-basic school as a self-reliant, autonomous community which is also a part of the larger Nai Talim community, and a part of local and national society, and which recognizes its function and responsibility with regard to all of them. Details of the syllabuses and activities by means of which this intellectual social and moral training has been carried out will be found in the Handbook of Post-Basic Education which the Talimi Sangh has prepared on the basis of five years' experience. Mention must be made however of one of these activities, because of its significance in the recent development of Nai Talim as a whole. This is the work of Basic Education in the Rehabilitation Centres at Faridabad and Rajpura.

In August, 1949, the Hindustani Talimi Sangh was requested by the Prime Minister to undertake the organisation of education in the Rehabilitation Centres of Faridabad and Rajpura where it was planned to build new townships. The Talimi Sangh accepted the task, and work began the following month. Twelve boys from the Uttar Buniyadi Bhavan volunteered for this piece of public service and went with their teacher to Rajpura to help to start the

schools, with the confidence of children and parents, and establish standards of cleanliness, co-operative work and disciplined living. Workers from Sevagram and from the Nai Talim Centres in Bihar co-operated in the training of new teachers from among the refugees and in the retraining of old ones. The Talimi Sangh has continued the work from year to year in both centres, there are ten schools in the township of Faridabad, one for boys and one for girls in each *mahalla* with a total of 4,700 children, these schools have now reached the seventh grade. The three schools in Rajpura have also reached the seventh grade; it is a smaller township and the total number of children in school is about 1,600. Khadi craft, wood work and gardening are practised as basic crafts. In 1952-53, sums of Rs. 8,358 and Rs. 1,290 at Faridabad and Rajpura respectively were credited into the Government treasury as the proceeds of craft work.

The whole undertaking has demanded much thought, care and patience. It is an attempt to bring the principles of Nai Talim to bear on the problems of an artificial community created in adverse circumstance and of an essentially urban nature.

Side by side with the provision of education for the children, the Faridabad and Rajpura Development Boards have had to organise the building of the permanent townships.

In Faridabad, this work was undertaken by the people on a co-operative basis, and a small team of European workers of the Service Civil International (International Voluntary Service for Peace) gave their services also in road-making and building. Their work and interests brought them into close touch with Nai Talim workers. In subsequent years the S.C.I. undertook a number of other projects of community service, mainly in building construction, in different parts of the country, and several of their members have joined the Sevagram community, either for short holidays in the course of their work, or for longer periods after completing their S.C.I. contract. During the year 1952-53, three men have joined the Talimi Sangh in this way; M. Leon Bensimon, a Frenchman, works with the building department; Mr. Max Parker, a skilled mechanical engineer, an American, devoted four months to developing the workshop, and was helped for nearly three months by a Swiss volunteer, M. Franz Schenk. Max Parker took up two problems of great practical importance. One is the construction of a bullock-driven fodder-cutter which will, when perfected, eliminate much of the drudgery of fodder-cutting and to a very large extent prevent waste in feeding. The second is to devise a simple bullock-driven suction pump which could supply water for irrigation without the need for Persian wheels, which are costly to instal and troublesome in upkeep. Mr. Parker left in April, 1953, for a

visit to America, but plans to return and continue his work.

Developments in this field of rural technology are significant. They point the way to the next stage in the pioneer work demanded of Nai Talim. Since 1950, there has been much discussion of the place and nature of University work in Basic National Education. The Indian Universities' Commission has published its report including an important chapter on the "Rural University" to which a very large contribution was made by Dr. A. E. Morgan as a member of the commission. At the Seventh All-India Basic Education Conference in 1951, the subject of University education had an important place. Following the conference the Hindustani Talim Sangh appointed a Higher Education Sub-Committee which worked out a scheme for the initial stages of a Visva-Vidyalya at Sevagram. Such an institution, if it is to be in line with the whole development of Nai Talim and of Mahatma Gandhi's conception of higher education, must relate its studies to national necessities. With this in mind the committee selected seven faculties (centres of work, study and practical research) and with the generous assistance of experienced educationists framed working syllabuses which the Talimi Sangh has approved. These seven activity-faculties are: 1. Agriculture and horticulture, 2. Animal husbandry and dairying, 3. Rural engineering, 4. Rural industries (including khadi), 5. Rural public health, 6. Food technology and nutrition, 7. Rural education.

This functional organisation of the material of education will be linked with an equally unconventional method. The Hindustani Talim Sangh does not conceive of University work as consisting largely of lectures delivered to groups of passive students. It conceives of students who have developed through a post-basic course into mature and responsible people, and who have shown the intellectual alertness and initiative which will enable them to benefit by further opportunities being expected as individuals for further personal advanced study. It envisages them, under the personal guidance of a tutor who is an expert in the field, undertaking specific pieces of responsible work in the faculty they have chosen, and making a thorough scientific study of the conditions of their work and the problem involved. The problems of the fodder-cutter and the suction-pump referred to above are excellent examples of the kind of science which a Nai Talim university should foster.

Such a University needs not only an efficient workshop but an efficient laboratory. A small laboratory was added to the post-basic school in 1950, and scientific experiment in connection with the agricultural and khadi work of the Uttar Buniyadi Bhavan. Khadi work of the Uttar Buniyadi Bhavan have been directed from there. Shri M. A. Sathianathan, who has been in charge of this work, was the holder of a

Fulbright Scholarship for study in the United States during 1952-53. He studied methods used in the teaching of science in relation to productive work, especially in agriculture and dairying. The development of adequate laboratory facilities for the investigation of the problems raised by students in the University will be one of the immediate needs of the future.

Eighteen students were selected in November, 1952, for admission to the Sevagram Visva-Vidyalya after satisfactory completion of the post-basic course and thirteen of them began work at Sevagram. The majority selected the faculty of agriculture or of Animal Husbandry, and a few selected engineering or public health. It was decided, however, that in the initial stages all should work together at projects of immediate concern to the group as a whole, particularly the reconstruction of their residential quarters. The work involved a study of the principles of surveying and the problems of rural housing. Then came Shri Vinoba Bhave's call to youth to devote a period to the work of Bhoo-dan, the students were eager to respond to this call, and most of them are still engaged in that work with the warm approval of the Talimi Sangh.

The developments in the local, national and world contacts of the Hindustani Talimi Sangh during the past few years all have points of interest. Side by side with the consolidation of the Uttar Buniyadi Bhavan and the initiation of University work, the Anandniketan Basic School with its pre-basic classes has continued to work steadily. During 1952-53, the total income from the various productive crafts was Rs. 3,311-10-9 and the total expenditure on teachers' salaries and contingencies Rs. 4,303-6-0, giving nearly 77 per cent self-sufficiency. The senior grades continue to be held in the Talimi Sangh compound where they can make use of Kabir Bhavan and other facilities; the junior grades and the pre-basic school are held in the village. In 1950-51, two new school buildings, one for the pre-basic unit and one for the junior basic grades, were built on a site adjoining the village to replace the old and extremely overcrowded building which had been used up to then. The new site has a good well, and offers many opportunities for development.

In November, 1951, the Talimi Sangh entered into an understanding with the Wardha District Janapada Sabha by which the educational supervision of twenty village primary schools was undertaken by the Sangh. These schools are all, with one exception, in villages within a 7- or 8-mile radius of Sevagram, and form a compact area within which an all-round programme of community education might be attempted. The establishment of friendly relationships with the village schools and the adult community at once became one of the chief concerns of the Nai

Talim Bhavan (Teachers' Training Department). A good deal of spadework was done during the cool weather of 1951-52 and was followed by an intensive summer training school for the village teachers during May 1952. During the year 1952-53 a number of steps could be taken for the improvement of the schools, largely through the increased local interest in their welfare, more purposeful craft teaching and more interesting and varied community programmes. Plans were drawn up in consultation with the Janapada Sabha to overcome the various practical difficulties experienced by the teachers in trying to remould the schools on a "Basic" pattern; two informal conferences of teachers and interested villagers were held at Seva-gram in March, and in May the Secretary of the Talimi Sangh and Kumari Shantaben Narulkar, met with the Director of Public Instruction and the Ministers for Education and for Planning in the State, and discussed the whole position of Basic education in relation to the State's policy for primary education and teacher training. It has been agreed that in the twenty schools of the compact area the ordinary Class IV examination will not be held but that the results of tests conducted by the Talimi Sangh will be recognised by the department. The Sangh thus finds a great opportunity and a great responsibility in its hands.

The Nai Talim Bhavan, whose work has been enriched by the contact with the villages which the compact area has afforded to its students, is the living link between the institutional work at Seva-gram and the nation-wide interests of the Talimi Sangh. There have been several changes during the last four years. States which formerly sent a large number of students for training, like Madras, Orissa, Bombay, Bihar, no longer do so to the same extent because there are now facilities for training in their own areas. If students are sent it is usually for special purposes; Bihar sends men for special training in post-basic school work; both Bihar and Bombay have sent members of the administrative and inspecting staff of the Education Department for short periods of study. The majority of regular students are now drawn from a group of States which have begun work in Basic Education since 1950—Hyderabad, Madhya Bharat, Vindhya Pradesh, Saurashtra, etc.—from the Ministry of Rehabilitation, which is specially interested in the training of young women as teachers or village workers, and from the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi and other groups interested in Basic Education as an integral part of healthier community development. During the year 1952-53 the group included more than 20 students, the majority for short courses, who were concerned in one capacity or other with rehabilitation work in Jammu-Kashmir State. The stimulus of intimate contact with fellow-students of extremely varied linguistic,

economic, cultural and religious backgrounds continues to be one of the most valuable educational features of the course. The number of women students has also steadily increased during the period, and during the last year they formed about 40% of the total.

The Nai Talim Bhavan has derived much benefit from the greatly increased facilities for weaving which the new Kabir Bhavan now affords. In spite of the very large numbers, it has been possible with careful organisation to give almost all the regular students at least some elementary practical experience of weaving and an appreciation of its value as an educational craft. Selected groups of students have also been given a real introduction to some other crafts, building, carpentry, animal husbandry, dairying, palm-gur and in particular agriculture are some of those that have been chosen. The fact that it has been possible to offer a full course of 9½ months for graduate candidates, and that a number of students have taken longer courses thus providing a link between one group and the next, has also contributed to a more thorough training.

Very close contacts have been maintained with a number of States in which Basic Education is being newly introduced or in which new developments are taking place. The Secretary of the Sangh is the Chairman of the Special Committee for Basic Education in Hyderabad State and also a member of the Boards which control it in a number of others. He is also a member of the Central Advisory Board on Education. This Board, at its nineteenth meeting in March, 1952, received the report of the Sub-Committee which it had previously appointed to consider the economic aspect of Basic Education. The Sub-Committee expressed the view that on the basis of the data it had collected, the C.A.B.E. would be justified in modifying the opinion it had expressed in 1944 (when it was suggested that the economic goal of Basic Education should not be pursued "at the cost of educational efficiency"). The C.A.B.E. has now emphatically re-asserted the importance of handicraft in education.

"The element of craft work in Basic Education is of such educational importance and value that even if no economic considerations were involved it is necessary to replace ordinary primary education by Basic education in a planned manner. In carrying out this programme special attention of the State Governments should be drawn to the fact that a system of education cannot be considered as Basic education in the real sense unless (a) it provides an integrated course including both the junior and the senior stages; (b) it places adequate emphasis upon craft work in both its educational and productive aspects."

Those who have followed the discussions of the last few years will know that these are the two points which Basic education workers have continually

pressed for; an integrated 7-8 years' school course as envisaged in Nai Talim is essential both on educational principle and to make the crafts effective for self-sufficiency.

Turning to non-Governmental agencies, the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi has earmarked funds for the development of Nai Talim in the States, and during the last two years a few students deputed by them have been trained at Sevagram, but the work is not widespread. The National Christian Council also held a conference of Christian educationists at Sevagram in March, 1952, in order to study Basic education at first hand. There were over sixty delegates from various parts of India. The conference recorded its conviction that "the life and work here constituted a challenge not only to our educational methods but to the whole of our Christian life and witness," and recommended to the National Christian Council the organisation of regional conferences on Basic education. One such regional conference has since been held in Hyderabad State, and Christian educational institutions have deputed a number of students for training in the Nai Talim Bhavan.

Mahatma Gandhi looked upon all his work in India as the application to the circumstances of his own country of principles of universal validity. The true welfare of mankind, he believed, will only be secured when society not only in India but throughout the world is based upon Truth and Non-Violence and has rejected the materialist values of modern "civilisation." Moreover, ideas know no frontiers, and both the principles and methods of education through work found an echo in some of the best educational and social thought of the West. In December, 1949, the World Pacifist Meeting held one of its sessions at Sevagram, and many of the overseas delegates who attended it became deeply interested in the significance of Nai Talim for the foundations of peace. The Talimi Sangh has maintained contact with these friends and with a steadily widening circle of others who have visited or corresponded with Sevagram. The close relationship with the members of the Service Civil International in India has already been referred to. Another organisation which is concerned to help its members to participate in work for international understanding is the International Development Placement Association in the United States, under whose auspices several young people have come to Sevagram for varying periods of work and study. Foreigners whose work or travel interests bring them to India frequently pay a visit to Sevagram, and some of them are sufficiently interested to maintain their contacts. Dr. A. E. Morgan of Yellow Springs, Ohio, who came to India as a member of the Indian Universities Commission, is a regular correspondent and valued friend. During 1952-53, 154 oversea visitors of seventeen different

nations visited the Talimi Sangh. Members of the Talimi Sangh staff also took part in three of the international conferences held in India in December, 1952, the Unesco Conference on free and compulsory education for S.-E. Asia, the International Conference on social work, and the International Child Welfare Conference.

The Assistant Secretary, Srimati Asha Devi Aryanayakam, was appointed by the Government of India as delegate for India in the Social Commission of the United Nations. In this capacity she attended the sessions of the Commission in New York in May, 1952, and May, 1953, and was able to give a number of lectures on Nai Talim which aroused great interest in the United States. Her work has brought the Talimi Sangh into touch with Officers of U.N.O. in the Social Commission and elsewhere, who are deeply concerned with community welfare, and a small conference was held at Sevagram under U.N.O. auspices in January, 1953, to explore areas of agreement and possible co-operation between Gandhian and other workers in the field of community development.

Some of the overseas contacts which may prove most significant for the future, though as yet they are few and sporadic, are those which have been made during the past few years with Africans from many parts of the continent. Many thoughtful Africans desire to see their countries develop, in accordance with their own genius, "a society where men and women may live in peace," and are vividly aware of how, in harnessing the forces of Nature, "man has become the slave of the machine and of his own greed."\* They listen with keen interest to accounts of what has been done in Nai Talim in India, and believe that it may have a message for Africa.

This survey of the activities and interests of which the Talimi Sangh headquarters at Sevagram has become the centre, is not by any means complete. But it is sufficient to show the magnitude of the Sangh's opportunities and responsibilities both for intensive research and experiment in the development of Basic education at home, and for the expansion of the work and the presentation of its relevance to the fundamental problems of the modern world. The human resources at its command are quite inadequate to do what could and should be done, and in these matters it is the human, not the financial, resources that really count. One way in which this is felt is the inevitable delay in the production of literature, which is recognised on all hands to be urgently needed. The materials are there, but those who could put them in shape for general use are occupied with many duties and get little leisure for this work. The

\* Quotations from a speech by Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, Prime Minister, Gold Coast.

publication of the *Hindi Nai Talim* as a separate monthly magazine catering for the needs of Basic schools was resumed in July, 1952. The Talimi Sangh has recognised the need for another periodical, possibly a quarterly, in English, which would provide a forum for discussion not only of the technique, syllabus and detailed programmes which are needed by practising Nai Talim teachers, but of the general principles of "working to learn" and the psychological and social conditions which aid or hinder their application. Such a periodical could cater to a public, both in India and overseas, which we need to reach. But up to the present sheer pressure of work has prevented anything from being done in this field.

No special mention is made in this report of a subject with which all members of the Nai Talim

community have been very deeply concerned, the Bhoodan Yagna of Shri Vinoba Bhave, Nai Talim is an integral part of the "family society" of mutual care and responsibility for the common good which Shri Vinoba preaches as the goal of all his work. Students of all departments at Sevagram have taken part in Bhoodan Yagna programme both locally and in Shri Vinoba's own organisation. But the permanent responsibility of the Talimi Sangh and of all Nai Talim workers to the Sarvodaya programme is to demonstrate how a living education can provide the dynamic needed to rebuild national society in the ways of truth. The steady, daily influence for good of a devoted teacher and an inspiring school is the greatest contribution that Nai Talim can make to the welfare of any Indian village.

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## LINGUISTIC BOUNDARIES AND STATES RE-ORGANISATION COMMISSION

By TEREL GORINDA

ONE of the difficult problems that is facing the States Reorganisation Commission presided over by Sir Fazl Ali is to determine which language is predominant in a given region, for it is not a matter of mere statistics. From the questions put to the witnesses appearing before them either as individuals, or on behalf of the numerous political and local and cultural organisations in different parts of India by the members of the Commission it appears that they are simply thinking in terms of linguistic majorities or minorities, including the floating population in their calculation. At least it seems so from what has been reported in the newspapers, especially the great English language dailies like the *Hindu*, the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, etc. It may be that we are perhaps, doing injustice to them.

This difficulty is enhanced by the fact that there is often "no hard and fast boundaries" between two languages, especially the Aryan languages of Northern India. Each one in turn merges imperceptibly into its neighbour; and it is often impossible to say exactly where the one language ends and the other begins. It is complicated by immigration and emigration, casual, periodic, temporary and permanent as also the shifting dates of census and the change-over from the *de facto* to the *de jure* basis. Immigration of speakers of one of the two competing languages and emigration of the other from the particular region complicates the problem. The problem is not absent in South India. Andhra lost the city of Madras because the percentage of Telugu speakers has been decreasing, while that of Tamil speakers has been increasing during the last 70 years.

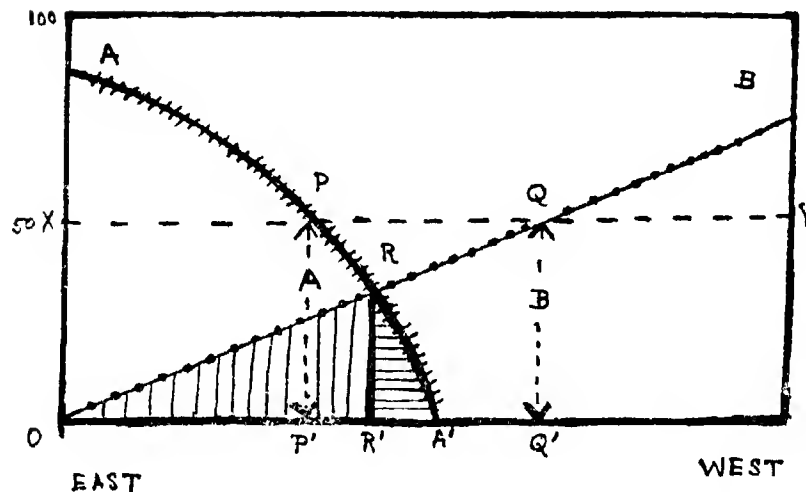
No area in India can be said to be purely uni-lingual. The highest that can be said is that in

some districts the percentage of speakers of a particular language is over 90 or 95; in other areas it is much less. The dominant language is often in a minority. Within the district one language is spoken in the east, and another in the west. Sometimes the minority speaks two or three or more local and tribal languages, each very much different from the other. The matter is further complicated by varying densities of population even within the district or the region under consideration. There are other difficulties too.

The difficulties are there; but to think of in terms of simple linguistic majority or minority, even when the two neighbouring languages do not imperceptibly merge into each other would be an oversimplification of the matter and a wrong approach to the problem.

We would illustrate our meaning and what we want to say by a diagrammatic distribution of two neighbouring languages. Such distribution is not rare and is often found in linguistic borders. In the diagram the distribution in space is shown exaggerated for the sake of clearness.

Let us suppose the density of population to be the same or uniform throughout the region from left to right, or say from East to West. The height indicates the percentage of speakers of Language A or Language B; the top horizontal line indicates 100 per cent. The dotted line XY in the middle represents the 50 per cent level. Language A crosses the 50 per cent line XY at P and drops down very rapidly as we proceed towards right or West. Language B crosses the 50 per cent line XY at Q, and decreases slowly as we proceed towards left or East. At R the two languages A and B are equal in number.



In determining the boundary between Languages A and B, if the simple majority rule is strictly followed A cannot claim any land beyond PP'; similarly, B cannot claim any land beyond QQ'. To whom, A or B the land represented by P'Q' is to be allotted, and on what principles? If the onus is thrown on A it loses P'Q'; if the onus is thrown on B it loses P'Q'. It may be that the entire region is now within State A, where A is the predominant language. If the question is why should P'Q' be detached from State A, as language B is not in a majority, State B, (where B is the predominant language) loses it. If the question is why should P'Q' be retained in State A as language A is not in a majority, it loses P'Q'. Much depends upon the form of the question.

In all the lands to the west of A', B is the dominant language though not the language of the local majority. Is it to be given to State B? Similarly, in all the lands to the east of R', A is the dominant language though like B not the language of the local majority. Is it to be given to State A? To which state, State A or State B, is the land represented by R'A' to be given?

The percentage of speakers of both A and B are the same at R. If all lands to the east of RR' is given to State A, the minority of B left there is represented by the vertically shaded area ORR'. If all lands to the west of RR' is given to State B, the minority of A left there is represented by the horizontally shaded area RRA'.

The area ORR' represents the number of persons speaking language B, for we have supposed the density of population to be the same or uniform throughout the given region under discussion. Similarly, the area RRA' represents the number of persons speaking language B. But area ORR' is much larger than the area RRA'; or in other words the number of persons speaking B left in State A is much larger than the number of persons speaking A left in State B.

The ideal solution would have been to leave no linguistic minorities in either A or B. But as that is not possible, the next best solution would be to try to make these areas as nearly to each other as possible; *i.e.*, to make the number of speakers of A left in State B equal the number of speakers of B left in State A. For there is reason why one language should lose more than the other.

This would ordinarily be the principle applicable to all languages except Hindi. In a conflict between Tamil and Telugu, between Malayalam and Kanarese, between Marathi and Gujarati, the above principle

would help justice and equity. In a conflict between Hindi and any other language, Hindi should lose. Hindi is the national language of India; speakers of other languages have got to learn Hindi and are placed under a serious disadvantage. When the Railway Minister, Sri Lal Bahadur Sastri, makes his policy speech in Hindi in the Indian Parliament, members ignorant of Hindi have got to remain silent. They can not either appreciate or criticise the speech to influence their fellow members. And this in the first half of the fifteen years allotted to English as an alternative national language. With the progress of time this disadvantage will increase as Hindi is an aggressive language and speakers of Hindi are generally more intolerant than the speakers of any other language. Speakers of Hindi have an initial advantage; and they cannot in all equity and fairness compete with other languages on terms of equality. They should not be allowed to do so. Some handicap should be put on the speakers of Hindi. For example, in linguistic borders no region should be allotted to Hindi unless they are in *two-thirds* majority. If in a region all the languages including Hindi are in a minority; and if further Hindi happens to be the most numerous minority that region should not go to Hindi unless the speakers of Hindi there exceeds the next best minority by say 16 or 17 per cent of the total population. Speakers of Hindi in such regions will not be at a disadvantage; for Hindi being the national language, it will be taught in schools; names of railway stations will continue to be painted in Hindi; and so on and on.

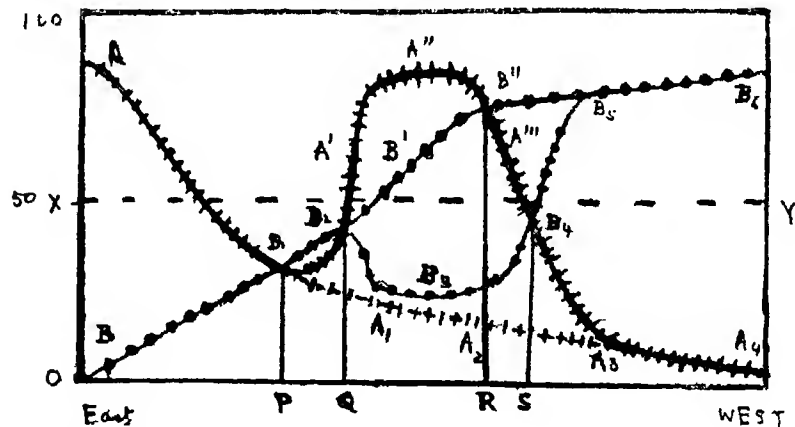
In our above discussions we have over-simplified the matter by assuming the density of population to be uniform throughout the region. But, in fact, it is seldom so, even in rural areas; far less in urban and industrial areas. Density is expressed as so many persons per square mile. But the basic data are the area of a police station and the number of persons enumerated there. Police stations are not natural geographical units. They were and are formed for an

entirely different purpose, having regard to "Law and Order"; having regard to the peaceful nature or otherwise of the inhabitants, having regard to the occurrence of serious and violent crimes there; having regard to the disproportion between sexes in the floating population, having regard to the means of communication, easy or otherwise, with the headquarters; and various other factors. One *Thana* may be very large; another small. It is the disregard of this cardinal fact at the time of the Radcliffe Award in 1947, which showed a much larger area in both the Punjab and Bengal to be Muslim majority area than their total population strength would warrant, and it is responsible for a bigger East Pakistan and a larger slice of the Punjab being allotted to Karachi.

Lastly, in coming to a just and proper decision the Commission should exclude floating population of the region from consideration. For inclusion of them will complicate matters. We will illustrate the difficulty by a similar diagram.

The original distribution of Language A was along  $AB_1 A_1 A_2 A_3 A_4$ . On account of influx of floating population speaking A, the present distribution is along  $AB_1 B_2 A' A'' A''' B_4 A_3 A_4$ . The original distribution of language B was along  $BB_1 B_2$

$B' B'' B_3 B_6$ ; the influx has depressed their percentages; and their present distribution is along  $B B_1 B_2 B_3 B_4 B_5 B_6$ . According to original distribution  $B$  might have claimed up to  $P$ ; but now it cannot claim beyond  $S$ . What about the territory  $PQ$ ? It is a pocket in A territory. Though the percentage of  $B$  is less between  $Q$  and  $S$ , their actual number may not have decreased rather increased on account of their natural growth. Because  $B$  permitted or could not prevent or invited immigrants speaking A, are they to lose all lands between  $Q$  and  $S$ , or between  $P$



and S?

[The above diagrams are not purely hypothetical situations like them occur on several linguistic borders; the diagrams are, however, overdrawn.]

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## SCIENTIFIC LIFE IN YUGOSLAVIA

By A. RELIC,

*President of the Serbian Academy of Science*

It is, of course, only a part of the scientific life in the world. But conditions for the complete development of that life depended, first, on the complete political and economic liberation from the enemy, and then also on liberation from fear of the ever possible aggression and constant insecurity. These conditions were afforded to a certain extent by the nineteenth century, but it was only the twentieth century which fully ensured them after the temporary liberation in 1918 and complete at the end of 1944.

But despite difficult conditions in which Yugoslavs lived before the Liberation, they distinguished themselves in the world war their scientific work. During the Renaissance and after many Yugoslavs took part in the science of the enlightened world under their own or, even more frequently, changed names. Of course, these were only individuals for the most part educated in foreign scientific schools. I will mention only a few of them. Thus a citizen of Dubrovnik, Marin Getaldic (1566—1620), after making his studies in Italy and in

Paris, considerably distinguished himself in Europe with his mathematical and physical researches. I will also mention the Croat Jurij Krizanic (1618—1683) who was exiled to Siberia because of his Pan-Slavic teachings in Russia. He was a polyhistor and one of the most prominent personalities among Slavs in the seventeenth century. The number of men who gained prominence with their scientific work—men from Dubrovnik and Dalmatia as well as from other western parts of Yugoslavia including Slovenia—is quite remarkable. I will mention only one other name, that of Rudjer Boskovic (1711—1787) who distinguished himself with his scientific treatises in mathematics, philosophy, physics and astronomy and was well known in the world. He printed his very much esteemed works in the greatest centres of Europe of that day. Many of his works, especially that on Atomism, are still valued in connection with modern science and spoken very highly about by the scientists in many countries.

The nineteenth century marks the liberation of

Yugoslavs and at the same time advancement of science and education among them. Already in 1808 Dositej Obradovic (1742-1811), a Serb from Vojvodina, also one of the few who were well-informed about various other countries in Europe at that time, imbued with the educational ideas of his time, founded the High School in Belgrade during the First Serbian Rising in the midst of commotion and insecurity. This was the early embryo of the University of today. After him came Vuk Karadzic, a Serb from the then unliberated Serbia, he reformed the Serbian (1787-1864) literary language and way of writing and laid the foundations for national culture of the Serbian people—also in the unquiet period of the Second Serbian Rising. Somewhat later (1830) Ljudevit Gaj with a prominent group of Croats and Slovenes, laid foundations for Croatian national culture. In 1950—to crown these national movements—several prominent Serbs and Croats gave the initiative for an understanding about the common Serbo-Croatian literary language, based on their identical national language, which was later to become a framework for their modern science and education.

As everywhere in the world, so also with Yugoslavs—their highest schools, universities, academies and scientific associations were the great nurseries of science and culture with their numerous publications, science institutes attached to the above-mentioned institutions and, as separate scientific bodies, separate smaller scientific institutions (scientific laboratories, often attached to factories, farm stations, nurseries, works, etc.).

I will try to give a brief description of this scientific movement which embraces the whole of Yugoslavia and which developed from insignificant beginnings in the nineteenth century into a torch which today lights up almost every corner of Yugoslavia.

Today there are five universities in the country (Belgrade, Zagreb, Ljubljana, Skopje, Sarajevo). This year has seen the building of the sixth university in Novi Sad (in the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina as part of the People's Republic of Serbia). The Belgrade University nominally began in 1808, to say nothing about what had existed previously in the independent Serbian state of the Middle Ages, and actually in 1938 when Lyceum was opened for higher education—an institution which was turned in 1863 into the High School, later with four faculties, and finally received the name and organization of a university in 1905-6. This university taught natural science and mathematics, social and philological studies, the law and technical science, but unfortunately, neither Nikola Tesla, a Serb from Lika (1856-1943), who won fame in America with his inventions in the sphere of electricity, nor another Serb—Mihajlo Pupin (1858-1935) from Vojvodina, also a great electro-technical expert and professor at Columbia University—have worked in the Belgrade University. In it won distinction a number of important scientists (Djuro Danicic, Josif

Pancic, Stojan Novakovic, Jovan Cvijic, Mih. Petrovic and others). The University in Zagreb which was preceded by scientific collegiates in the previous centuries (in the seventeenth and later), was opened in 1874 and gave a large number of scientists especially from the sphere of historical sciences, for which it had a brilliant model in Franjo Racki (1828-1894), philological sciences in which Vatroslav Jagic (1839-1923) was already distinguished in the world, ethnographic-anthropological, legal and other sciences (with Dragutin Gorjanovic Kramberger (1856-1936)). Today the Zagreb University is developing in all directions, and its Medical Faculty is particularly on a high level. The University in Ljubljana (1919) was preceded by various scientific collegiates beginning from 1396. The Slovene University could from the very beginning be placed on a good basis as the Slovenes had previously been working at various scientific institutes and faculties in Austria. It was particularly distinguished by its linguistic-scientific work, for which it had great predecessors in Jernej Kopitar (1780-1844) librarian of the Vienna Court Library, the famous Slavonic scholar, teacher and assistant of Vuk Karadzic; in Franjo Miklosic (1813-1891), professor of Vienna University for many years and initiator of the scientific study of Slav languages—a famous Slavonic scholar and teacher of all Slav languages; in Vatroslav Oblak (1864-1894), prematurely deceased professor of Slav philology in Graz and others; it also won distinction in mathematical and technical sciences. The Spodlje University had a philosophical faculty since 1920, but was transformed into the real national Macedonian university in Skopje only after the liberation. Today it is successfully developing in all directions. After the liberation steps were also taken for the opening of the University in Sarajevo, which is gradually developing into a full university. Before the war, Vojvodina had a Faculty of Law in Subotica, and has now (1954) two faculties: The Faculty of Philosophy and the Faculty of Agriculture, and is later to see the foundation of other faculties as well.

These are the first and most important nurseries of scientific workers who are continuing their training in various scientific workers' institutions. The highest scientific institutions which are today publishing numerous scientific works and training new scientific workers in their institutes, are scientific academies. So far we have three of them in our country: in Belgrade, in Zagreb and in Ljubljana.

The Serbian Academy of Science, which was preceded by the Society of Serbian Enlightenment (1842-1846), which was transformed into the Serbian Scientific Society (founded 1886, reorganized 1947)—is the highest scientific institution for the People's Republic of Serbia. It has now 68 years of development behind it, development interrupted by wars (from 1912-1918 and from 1941 till 1945). In a number of its publications it enabled a large number of scientists to develop their

capabilities. It issued important series of publications especially about national life and the origin of populations; series of editions on the historical (ancient) monuments both in the national and foreign languages. After the war, especially since 1947, the Serbian Academy of Science became very active in its efforts to rally the older and younger scientific workers in its institutes. Up to 1952 there were 23 of them. As some of them (for instance, the Hydro-technical Institute) the Nikola Tesla Institute, the Ecological Institute, etc., have developed thus far that they could work quite independently, ten of them were allowed to have a completely independent organization. In these Institutes younger and older cadres work on scientific problems, publish their works in the publications of the Institute, in separate editions, in the periodicals which some Institutes print and which keep a record of the movements of our science, sometimes covering the results of the movements of our science, sometimes covering the results of the whole of Yugoslavia. A similar organization characterizes also Yugoslav Academy of Learning and Art (1866) in Zagreb, which in addition to a large number of scientific treatises from nearly all branches, is also publishing an important historical dictionary of the Serbo-Croat language (up to now 12 and a half big books have appeared). This Academy likewise has a certain number of scientific institutes. The Slovene Academy of Learning and Art (since 1939), which was directly preceded by the Society for Humanist Knowledge and many other societies, publishes scientific treatises and works, especially from the sphere of archaeology; and has a certain number of scientific institutes.

Although other provinces have no academies, their numerous scientific and technical societies carry on an intensive activity.

The scientific societies also play a significant role in stimulating and raising the technical and scientific work in the country. There is a large number of these throughout the country and they are linked together in different scientific organizations. These organizations usually publish their periodicals, magazines which sometimes have a great significance for the development of our science (for example, the publication of the Medical Society, Biological, Geographical, Historical, Societies, the Serbian Language Society, etc.). There are in Yugoslavia about 250 such periodicals.

Finally, there exist in the country many independent scientific institutes, various independent scientific laboratories and ancillary institutions, such as libraries and museums. I must specially point to the archaeological excavations which are going on everywhere. How important some of these institutions are will be shown by the example of the Institute for Nuclear Physics (in Vinca near Belgrade) with several hundred

collaborators and a whole colony erected on the bank of the Danube, as well as the Lexicographer Institute in Zagreb, with over two thousand collaborators, who are occupied with the editing and publication of several bulky encyclopaedias of great value. In Split there is an Oceanic Institute for the study of the Adriatic Sea and fisheries, with excellent equipment, with several stations on the Adriatic shore. In Belgrade, and in other republican centres, there are excellent Hygienic institutions with a large number of doctors—experts. Also there are Geological institutions in all the Yugoslav republics engaged in research work in the field and studies in the laboratories. It would take too much space to enumerate all the scientific and semi-scientific institutes in the country. There are over six hundred of them. The fact that there are so many of these institutions and that their work is so varied calls for constant care about them. Their scientific significance, the value of their work and their financing, which means considerable expenditures, (although many of these institutes draw large incomes from their activity),—demand the organization of a separate body or separate bodies in both the republics and the Federal Government. This was not neglected by the people's authorities which wish to set up high scientific centres for the appraisal of the work of every individual institute in all directions, so that all of them could be helped if need be and that their work could be co-ordinated in every respect.

Tribute is due to the modern socialist organization of our country and to the people's authorities for all these results. Besides this, scientific researches are a great need for any organized work in school, in the field, in the factory. Although we must be constantly in touch with world science in order to keep our scientific work on a worthy level, our country understands its freedom and its independence as an opportunity to help with the scientific work of its sons not only the education of its peoples but also the satisfying of the pressing needs of their life.

Knowing the extent of the scientific disposition and scientific curiosity among our people, aware that Yugoslavia are always willing to devote themselves to scientific work in which they show a measure of self-sacrifice without which there can be no scientific success, and also—which is the most significant feature of all for modern Yugoslavia—with what understanding and constant care the people's authority sees to the creation of ever-improving conditions for scientific work in the country, we are convinced that the successfully started work will develop in Yugoslavia with increasing force and spread to ever new spheres of activity. This conclusion is imperatively imposed when we embrace in a glance all that has been done in this direction since the Liberation, in less than ten years.



# Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

Editor, *The Modern Review*.

## ENGLISH

**MIDNAPORE SALT PAPERS.** Edited by Dr. Narendranath Krishna Sinha. Selections from Bengal District Records. Published by Das Gupta and Co., Calcutta-12. Pp. 22 + 254 and two plates. Price Rs. 7-8.

It is a pleasing sign that the series of old Bengal District Records, of historical or economic value, which was discontinued after Firminger, has been revived. The present volume comes to us under the editorial care of an expert like Dr. N. K. Sinha, who has been assisted by two very promising younger scholars, Profs. Tarit K. Mukherji and Arun K. Das Gupta. The West Bengal Regional Records Survey Committee which has prepared the volume and the Provincial Government which has borne the cost of printing, alike deserve to be congratulated on the result.

The interest of the subject of salt production and distribution in Bengal spreads to other provinces of North India as well.—Assam, Bihar (to some extent) and Orissa (though under Maratha rule till 1803) all drew this necessary of life from Bengal. The system of manufacture, distribution, check (on smuggling) and the worries of the contract system are here revealed from the letters of harassed officers. Salt was a very important item of the commodities dealt with by the Economist Writer ("Commercial Resident") posted by the E. I. Co. in the large district towns (like Rajshahi and Berhampur) along with the Collector and Magistrate, and the editor has traced the service history of many of the British civil servants who figure in this correspondence. A very important (and now forgotten) side of Bengal's history would have been lost to the memory of the present generation but for this book.

JADUNATH SARKAR

**FAMOUS TALES OF INDIA.** By A. S. Panthapakesa Ayyar. Published by V. Ramaswamy Sastrulu and Sons, Madras. 1954. Pp. ix + 394. Price Rs. 4.

India has been a reputed land of stories and fables for centuries. While the Buddhist Jataka tales constitute the largest body of folk-lore in the world, the stories of the Panchatantra through their numerous translations and adaptations from the Middle Ages down to the present times have become part of the world-literature. In the present work the author whose well-written historical novels (*Chanakya* and *Chandragupta* and *Baladitya*, a *Historical Romance of Ancient India*) were noticed by us in previous issues of the periodical, has put in an English garb eleven stories dating from the Vedic times. The stories include such masterpieces as the tales of Nala and

Damayanti, Savitri and Satyavan, Dushyanta and Sakuntala (from the classical Sanskrit literature) and Kovalan and Kannaki as well as Manimekalai (from the literature of classical Tamil). At the end of his interesting Preface (pp. viii-ix) the author observes that his work has been written "mainly with a view to make the world outside acquainted with these fine Indian stories" and to make men and women all over the world "feel a kinship with India." This, he says, is in keeping with the spirit of the old Vedic sage who uttered the words *Mata bhumi: putro'ham prithivyah* as well as the present movement towards one world following from the rapid development of communications and "the breaking down of barriers by two World-wars" (*sic*). We have no hesitation in saying that the author has been successful in his laudable object. Using a plain English style he has succeeded in a large measure in reproducing the wonderful dramatic effect and the noble impulses and emotions of the original stories. We would, however, observe that the characters and incidents of the author's story of Hanschandia are in part different from those of the familiar Puranic version dramatised by the poet Kshemisvara in his *Chandakavisa* drama. We would further draw the author's attention to the slips in his translation of Sanskrit proper names, such as Viswadevas (p. 9), Vaidharini (p. 71), Vasishtha (p. 78 f.) and Surangraya (p. 143 f.). The transliteration and translation of the well-known Sanskrit prayer to the goddess Durga commencing with the words *Sarvamangala-mangalye*, are faulty in some respects. These slight blemishes, however, do not detract from the high merits of this work which, we hope, will attract a wide circle of readers.

U. N. GHOSHAL

**THE ARDENT PILGRIM** (An introduction to the life and work of Mohammed Iqbal) : By Iqbal Singh. Published by the Orient Longmans. Pp. vi + 246. Price Rs. 6-8.

Sir Muhammad Iqbal is one of those great men on whom widely divergent estimates have been made. Some have hailed him as the *Messiah* of a Muslim revival, as the prophet who envisaged a homeland for the Muslims of India, while others have regarded him as the harbinger of commercial discord.

The author Iqbal Singh steers clear of these views and attempts a critical appraisal of his hero on the basis of his writings. He sketches here the poet's career, unfolding at every step the bearing of the environment and of the contemporary events on his mental growth. For instance, the poet in early youth was a votary of Indian nationalism, and a bard of Hindu-Muslim unity expressing his thoughts in such poems as the *Tarana-i-*

*Hind, Ode to the Himalayas and Naya Shivalaya.* The sublimity of his thought was then reflected in such verses,

"You think God exists in these idols of stone,  
Each speck of dust of my native land is as holy  
as country's idol."

A change in Iqbal's mental outlook occurred after 1905 when he went to Europe to study philosophy and came in direct contact with the amazing material progress made by the West, as contrasted with the backwardness of his community. For years the poet pondered deeply and his musings found expression in one of his remarkable books of verse, the *Assrar-i-Khudi* (The Secrets of the Self). Here Iqbal gave utterance to a new philosophy, the essence of which was a life of ceaseless action and creative endeavour as against the ascetic views of life which was denounced by him in uncompromising terms.

"Arise and create a new world,

Be an Abraham, and wrap thyself up in flames"

He held Prophet Muhammad as the embodiment of human perfection, because he had united in his person high moral and spiritual excellence with dynamic action. The main burden of his song from 1914 to 1923 was the exaltation and glorification of Islam as reflected in his work (*Assrar-i-Khudi*, *Rumuz-i-Bekhudi*, *Talavi-i-Islam* and *Khiz-i-Roh*). From 1923 Iqbal's Islamic thoughts were shot through and through with a new conception. It was the message of *Ishq* (love) which permeated his poetical works such as the *Payam-i-Mashuq* (Message of the Fast), 1923, *Zabur-i-Ajam* (Psalms of the East), and *Bal-i-Zibraiel* (Wings of Gabriel). The new refrain taken up by the poet reached its high-water mark in his *magnum opus*—*Javed Namah*. In this work Iqbal undertook an itinerary across the heavens, on the model of Dante and is claimed to have established his claim as a world-poet.

The author Iqbal Singh does not make such a clear-cut division of the poet's career which is the reviewer's own thesis fully expanded in an article published in the February issue (1955) of the *Viveka Bharati Quarterly*. Mr Singh writes with admirable dispassion in an easy flowing style, very rarely is his thought obscured by the verbiage of words. I unhesitatingly recommend this book to those who are interested in this remarkable man whose influence upon his contemporaries has been so revolutionary.

N. B. Roy

**LORD MAHAVIRA—THE JAINA PROPHET:** By Puranchand Samsookha. Published by Kubera Enterprises Ltd., 21, Sunkuram Chetty Street, Madras-1. Pp. 66. Price Re. 1.

The author of the small book under review has also written several books in Bengali on different aspects of Jainism. In the present booklet he has given in a very succinct form the life and teachings of Lord Mahavira, the last Jain Prophet and the elder contemporary of Lord Buddha. Mahavira was born in Kundagrama of Vaishali in 599 B.C. and attained Nirvana in Pawa in Bihar and breathed his last in 527 B. C. at the age of 72 years in the latter place. He conducted his spiritual mission for about thirty years and made disciples lay and monastic half a million nearly.

Lord Mahavira is the founder of Jain religion as it is followed today. His salient teachings and eleven parables gleaned from various Jain Sutras or Sanskrit classics on Jainism are also found at the end of the book. Jainism like Buddhism is an Indian religion and calls the highest state of spiritual experience as Nirvana. To the Jaina's Nirvana is the state wherein *kevala jnana* or

absolute wisdom is attained whereas to the Buddhists the same is the state of nothingness. Like the Buddhists the Jains did not fall into the quicksands of nihilism and atheism. A comparative study of Jainism, Buddhism and Hinduism, which are only three aspects of Indian religion, is sorely needed to enlighten and inspire the New Indian Republic.

A perusal of this booklet will give the reader a basic idea of Jainism and its last Tirthankar Mahavira. It is readable throughout and authentic as well. The frontispiece contains a good picture of Lord Mahavira.

1. **WONDERS OF THE TIME-SPACE:** Page 292. Price Rs. 3.

2. **INTEGRAL EDUCATION:** Pp. 124. Price Re. 1-8. By Swami Madhavtirth. Published by the Vedant Ashram, Post Valad, Ahmedabad. A. P. Ry.

Besides these two books under review, the learned author has half a dozen more volumes on Indian philosophy and allied subjects. The aim of writing these books is to interpret our age-old philosophy in the light of modern science. We are glad to see that he has succeeded considerably in this difficult but desirable task.

The first book under review deals with the wonders of space and time. In the eleventh chapter after which the book is named, three stories of Gadhi, Lila and Lavana from the Yoga-Vasistha, an ancient Sanskrit work, are told to illustrate the mystery of time-experience. The stories show how a moment looks like years in a dream and on being awake how those years appear as moments. King Harischandra experienced a span of twelve years in a short dream. An unhappy hour hangs heavy like an age whereas a happy year passes soon like a moment.

In the preface seventeen different calendars are mentioned to point out how the conception and calculation of years differs from country to country. This proves the relativity of time. Similarly, the relativity of space can be understood from ordinary observations. This is mathematically proved by Albert Einstein's theory of Relativity.

The book under review is the result of thirty years of patient research on the subject and is written to bring home to us that the latest discoveries of modern science do support the Vedantic theory of illusion.

The second book is on integral education and has the alternative title of Brahma-vidya. In the Upanishads it is called Para-vidya by which the Immutable One is known. In the opinion of the Vedantist author, Srimad Bhagavatam is a standard Sanskrit work on integral education and King Parikshit learnt this from Sukdev within seven days. Such education is imparted even now in India by the Perfect Ones like Sri Ramakrishna, Sri Aurobindo, Sri Ramana Maharshi and others. In the West, the possibility of such education is being increasingly realised by the eminent thinkers like Count Keyserling and others after the discovery of the theory of Relativity.

The second book was prepared more than a year after the first and seems to be supplementary to the first. Both the books are informative and instructive.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

**CRIMES AND INDIAN CHILDREN:** By Birendra Mohan Mukerji. Published by the National Literature Co., 105, Cotton Street, Calcutta. Pp. 116. Price Rs. 3-12.

This is a study of crime among children in Calcutta. The author is an officer of the Calcutta Police and had ample opportunities to study the child criminal—his psychology, his environment and his

associations and as such his remarks and opinions deserve serious consideration. The subject is discussed in eleven chapters, viz., the state of child crime, sociological factors—overcrowding, association and environment, heredity, defects in brain, insanity, marriage and defective home life, criminal children and their gang life, peculiarities of juvenile crimes, begging and child crime, poverty, population and child crime and finally, possibilities of reformation.

As a member of the society every individual is interested in the child and his future. In the child there is the seed of good and bad and it is for the society and the State to nourish and develop this tiny seed into full, vigorous and socially useful human being. The most modern idea about crime is that of social sympathy, education and reforms and not of punishment, pure and simple, as it was in old days. Crime is looked upon more as a disease than a sin. An individual criminal is not the only person responsible for his crime; society, his associations, education, heredity, physical defects and a lot of other things are to be taken into consideration and proper remedy applied in each case. Every child criminal is a problem to be tackled separately.

The author's treatment of the subject is scientific. His suggestions are constructive. He has drawn attention to the treatment of crime in Soviet Russia which deserves attention of our State authorities.

**INDUSTRIAL POLICY OF INDIA:** By Prof. R. V. Rao. Published by N. A. Agarwal and Co., Agra. Pp. x+66. Price Re. 1-8.

In this brochure the author has discussed the economic problems of the country, such as tariffs and industry, foreign capital, labour movement, cottage industry and planned economy and location of industry. The author wants the Government to formulate a policy which will further the economic welfare of the masses and not of the big capitalists or of "India Ltd." foreign concerns.

**A SURVEY OF LABOUR IN INDIA** By V. R. K. Taluk. Published by Atma Ram and Sons, Delhi. Pp. 70. Price Rs. 2.

This is a regional approach to present a bird's-eye view of the condition of labour in India. The author discusses such an important subject in ten chapters, viz., the background, distribution of working population, cost of living, wages, trade unions, industrial disputes, accidents, unemployment, budgets and labour administration and legislation and thus within a brief compass of 70 pages which is creditable. Most up-to-date figures and statistics have been used to make a correct presentation of the subjects dealt with. The manner of discussion is suggestive and helpful to the administrators. As all economic planning must take into consideration the human resources of the country, such a booklet is particularly welcome to them who desire a clear understanding of social and economic background to raise the social and living standards in India. Such a brochure deserves wide circulation.

A. B. DUTTA

**STUDIES IN MEDIEVAL RELIGION AND LITERATURE OF ORISSA:** By Chittaranjan Das. *Visva-Bharati, Santiniketan*. Price Rs. 4.

Much of our cultural heritage still awaits our recognition. The author has presented herein the result of his careful research at the Visva-Bharati. The book contains four chapters, viz., (i) Achyutananda and the Pancha Sakhas, (ii) Notes on Iswara Das's Chaitanya

Bhagavata, (iii) Mahima Dharma, (iv) Living Buddhists of Orissa. The Appendix at the end deals with a new manuscript of Dhyanamala. The work contains some new materials, likely to be of use to future historians.

D. N. MOOKERJEE

## SANSKRIT

**NATYASASTRA** (Vol. III. With the commentary of Abhinavagupta): Edited with an Index by M. Ramakrishna Kavi, M.A. Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. CXXIV. Oriental Institute, Baroda. Price Rs. 15.

The appearance of volume three of the edition of the well-known but occasionally obscure text of the Natyasastra of Bharata with the commentary of a great savant and polymath, Abhinavagupta, of Kashmir twenty years after the publication of the second volume will be highly welcome to the world of scholars. It comprises chapters 19-27. The three volumes together thus cover three-fourths of the entire work. We shall now be eagerly waiting for the fourth and last volume containing the remaining chapters, which, as assured by the learned General Editor, will be published at any early date. May we hope that it will give, among other things, a full description of the critical apparatus and an amalgamated index of the names of works and authors mentioned in the commentary? In the Index without any title occurring in the present volume a number of inaccuracies were detected.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

## BENGALI

**BINGSHA SHATABDIR SHESH DETECTIVE UPANYAS.** By Prabodh Chandra Basu. To be had of Bengal Publishers, 14, Bankim Chatterjee Street, Calcutta-12. Price Re. 1-8.

An interesting satire on ordinary detective novels, whose authors often create incredible situations and force upon the amazed reader an unwarranted conclusion. Here the detective dies at the very opening of the story. Gauganum's story-inventing power is nicely analysed. There are occasional flings at the failure of Law to catch hold of its evaders. On the whole, the book offers good enjoyment for an hour or so.

D. N. MOOKERJEE

## HINDI

**RAT PAGAL HO GAI:** By Shrivastava Himanshu. Pratibha Prakashan, Patna-4. Pp. 160. Price Rs. 3.

**AVAGUNTHAN:** By Satyaprakash Sengar. Avadh Publishing House, Lucknow. Pp. 166. Price Rs. 2-12.

The former is "a psychological and revolutionary novel," so says the sub-title, and it is by a writer who is slowly coming to the forefront. His pen is, indeed, like a rapier, the thrusts of which ruthlessly do away, of course in the story, with all those individuals and elements which rob man of his social as well as economic equality and equity. The plot is woven round the life of an artist whom partly poverty and partly passion for social justice turn into a man of action, out to throw to the winds many a pet slogan and shibboleth. The writer has undoubtedly an ear and an eye for story-telling but at times he does more violence to his art and idealism than is actually warranted. But he will before long cultivate

a capacity to harness his blood-curdling spirit and scenes and win his spurs.

The latter is a sheaf of eight short stories by an author who though new in the field, has already acquired an effortlessness in subject as well as in style, which is the secret and stamp of all true art. His stories overflow with "humanism," so much so that even Nature, for whom he has the love and eye of a frenzied poet, is treated by him as if she were his next-of-kin. Shri Sengar should give us many more such short stories.

#### GUJARATI

**ALANKAR ADARSHA:** By K. K. Shastri. Published by the Gujarat Vidyasabha, Ahmedabad. 1949. Paper cover. Pp. 38½. Price Re. 1.

Acharya Shri Viharilalji of the Swami Narayan cult had come in close contact with the late Kavi Dalpatram, who was a follower of that cult. The former had composed a work on Alankar Shastra which the latter had edited but for some reason or another it did not get the publicity it deserved. Shri Shastri has now edited it on modern lines, and although there are several compositions already on this topic, this attempt of Shri Shastri to put it forth on up-to-date lines deserves commendation.

**MANILALNA TRAN LEKHO:** By Prof. Dhurubhai P. Thakar, MA. Published by the Gujarat Vidya Sabha, Ahmedabad. 1949. Paper cover. Pp. 296. Price Rs. 2.

The late Prof. Manilal N. Dwivedi has left his mark on the literature of Gujarat, in various directions: Prose, Poetry, Drama, Criticism, etc. Prof. Thakar has already published a book on Manilal's life and work, called *Manilalni Vichar-dhara*. The three essays published under the heading of Manilal's Three Contributions (Lekho) are a sort of supplement to that important work and completes the survey of his writings. The topics,

Abhyas (study), East and West, and Nari Pratistha (Dignity of Women) have been dealt with by him in a highly thought-provoking way, and are full of details. His views about the influence of the West on the East are none too complimentary to the West. It is so good of Prof. Parikh to have rescued them from the obscurity into which they would have otherwise fallen. All credit is therefore due to him.

(1) **GUJARATNAN LOKE GITO** (Folk Songs of Gujarat): By Madhubhai Patel. Price Re. 1-4.

(2) **BHIMANAN PARAKRAMO** (The Courageous Deeds of Bhima): By Madharji G. Patel. Price Re. 1-4.

(3) **HITOPADESHA**: By Sitaram J. Sharma. Price Re. 1-4.

(4) **GUJARATNI RANGBHUMI** (The Stage in Gujarat): By Diwan Bahadur Hiralal L. Kaji. Price six annas.

(5) **BHIMBHAINUN PEHARAN** (The Shirt of Bhimbhai): By Chhotubai J. Bhatt. Price four annas.

All published by the Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature, Ahmedabad and Bombay, 1950.

These are all information-giving books, priced cheap to make them popular. The Folk Songs of Gujarat is a creditable piece of research and throws light on the social habits of Gujarat. Bhim—the well-known Pandav Athlete—has his feats narrated in easy language. Hitopadesh requires no introduction. The tales are so well told, it is an all-India work. Diwan Bahadur Kaji's book realistically describes what the Theatre and theatrical companies have done in the past for the entertainment and enlightenment of the theatre-going public in Gujarat and Bombay. The last is an attractive illustrated work meant for children—'tiny tots'.

K.M.J.

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# INDIAN PERIODICALS

## Netaji of India

"R. D." writes in *The Indian Review* :

A youngman of twenty-four, with brilliant academic career, stood fourth in the I.C.S. but wrote to his brother from Cambridge in 1921, "If C. R. Das in his age can give up everything...., I am sure a youngman like myself is much more capable of doing it. The very principle of serving under an alien bureaucracy is intensely repugnant to me. The path of Anurobinda Ghosh," (who also passed I.C.S. but did not serve), "is to me more noble, more inspiring, more lofty, more unselfish, though more thorny.... Personally I am not afraid of suffering...." That youngman is no other than Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. Having resigned from I.C.S., he straight-away placed his services at the disposal of Deshabandhu C. R. Das, whose colossal sacrifice, fearless nationalism, wonderful resourcefulness and self-confidence and complete freedom from communal feeling marked him out not only as a leader but a leader of leaders in India. Soon Bose became the right-hand-man, nay the "best man" of the party of Deshabandhu Das, whose classical utterance, "If love of country is a crime, I am a criminal," was made when he (Subhas Chandra Bose) was placed under arrest in 1924. Equally soon he developed all the qualities of a leader. In fact, he was the youngest leader of India and one of the youngest Presidents of the Congress.

He had "only one goal—the freedom of India and only one will—to do or die in the cause of Indian freedom." "Let there be one solemn resolve—either liberty or death," was his vow and this he inculcated upon his 'comrades and officers'. To attain that goal, he was prepared to make any sacrifice, to hazard any risks and to continue to fight without being deterred by any trials and tribulations and even defeats. To him nothing seemed impossible if only it led to the attainment of freedom.

Not only did he "sacrifice his all for the hard-won freedom," as remarked by Sri Jawaharlal Nehru, he never accepted any personal advantage for himself. In fact one of the pledges he prescribed for applicants before enlisting as his Volunteers was, "I shall seek no personal advantage for myself." His surrender of Rs. 1000/- from his pay as Chief Executive Officer of Calcutta Corporation was one of the earliest instances of such voluntary surrender.

He was completely fearless and discharged all risks to attain his goal in life, as will be evidenced by his escape from his guarded house in Calcutta in 1941 in the face of all vigilance and abnormal war-time risks through Afghanistan and Moscow to Berlin as Signor Orlando Mazzotta under an Italian passport, his dangerous journey in submarine from Germany to Singapore in 1943 which he himself described in a letter in Bengali as a "perilous journey in which very likely he might not live to reach his destination" and his Azad Hind Government and Azad Hind Force. Like risks, he conquered difficulties in almost impossible situations. In 1941, he found him-

self a stranger in Germany during the critical days of war for that country and yet he succeeded in making the German Government agree to bear all expenses for his "Free India Centre", to supply technical personnel for his Azad Hind Radio and to train, by German military training personnel, the volunteers of his "Free India Legion" who were to have the same facilities and amenities as German units but were not to be mixed with any of the German formations nor to be put on any German front except for India against British forces and for the first time an Indian Flag flew in Germany, as we learnt from the articles contributed by Sri A. C. N. Nambiar and Sri N. G. Ganpuley. So he was always undaunted by any difficulties or even by any setbacks. "I am a born optimist," he said, "and I shall not admit defeat under any circumstances."

His organisations were from the beginning thorough and perfect, be it procession, picketing, hartal, Volunteer or Relief organisation. He threw himself entirely into what he did and organised and he always insisted on strict discipline and proper training. That was how he endeared himself to his co-workers and officers and that was why things were unhesitatingly left to him by Deshabandhu Das in political organisations, by Dr. P. C. Roy in Relief Organisation and by Sardar Vithalbhai Patel in the matter of his will. All these ultimately contributed to the organisation of his "Free India Centre" in Germany and of the famous I. N. A. in which diverse elements of different languages, religions, castes and races were welded into a wonderful homogenous whole. The brave deeds and deaths of the warriors of I. N. A. with the name of Netaji in their lips only testified to his unique organising genius and cementing influence. Even after his reported death, a General of I. N. A., on coming to his house in Calcutta, bitterly wept crying out the name of Netaji.

As a true leader of India, he was always guided by the all-India spirit and the principle of "Nation First." In his historic letter to Sir John Herbert, Governor of Bengal, on the eve of his hunger-strike in November, 1941, he wrote, "Individuals must die, so that the nation may live. Today, I must die so that India may win freedom and glory." His organisations of "Free India Centre" and I. N. A. were completely non-communal and one of the pledges prescribed by him for his Volunteers was: "I will regard all Indians as my brothers and sisters without distinction of religion, language and territory." He was so proud of his country and nation that he insisted that 'the only Flag to fly over Indian soil would be the National Tricolour' and not the Japanese Flag and that "the officers and men of Azad Hind Foj would be under their own military law and not under the Japanese military law and Police." Even in 1941 when starting his "Free India Centre" in Germany, he formulated our national salutation as 'Jai Hind' and selected our national anthem as 'Jana Gana Mana' and Hindusthani as our national language and it

was since then that he was being called 'Netaji' in right Indian style. Whenever he inspected his men of "Free Indian Legion" in Germany, he always appeared in national dress. Though most unfortunately he could not see the inauguration and celebration of Independence in Delhi, yet 'Onward to Delhi' ('Delhi Chalo') and 'the road to Delhi is the road to freedom' were his inspiring slogans in I.N.A. and he realised in his heart of hearts that "there is no power on earth that can keep India enslaved any longer" and that 'the future generation of Indians will be born not as slaves but as free men' as he said in 1944.

Sri Jawaharlal Nehru said on his previous birth anniversary, "It is not enough to remember our great men on occasions like these. We should emulate their code and principles of life to improve future wellbeing of our fellowmen." In this connection, the nation cannot help remembering that these two idols of India had many things in common in their life as they were the two earliest advocates of Independence of India. "To me Subhas was like a younger brother, a brave and beloved co-worker and he had endeared himself to me within a very short time" said Jawaharlal at Kalyani in January last.

### Poets and Poetry

The following paragraphs are reproduced from *The Aryan Path* :

Poets have occasionally offered definitions of poetry or declared that it is inherently indefinable. An attempt to analyze the precise nature of the appeal of poetry was made in Sanskrit poetries. Anandavardhana, a Kashmir poet, contended well over a thousand years ago that the soul of poetry is *dhvani*, the subtle suggestion of an appealing meaning which in various ways produces *rasa* or the resonance of aesthetic satisfaction in the responsive reader. No one can complain that poets have not said enough on poetry.

But poetry is seldom discussed publicly by two poets belonging to completely different generations. This happened, however, when the B.B.C. broadcast such a discussion between James Stephens and Dylan Thomas which *Encounter* (November 1954) reproduces.

Dylan Thomas held a view slightly similar to that of Anandavardhana : Poetry is "memorable words-in-cadence which move and excite me emotionally."

James Stephens declared that "the poet is a fellow who can take hold of a thought and make it sing."

Of course much depends upon the receptivity of the reader. Carlyle said with epigrammatic exaggeration that a man is a poet who can read a poem well. Perhaps he was only suggesting that to the truly sensitive reader of a fine poem, the world can never be the same again. As Dylan Thomas pointed out :

"A good poem helps to change the shape and significance of the universe, helps to extend everyone's knowledge of himself and the world around him."

This important statement only echoes what Shelley said so inspiringly in his ill-understood "Defence of Poetry" :

"....poetry defeats the curse that binds us to be subjected to the accident of surrounding impressions.... it equally creates for us a being within our being. It makes us the inhabitant of a world to which the familiar world is a chaos....It compels us to feel that which we perceive, and to imagine that which we know. It creates anew the universe, after it has been annihilated in our minds by the recurrence of impressions blunted by reiteration."

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### The Position of Women in China

In an article in the *Bulletin of the Ramkrishna Mission Institute of Culture*, Tripura Chakravarti of the Calcutta University, who had been to China as a member of the Indian Goodwill Mission, discusses the position of women in China:

We all know that the position or status of a person or group of persons is determined to a large extent by the social environment and the concrete conditions that prevail in society. Changes, however, can be brought about only by intelligent planning, and by forthright expression. When a social system lacks these characteristics, it becomes static. Unfortunately, all unconscious processes of evolution are of necessity very slow and wasteful. Believing in the thesis of progress, we cannot deny that it can be accelerated by intelligent planning, and by conscious and deliberate efforts. Many of you are, perhaps, familiar with the famous dictum laid down by Sir Henry Sumner Maine, in his *Ancient Law*: "The movement of progressive societies has been a movement from status to contract." And contract implies conscious change, conscious efforts on the part of those who want to make the changes.

In China, society remained static for many centuries. The picture that we get in the pages of Confucius, the philosopher who emerged in China as early as the sixth century B.C., shows that Chinese society had just ended feudal chaos and disintegration, and was formulating certain definite principles. Confucius legislated for all ranks of Chinese society until very recently, and it was said in China that Confucianism was the bed-rock of Chinese character and Chinese outlook on life.

#### CONFUCIAN THEORIES

Confucius made certain definite recommendations for Chinese women. He prescribed four virtues and three disciplines for them. The four virtues were child nursing, child rearing, house keeping, and looking after the ancestral deities. The three disciplines were obedience to the father before marriage, obedience to the husband during marriage, and obedience to the son after the death of the husband. These recommendations correspond closely with those of the great Hindu law-giver, Manu:

*'Pita rakṣati kaumare bharta rakṣati yauvane, rakṣanti śhāvire putra na strī svatantryam arhati.'*— [During girlhood, the father protects (a woman); in youth, the husband; in old age, the sons; a woman is never fit for independence].

I do not deny that these laws of the great master were without any meaning in the age in which Confucius lived. Perhaps they were necessary. But we find that the laws of Confucius became hodge-podge, and through the succeeding centuries China did not do anything to alter or modify them. Chinese society became static and it cannot be said that during the centuries, it moved from status to contract. In the succeeding ages, the position of women became increasingly miserable. Polygamy and concubinage were sanctioned by social custom. Child-betrothal was allowed, even the marriage of widows was tolerated; and compulsory dowry and other malpractices connected with marriage were openly encouraged. These features were not in consonance with the teachings of Confucius, but were accretions that continued to grow unhindered.

#### RECENT CHINESE REVOLUTIONS

China suffered from foreign invasions. The Mongols set up a cruel despotism in the fourteenth century, and the country groaned under the rule of the alien Manchu dynasty from A.D. 1644 to 1912. In 1911, the first Chinese revolution was led by Dr. Sun Yat-sen of hallowed memory. Though it failed to accomplish its purpose, it succeeded in expelling the foreign Manchu dynasty from the throne of China. China became a republic for the first time in her history in 1912. But real liberation of the people, by which I mean the liberation of the people from the yoke of foreign Powers, from the unsympathetic domination of the governing classes, and from reactionary ideas and cultures, did not come; and Dr. Sun Yat-sen himself was the first to recognize the inadequacy of all that he had done. Immediately after the revolution of 1911-12, the reactionary forces gained the upper hand, and Dr. Sun Yat-sen, himself the founder of the Chinese republic, had to flee the country, leaving his work unfinished.

China's history from 1912 to 1919 is a history of aggression by Western Powers and by Japan. In 1919, the Chinese government was compelled to sign the humiliating Treaty of Versailles. This humiliation created a great revolution in China. On the 4th May, 1919, a day now regarded as a most glorious day in modern Chinese history, the students of the National Peking University and some other institutions demonstrated in front of the Manchu police headquarters and outside the foreign legations in Peking, demanding the abrogation of the humiliating Treaty of Versailles. Though this movement was anti-foreign, it very soon assumed a new meaning. It became a



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national campaign against cultural feudalism. People all over the country—teachers, *litterateurs*, scientists, and journalists—raised the cry that China could not be saved, that China would not be saved, unless there was a thorough cultural and moral revolution. This campaign accomplished a wonderful revolution in modern Chinese history. The women joined the campaign and later participated in the war against Japan and in the war against the foreign Powers.

The Kuomintang, under the guidance of Marshal Chiang Kai-shek, assumed power in the second Chinese revolution of 1926-27, which was a national revolution. Afterwards, there was a split in the ranks of the Kuomintang, and the Left-wing Kuomintang left the parent organization and began to preach its views and ideologies independently. In fairness it must be admitted that the Kuomintang raised the status of women during its administration. An elaborate civil code was promulgated on the 3rd December, 1930, several articles of which related to women. Articles 1049, 1050, 1051, and 1053 provided for divorce. It was realized that women were oppressed by men, and these Articles were intended to protect them, but, unfortunately, they remained virtually a dead letter.

#### FEMININE DOMINATION

Nothing was done in subsequent years to improve the status of women. Here a reference to the views of a very distinguished Chinese statesman, Hoo Shee, who is called the father of the Chinese renaissance, would be appropriate. Dr. Hoo Shee gave much thought and attention to this problem and said, in his Haskell Lectures at the University of Chicago in 1933, that foreign observers or superficial observers exaggerated the sufferings of women in China. Dr. Hoo Shee said that in China the wife was the mistress of the household. Her position was recognized in society, and if there was maltreatment sometimes, it was the maltreatment of the husband by the wife. China was proverbially the nation of henpecked husbands.

Dr. Hoo Shee referred particularly to two writers, Pon Sing Loon, who flourished in the latter half of the nineteenth century, and Wang Shee Yo, who wrote something on the condition of women in China towards the end of the nineteenth century. Both these writers have graphically described the horrible sufferings of Chinese husbands. Later, Dr. Hoo Shee wrote an interesting serial of one million words. A man had a one-eyed wife. In the seventeenth century, although there was no law forbidding divorce, yet divorce was not sanctioned by Chinese custom. The wife persecuted her husband and followed him from place to place. The only condition on which divorce could be obtained was proved adultery, and adultery could not be proved. Therefore, there was no escape from the hands of the wife.

Another story, given by Wang Shito towards the end of the nineteenth century, was something like this: the wife was illiterate, and could not understand anything. Wang Shito describes his sufferings and mortifications in his diary: 'I cannot convince you. You are illiterate, you cannot read what I am writing; but I solemnly say that I want to escape from your hands. Perhaps, my lot is due to my *karma*. Perhaps, in previous births I did something wrong, for which I am being oppressed. Perhaps, in my previous birth I was the oppressor and you were the oppressed, and in this life you have become the oppressor and I am the oppressed.'

These are some isolated stories which really do

not prove much, just as the isolated dictum of Manu, 'Yatra naryastu puyante ramante tatra devatah.'

[Where women are adored, there the gods rejoice]

We talk glibly of that maxim, but that does not prove anything. An isolated text taken from Manu certainly does not prove that the position of women in India in the social system was very high. On the other hand, there are many other stories or accounts that would give a different picture.

#### WOMEN'S CAMPAIGN

In the revolution in China from 1931 to 1949, since the unprovoked Japanese attack against Manchuria in September, 1931, since the republic was established by the Chinese people, the women of China shouldered immense responsibilities. There was a national campaign organizing women. Women acted as nurses, served in the army, conducted night-classes, and worked in the aerial resistance. Of course, women did not actually fight, but they did all kinds of military duties.

When the Chinese people's army wished to cross the river Yangtse-kiang in 1949, fishwives living on both banks of the river offered their boats to the troops to help them to ford that great river. Now, such services, rendered voluntarily, had to be recognized when the People's Republic of China was established. In October, 1949, one of the first things that was incorporated in the Chinese Constitution was the common programme, because of the different political parties and different organizations in China. The Chinese government at once recognized the part played by women in the war of liberation, and Article 6 of the common programme says that People's

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Republic will abolish the feudal system that keeps women in bondage and that it will also establish the equal rights of women with men in political, economic, educational, cultural, and social life. Article 32 of the same common programme safeguards specifically the interest of juvenile workers and women workers in factories. Article 48 of the Constitution, or of the common programme, protects the health of mothers, infants, and children in factories and workshops.

#### NEW MARRIAGE LAW

There has been a concerted campaign since 1949 to recognize the services rendered by women in the war of liberation. At present, there is a great organization, the All-China Democratic Women's Federation, a national body with branches in every village. It looks after the interests of women throughout China.

During my visit to China last year, I saw that women now enjoy equal rights with men in all walks of life—in the field of literature, in workshops, in factories, in the villages, and in government organizations. The rights of women required further protection, and so on the 1st May, 1950, the People's Government of China enacted an important law, the New Marriage Law in China, which may be regarded as a great charter for women. It was promulgated after a great deal of inquiry and deliberation. It took the authors of the marriage law 17 months to enact this important legislative measure. This law abolishes the old feudal system that kept women in bondage. It declares that the object of the new legislation is to provide for happy marriage, to bring into existence a better society in China, and to establish love and harmony between husband and wife. The law specifically lays down that marriage must depend upon the willing consent of both parties. There must be no more bigamy, polygamy, concubinage, or child-betrothal. As willing consent loses its meaning in child-marriage, the law, by another clause, provides that a man must not marry before the age of 20, and a woman not before the age of 18. Furthermore, the law specifically prohibits exaction of money or other presents in marriage. And, finally, the law provides for divorce. Of course, it is not the object of the authors of the marriage law to make divorce easy, far from it. Divorce has been made difficult, but if it can be proved that divorce is necessary, and if it can be proved that the divorce has the willing consent of both husband and wife, then divorce becomes easy. Otherwise, the village registrar or the town registrar will take every possible step to bring about a reconciliation between husband and wife. Even after divorce, parents must support and educate their children. Another important feature in this marriage law is that just as it is the duty of parents to support and educate their children, similarly, it is the duty of all children to support and maintain their old

parents. Old parents have got a legal claim now on their sons and daughters.

#### WOMEN UNDER THE NEW REGIME

The new marriage law is not a dead letter. All its provisions are being enforced; and it seems reasonable to say that it has immensely improved the status of women in China. It has given them a new inspiration and a new confidence, and the result is visible in the different walks of life in which women are engaged.

I had a long discussion with Madame Sun Yet-sen on this legislation. She emphasized that the new marriage law must be carefully distinguished from the Civil Code promulgated by the Kuomintang in 1930. That was a half-hearted measure, which was not enforced in China. Madame Sun Yet-sen said that it would be a mistake to think that this law was promulgated by the supreme parliament of China; it was the result of the universal demand of the awakened womanhood of China. At present, the women of China are working shoulder to shoulder with men and are discharging with confidence, with enthusiasm, and with all seriousness their duties and responsibilities. How far the new marriage law has led to the establishment of happy homes or domestic peace, I cannot say. But I know that there was not, or there is not, a voice of protest against this new legislative measure. The standard of sexual morality also has risen, and I have not noticed any sex consciousness, or sex shyness, on the part of girls and women in China.

I began by saying that all unconscious process of evolution are of necessity very slow and wasteful. The leaders of the Chinese revolution made a deliberate experiment, a conscious attack on the old system. They are making experiments with their social organizations. And as the result of their experiments, they have succeeded in bringing about a better and purer Chinese society.

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# FOREIGN PERIODICALS

## Mahatma Gandhi's Views on Machines and Technology

Nichel Beaupuy writes in one of the *Unesco Bulletins* :

The sudden introduction of industrial civilization in a traditional society not only gives rise to a problem of technical adjustment; it also calls for a new balance in motivation and thus necessitates a very real psychological and cultural "conversion" in the individual. It involves profound changes in a value-system many hundreds of years old.

Mahatma Gandhi was deeply and primarily concerned with value-systems. His opposition to Western civilization was not merely on the limited ground of the political and economic subjection of India, but on the much wider issue of the conflict between the values of different civilizations. The steadily increasing pace now-a-days of the so-called "modernization" of India makes particularly timely, therefore, Gandhi's views on the danger which machines and technology present for Indian values. The latest number of the *International Social Science Bulletin*, Unesco's quarterly periodical, contains a fully-documented study on this subject by Mr. D. P. Mukerji, of the International Institute of Social Studies, The Hague.

The first unequivocal statement of Gandhi's position occurs in "Hind Swaraj" (Indian Home Rule), written in 1908, in which he considered for the first time the existence of deep conflict between Indian values and Western values. Many historians and sociologists would be more cautious about India's ancestry, about her deliberate wisdom in rejecting machinery, city-life and the evils thereof. They would attribute them mostly to lack of opportunities and the incurable human habit of making a virtue of necessity.

For Gandhi on the other hand, Indian civilization was the result of a deliberate and repeated condemnation of material values. The supreme duty was to attain mastery over mind and passions in the performance of which we know ourselves, that is, knowledge accrues. The performance implied proper use of hands and feet; and the process led to the limitation of indulgences, reduction of wants, and simplification of life. All these ideas formed a whole pattern of thought, beliefs, attitude and action which placed Indian civilization in sharp opposition to what he sometimes called the Western, at other times the European but what was really modern civilization centred on material values.

In October 1924, soon after he had broken one of his famous fasts, Gandhi gave an interview to a student from Santiniketan, Sri Ramchandran, who questioned him on his views on the place of art in national regeneration and on machinery.

"Are you against all machinery?" the student asked.

Gandhi answered: "How can I be when I know that even this body is a delicate piece of machinery? What I object to is the craze for machinery, not machinery as such. The craze is for what they call labour-saving machinery. Men go on 'saving labour' till thousands are without work and thrown on the streets to die of starvation. Today machinery help a few to ride on the backs of millions. The impetus behind it is not the philanthropy to save labour, but greed."

The student asked: "Then you are fighting not against machinery as such, but against its abuses?"

Gandhi said: "I would unhesitatingly say yes; but I would add that scientific truths and discoveries should first cease to be mere instruments of greed. These labourers will not be overworked and machinery, instead of becoming a hindrance will be a help. I am not aiming at eradication of all machinery, but limitation."

"Where would you stop?" the student asked.

"Just where machines cease to help the individual and encroach on his individuality," Gandhi replied. "The supreme consideration is man. The machine should not be allowed to cripple the limbs of man. . . . Ideally, I would rule out all machinery, even as I would reject this very body, which is not helpful to salvation, and seek the absolute liberation of the soul."

Mr Mukerji believes that the views expressed in 1924 mark a departure from those of 1908. Gandhi had come to realize that the people of India were not yet ripe for the supreme renunciation his values demanded. Non-violence and truth could not be the bread of the masses. It was clear to him that the labourer must get a living wage and a secure daily task and his labour should not be drudgery; above all man, that is, the labourer was the supreme consideration.

In 1925 Gandhi wrote: "Machinery has its place; it has come to stay. But it must not be allowed to

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displace the necessary human labour. I would welcome every improvement in the cottage machine but I know that it is criminal to displace the hand labour by the introduction of power driven spindles unless one is at the same time ready to give millions of farmers some other occupation in their homes."

But although Gandhi had moved away from the uncompromising attitude taken in "Hind Swaraj," he had by no means changed his basic position, since he continued to affirm that "ideally," he would rule out all machines, including "this very body," in order to seek the liberation of the soul. He declared: "I do not believe that multiplication of wants and machinery contrived to supply them is taking the world a single step nearer its goal. I whole-heartedly detest this mad desire to destroy distance and time, to increase animal appetites, and to go to the ends of the earth in search of their satisfaction. If modern civilization stands for all this, and I have understood it to do so, I call it satanic."

Then in anger which would remind one of the wrath of prophets, he said: "I would destroy the present system of government, if I had the power. I would use the most deadly weapons, if I believed that they would destroy it. I refrain because the use of such weapons could only perpetuate the system, though it may destroy its present administration. Those, who seek to destroy men rather than their manners, adopt the latter and become worse than those whom they destroy under the mistaken belief that the manners will die with them. they do not know the root of the evil"

Mr. Mukerji asserts that the Gandhian conclusion in regard to machines and technology is logical if one

accepts the postulates that India has a separate norm of values and a separate principle of social organization which would be disturbed and even destroyed by large-scale use of machinery for greed and profit; and that a proper use would pre-suppose certain attitudes, some traditional and others not, but all working in alliance, and also a type of State that would own and control large machineries, if they were indispensable for defined purposes. Otherwise, the machineries to be used would be used would be of a special type suitable for removing the drudgery of handicraft and improving its quality, if possible. They would operate in the general context of de-centralized economy, in close alliance with agriculture.

"Gandhi's minimal idea," says Mr. Mukerji, 'was to establish co-existence of different social systems, on the basis of equality, though the prophetic strain that came to him in the course of his experiments with Truth led him to think that the values he propagated would also be good for the Western World. We will leave it to the Western sociologist to ponder over this issue. An Indian sociologist can only mention that Gandhi's protagonism of Indian values was not a manifestation of the romantic agony of nationalist historians, nor was it a reactionary, obscurantist throw-back. He was a revolutionary, an Indian revolutionary, that is, one who would first be steeped in Indian realities and then evaluate the nature of chances in social realities in order to create fresh norms."

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### Human Relations in Industry Necessary

Addressing students of Delhi University at Shri Ram College of Commerce on 22nd October 1954, Mr. V. K. R. Menon, Director of the International Labour Office, New Delhi, expressed the hope that human relations in industry might lead generally to an age of prosperity :

Human relations, he explained, was a psychological movement in contrast to material revolution. It had received a fillip from the Russian and Chinese revolutions and the Indian National movement and from the two world wars.

Mr. Menon considered the term "management" more appropriate than the word "employer" because, with the growth of industrial organisations, capital had become more and more impersonal. He said that labour-management relations were as complex as human nature and that they had social, political, psychological as well as economic aspects.

Industrial relations proper were normally dealt with in three tiers, at the level of the undertaking, at the level of the industry and at the national level. Problems of human relations were, however, most effectively dealt with at the level of the undertaking because human relations were far more personal in character.

#### PURPOSE OF LABOUR-MANAGEMENT CO-OPERATION

Mr. Menon said that labour-management co-operation served to promote two main purposes. One of these was economic, to ensure increased production; the other was moral and social to secure full recognition of the importance of the human element and, accordingly, to give staff a greater interest in the general operation of their undertaking. Co-operation between management and labour could be built on a solid foundation if the needs of the workers and the requirements of the management were taken into account. "As far as the management is concerned, it wants—to put it crudely—maximum production with the minimum wage-bill," he added.

If management recognised a sense of dignity, the desire for security and social instincts as enunciated by American business leaders, there would be fewer difficulties in securing the co-operation of workers for higher productivity. Two of the conditions for successful labour management co-operation were that both sides "must want to be co-operative without any mental reservation and that co-operation should not serve as a substitute for fair wages."

#### CONSULTATION AGENCIES

Mr. Menon felt that such agencies for consultation as joint advisory committees, joint production committees and management councils could be evolved to work out labour-management co-operation. He referred to British Work Councils which had made suggestions for improved methods of work and promoted general efficiency. Mr. Menon pointed out that after World

War II, the worker is not satisfied with merely good wages, employment security and other measures of social security. He is equally emphatic that human dignity should be recognised so that he should have a feeling that he is an active partner in the successful working of the undertaking where he is employed. A sense of purpose in work was necessary to satisfy this sentiment.

Referring to conditions in India, Mr. Menon observed: "The development of trade unionism in India is relatively of recent origin and there is still a long way to go. In the absence of strong and healthy trade unions, all that workers could attempt was to secure the best wages and living conditions which the employers would grant. There were and there are a number of good employers who treated their workers generously but in several cases, it was more a case of paternalistic interest. When large-scale industrial development had not taken place, such an interest and direct intimate touch between the employer and the employed were proper and good. But with the greater awakening in the minds of the workers, something more is needed. In any case, the progressive development of large-scale industry has, by itself, been responsible for breaking the former bond between the worker and his job. In the past I came across quite a few cases where there was friction and unrest even in establishments where workers enjoyed good wages, good housing and other amenities. Some expressed the view that this was because the more the workers got from an individual employer the greater they expected to extract still more from him. Also, that irresponsible persons posing as labour leaders accounted for this attitude of mind. This was true in some cases but it was equally true in others that in spite of all the good conditions of service offered, there were minor causes for friction which could have been easily rectified had there been a proper machinery for bettering human relations in the particular undertaking concerned. Very often, the trouble started on a trivial issue which, if a properly working machinery had existed, would have been nipped in the bud. But when matters had proceeded too far, the importance which each side attached to face-saving, totally eclipsed the subject-matter of the dispute itself."

There was still a lot to be done, Mr. Menon stated, in the direction of bettering conditions of workers in India, the limiting factor being a recognition that these would have to be related to economic progress in general. He was equally convinced that the importance of development of human relations in industry deserved far greater attention than it had received so far. The more this was recognised and acted upon, the greater were the chances of India's industrial development reaching the goal which all would like—the building up of a Co-operative Commonwealth.—*ILO News Service.*



### Nuclear Research in Israel

Uranium has already been produced in Israel from phosphate ores on a pilot-plant scale, which is the second stage in the three leading to full production. This start-**ling news** was given to Israel listeners in a broadcast address by Dr. Ernst D. Bergmann, Chairman of the Israel Atomic Energy Commission.

Dr. Bergmann's radio address followed that of the Chief Israel Delegate, Ambassador Abba Eban, who told the Political and Security Committee of the United Nations General Assembly on November 15, that "the number of physicists and chemists in Israel engaged in theoretical and applied research is, in relative terms, probably as high as in any other country of the world." The heavy tasks of economic and social progress faced by Israel "with a notable lack of any cheap source of fuel or electric power" may result, he stated, in an economically viable use of atomic energy for Israel earlier than in countries more lavishly endowed with conventional forms of power.

"These two factors, intellectual and scientific interest and practical need" had determined Israel's pre-occupation with this problem from the earliest days of the atomic decade. Recalling that Israel's first President, the late Dr. Chaim Weizmann, was a scientist concerned with new materials and new power developed through advanced research, Ambassador Eban turned to the laying of the foundations of nuclear research in Israel which took place within a year of the establishment of the State in 1948.

The Department of Isotope Research in the Weizmann Institute of Science at Rehovot has assiduously and successfully, for five years, worked both in the theoretical and applied fields of (1) radioactive isotopes of low activity; (2) the enrichment of heavy water by fraction distillation and other related projects; (3) cosmic rays; (4) the exploitation of low grade uranium ores (phosphates); (5) the study of the mechanism of chemical reactions by means of isotopic training; (6) natural radioactivity, the determination of the sources and average age of underground water by measuring the tritium concentration; (7) the prospecting of possible underground deposits of radioactive solid materials.

Research in the enrichment of heavy water by fractional distillation has led, under the leadership of Dr. Dostrovsky of the Institute, to the construction of a pilot plant already producing heavy water and its method of production has been adopted and applied in Europe. The exploitation of low grade uranium ores such as phosphates is significant for Israel owing to the presence of large phosphate deposits uncovered in recent

Encouraged by the results in the Department of Isotopes, the Weizmann Institute is now about to cover a wider field through the establishment of the Department of Nuclear Research.

In Jerusalem, research in these fields has also been undertaken by the Hebrew University's Physics Department and the Hadassah-Hebrew University Medical Centre. The Physics Department of the Hebrew University has worked in the fields of molecular structure (nuclear spectroscopy), micro-wave research, energy radiation and semi-conductors. In the Medical Centre isotopes have been applied for diagnosis and treatment in blood disease, cancer, and thyroid conditions and the results of traced research are being used in Israel's leading medical institutions.

In 1953, the Israel Atomic Energy Commission was established with wide powers to supervise, co-ordinate and encourage work in this field.

Though the record of achievement and of effort out-

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lined above "is modest in comparison with the impressive surveys" presented by the United States, United Kingdom, Canada, France and the Soviet Union, it is, however, sufficient to explain the specific as well as the general interest of Israel in the proposals presented before the Committee, Ambassador Eban declared.

#### DISTRIBUTION OF FISSIONABLE MATERIAL

Israel applauds "the decision of the sponsoring Powers to establish an international organization for the peaceful use of atomic power without delay. This organization should be conceived in terms of universal membership. Indeed, it is unlikely that any country with a specific stake in this problem will wish to be excluded."

"Great importance lies in the responsibility of the new organization or agency for fostering the interchange of information and diffusing the results of research. At the same time, it appears to us that research is only the very first stage in the application of atomic power to peaceful uses. By far the most important objective is the actual generation of power through the establishment of reactors and the distribution of fissionable material."

The basic aims of the international agency as formulated by the Israel Delegation include universal co-operation in the development and implementation of plans for the application of atomic energy for peaceful purposes, the co-ordination of results in research activities, the facilitation of these activities with material and technical assistance, the exchange of scholars and research workers, participating in projects, the organization of courses and seminars in member countries carrying on research and assistance to member countries in the planning and establishment of atomic plants.

#### ATOMIC POWER FOR IRRIGATION

The Israel Delegation also feels that an early investigation of the technical possibilities of denaturing dangerous materials so that their military utilization would be rendered impossible, as suggested by the representative of Sweden, should be undertaken so that the international agency would be able "to distribute fissionable materials without risk of improper diversion."

"Countries afflicted with deserts and plagued by centuries of erosion are deeply interested in processes for adapting brackish water and seawater to irrigation

purposes," stressed Ambassador Eban. "The feasibility of this transformation has, I understand, been convincingly proved; but a prodigious burden of cost still makes the dream of conquering the world's deserts remote from reality. This may well be one of the first practical problems which the international organization could try to solve, with incalculable benefits to countries in the Middle East and elsewhere in which a shortage of water prevents the attainment of self-sufficiency in food production." Such subjects, suggested the Israel Representative, "as would solve the pressing problems of such underdeveloped areas" should receive priority in research and application.

In discussing the organizational problems involved in the establishment of the international atomic energy organization, Ambassador Eban stated that two fundamental principles should be observed. "First, universality of membership; second, the closest possible relationship with the United Nations and other international bodies operating in this field."

The Israel Representative urged that the International Scientific Conference proposed for the summer of 1955 be open to all States willing to take part. "Israel will certainly wish to enable its leading nuclear physicists to participate in this gathering," he declared—*News from Israel*.

#### US, Indian Goals Same

*The Asian Student*, January 11, 1955, published from San Francisco, informs us :

New York City—India and the United States have identical goals, namely, democratic system of government, promotion of world peace and working for freedom of all nations. However, India has her own approach to the achievement of these goals and this approach sometimes differs from that of the United States.

This observation was made by Gaganvihari Mahts, Indian Ambassador to the United States, when he delivered the 1954 Mary Keating Das Memorial lecture at Columbia University recently. The topic of his lecture was "India to America."

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The Ambassador said that the two countries are co-operating with each other in many ways, but it is not always possible for them to see eye to eye in every respect. Differences in approach and method for the achievement of world peace and the democratic system of government for all nations, which exist between India and the United States, are gradually narrowing down.

India is grateful to the United States for the American economic aid she has received, Mr Mehta said. He praised the work of American technicians in India, who number about 200 in his country working on various development projects. About an equal number of Indian experts have also availed themselves of the opportunity of getting advanced training in the United States under the technical aid program.

Although India welcome co-operation and aid from other countries in her development program, she does not like to get anything by way of charity as that form of aid lowers the morale of the people, Mr Mehta said. He added that ultimately Indians will have to develop their country with their own blood and toil.

The Mary Keating Das Memorial Lecture is given annually at Columbia University for the promotion of Indian studies and for the fostering of cultural relations between India and the United States. *The lecture series was created eight years ago in memory of Mary Keating Das, wife of Professor Taraknath Das, through a fund established at Columbia University by the Taraknath Das Foundation.*

### The Way Ahead

MESSAGE OF LT-COL. GAMAL ABDEL NASSER

Those who think that the Revolution of the Egyptian Army on July 23rd had for its object the overthrow of a corrupt monarch and a change in the regime, are mistaken. The main object of the revolution was to raise the standard of living of the bulk of the Egyptian people.

The regime had to be changed because those who had been in power for so many years had always thought more of themselves and their Party than of the interests of the people.

To give only one example: in 1897 the cultivated land of Egypt was 5,047,000 acres: the population numbered 9,715,000. Fifty years later the population had doubled (19,022,000) whereas the cultivated area had increased by only 14 per cent. The consequences of such irresponsible policy are not hard to imagine.

Much the same can be said about industry, commerce and indeed all other sources of national income, not to speak of the lack of planning or of scientific study with which national projects were improved.

Let me speak very briefly about what the Revolution has done in economic, social and political fields.

#### I

Two months after the Revolution the Land Reform Law was passed: many other projects too were by then on the way to being carried out. Twenty acres of desert are now reclaimed every day! Produce from the new Province of El-Tahrir, created in the heart of the desert, can now be seen in the streets of Cairo. Plans have been prepared for the cultivation of some 2 million acres in the next 20 years. The necessary water will not be lacking. The project of the new High Dam above Asswan is now being carried out, and we hope that this will be completed within less than ten years. At the same many important industries are in course of creation.

We know that we cannot live in a state of isolation: we must co-operate with all friendly nations. Already, a new Companies Law has been passed (No. 26 of 1954), and another on Investments was promulgated in 1953 (Law No 156). Moreover, several measures have been taken to improve Commerce and Exchange. In every phase of life there has been reform, or at least study in view of reform. Missions have been sent to explore for petroleum and metals in the desert regions. In a few years we hope to produce our own steel and to have for the first time an Egyptian heavy industry.

#### II

In the social field the Permanent Council of Social Services has made a thorough study of all Public Services. Plans have been drawn up, and Collective Units will be equipped to deal with groups of 15,000 inhabitants. They will act at the same time as rural industrial schools. Before long each unit will be self-contained: the first one is now being built and expects to begin work in a few weeks.

#### III

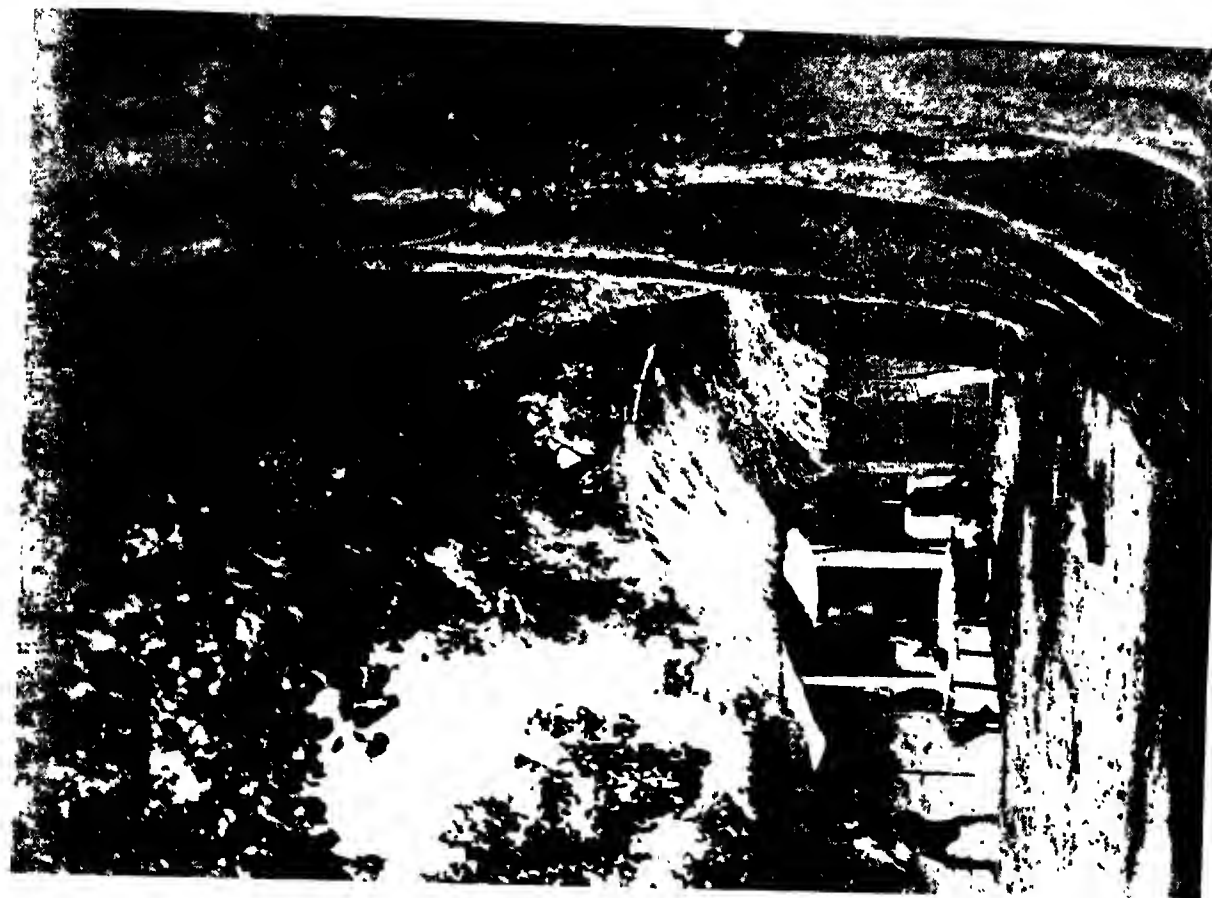
Within a month or two a National Assembly will meet, and by the end of the Transitional Period we shall have a sound democratic life.

Everybody now can see that the country is enjoying a state of stability, consolidated by the ever-increasing inflow of foreign capital.

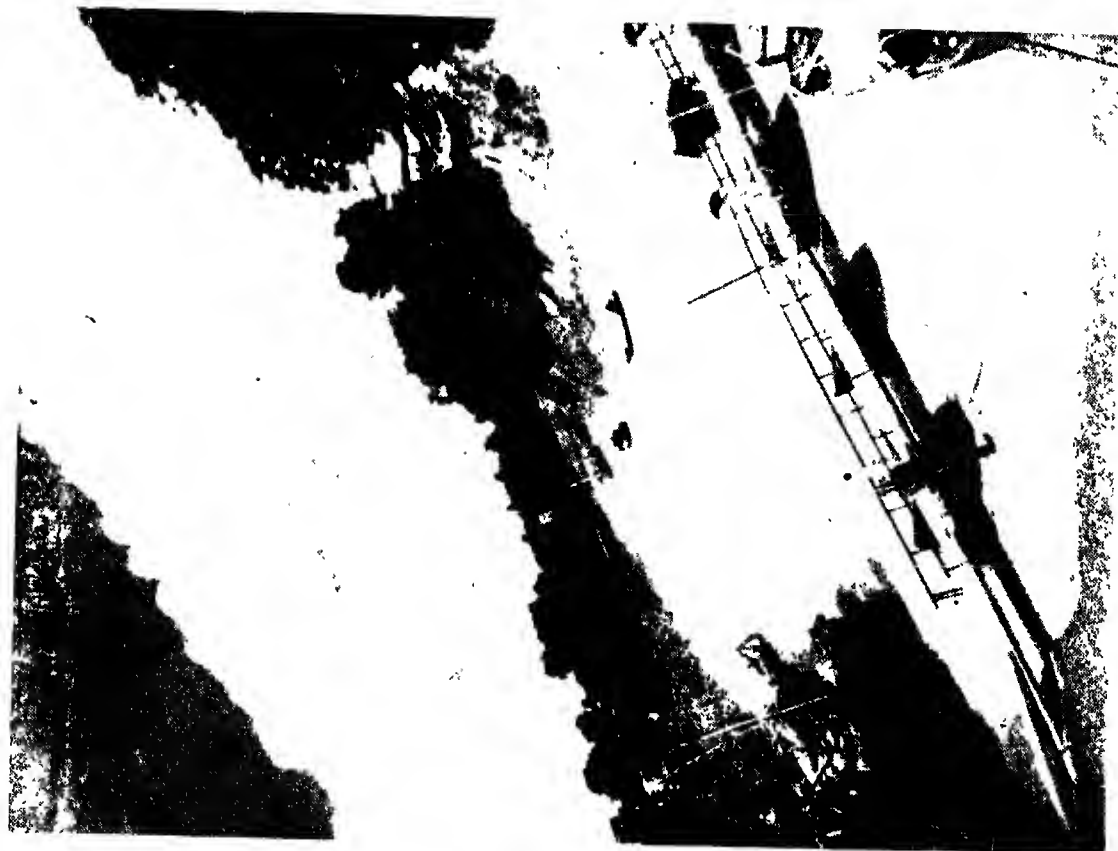
We were determined to resolve the Suez Canal problem, Egypt being a free State, we felt that no foreign troops should remain in her territory against her will.

I am glad that Britain and Egypt came to the agreement announced on July 27th—*Egyptian Bulletin*, January 1955.





A village shop  
Photo by Bony Phusay Das



Across the bridge  
Photo by Kanak Datta



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# THE MODERN REVIEW

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## NOTES

### *The Moral Balance Sheet*

This year, as in previous years, there has been a presentation of the annual Budget. And as usual there has been a considerable amount of debate and discussion over the budget proposals, some cogent, some irrelevant and some quite incoherent. What we have been remarking is that each succeeding year of independence, the proposals have been getting more and more soulless, bloodless and lifeless in character. It is just as if a mechanical process for the extraction of a useful distillate was being perfected, the human elements being regarded just as being the basic raw material, inanimate, and unworthy of any other consideration besides the yield of cash.

Mental and moral values are no longer any consideration. We say no longer but we should say since the Budget of 1948-49. We have lectures and exhortations galore no doubt but that is primarily stage-play. Moral values are going down as a consequence.

This is inevitable where by nation-building is meant the construction of titanic structures of concrete and steel and progress is measured in the terms of long-tons and kilowatts and in millions of yards and millions of rupees.

This is no jeremiad we are composing. The undeniable facts are, that all that has been accomplished in the seven years and more of freedom, does not amount to a jot where the standards and measures of real uplift are concerned. Material progress may be shown by figures and statistics, both of which are challengeable if compared with the standards that obtained before the War, and reduced to terms of absolute basic values.

The standard of living, as a whole, has gone down amongst the classes that were at par with the minimum normal scale. It may have risen in the strata where they were below the subsistence line, but that has been accomplished by lowering standards. This fact is unchallengeable.

Educational levels have sunk everywhere, ranging

from the highest post-graduate studies down to the primary group. "Literacy," which is an illusive term, may have increased. Discipline and moral values amongst the students and teachers everywhere is at the lowest level known to most of us. This is a calamitous state of affairs when we consider that these very students are the standard-bearers of the future of our nation.

Indeed, there is no philosophy of life in our youth. Cynicism and an utter materialistic view of life preponderate everywhere. There are no beacons, no guiding posts, only building, structures, machines and figures. If a balance-sheet were drawn up of the unponderables that are of the essence in nation-building, we shall be faced with sheer bankruptcy.

Shibboleths there are in plenty. 'The Socialist Pattern of Society,' 'Sarvodaya,' 'No distribution of Poverty,' 'Equality of opportunity for all' and so on and so forth. But in reality the top of the social structure is becoming heavier and heavier, in the terms of bureaucracy, party-caucus and bag-nobility, while the very foundations, the progressive middle classes, are being sapped out of existence. The super-Brahmins of Sarvodaya utter *mantras* and the mouth-pieces of the ruling group utter insincere exhortations, but the lights are dying out everywhere. Where is the enthusiasm of 1947?

Professor M. L. Oliphant, the Director of Physical Laboratories, National University of Australia, said, at the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore, on March 28 that the survival of man and *mental and spiritual values* were far more important than the survival of any "creed of the moment." And the scientist cannot solve the problem of survival, he said.

We, the "keepers of the moral heritage of the East," are imposing excise on education—for paper means books—and are bleeding white that very group that provides *all the human resources* of nation-building. For material prosperity we must have, though the entire nation be morally bankrupt.

### *Union Budget Reconsidered*

The Union Budget for 1955-56 makes a gloomy reading in view of its all-round taxation proposals which will be devastating in effect. Creation of employment opportunities is now one of the important objectives of the Government of India and the Budget is mainly directed towards that end. It may be recalled here that in his speech on the Government's economic policy delivered in Parliament on December 20, 1954, the Union Finance Minister stated, "The central objective of our economic policy from now on must be to create full employment conditions within a measurable period, say, 10 years from now. This is by no means an over-ambitious goal. It is perhaps the minimum we ought to strive for. In achieving this, there is ample scope for expansion both in the public and the private sectors. This means, in the first place, that we have to create at least two million new jobs, if not more, every year, in order to provide for the annual increase of 1.8 million in the employable labour force. Secondly, it means that we must make some impression on the unemployment and under-employment already existing. These jobs must obviously be created in the non-agricultural sector." The implication is obvious in that the employment objective relates to the new Budget and the attainment of full employment objective must be linked up with the first Five-Year Plan and to be continued in the second Five-Year Plan. The new taxation proposals raise doubts whether they will be conducive towards creating employment opportunities.

In a free economy heavy taxation results in falling employment. The recent rise in the unemployment situation in the USA induced the Government of that country to reduce taxation in order to provide incentive for large-scale development that will provide employment to the unemployed. Of course, ours is an under-developed economy and a mixed economy too. The problem cannot be handled so easily simply by tax reductions. But it is time that the authorities realise that divided responsibility is nobody's responsibility. If the Government is to depend upon the private sector for the creation of employment opportunities, then tax reductions must be regarded as the *sine qua non*. If high taxation is to persist, then the Government should take upon themselves the sole responsibility for creating employment, and the role of the private sector in that connection will be merely supplementary. The authorities aim at creating two million new jobs every year, but they have not stated who will create them—whether the private sector or the public sector or both. How the responsibility is to be divided between the two sectors of our economy? The budget proposals indicate that the creation of full employment is merely wishful thinking on the part of the authorities and its realisation is still a far away-objective. The Finance Bill has however provided some redeeming features. A development rebate of 25 per cent of the cost of all new plant and machinery installed for business purposes would

be allowed instead of the existing initial depreciation allowance of 20 per cent. Losses of business would also be allowed to be carried forward indefinitely instead of only for six years as at present. A flat rate of super-tax of four annas in the rupee was being imposed on the undistributed profits of a company if sixty per cent of the profits of a company had not been distributed. It is, however, not known whether the provisions for the Development Rebate will be of a permanent character and whether they will continue up to such time as the full relief is availed of. It may be that this relief may be withdrawn at a later stage before any advantage is actually crystallised and cashed either fully or partly. The nature of the Development Rebate will therefore be not a gift pure and simple in the first year, but it will be in the nature of an interest-free loan for a number of years. It will turn into a free gift only if the provisions for the Development Rebate continue and in that case the benefit stands spread over a number of years, the allowance for each year being reduced and being for a fraction of an amount only.

The Finance Bill provides for the exclusion of the capitalised reserves from the paid-up capital and this will discourage ploughing back of profits. For the application of the 100 per cent distribution formula, the capital represented by the issue of bonus shares will henceforth be not treated as paid-up capital. The result will be that the fundamental concept of the ploughing back of profits and the creation of bonus shares stands overruled.

The spate of excise duties, particularly on cloth and sugar, will lead to fall in consumption. Falling consumption will result in accumulation of stocks and decline in production. The classical theory of Public Finance assumed that society had a choice between consuming more and investing more. A progressive diminution in the volume of consumption meant a more rapid accumulation of capital, and that consuming more meant a fall in the rate of investment. Under classical assumptions investment and consumption were notions of opposites and increasing expenditure on consumption implied a decreasing expenditure on investment. But modern theory holds the opposite view. It does no longer say: "What we do not consume, the business man uses for investment." Now it is said: "Unless we consume the businessman refuses to invest." One man's expenditure is another man's income and abstention from consumption does not lead to an accumulation of capital. A falling consumption may lead to unemployment, a fall in the national income, idle capacity and thus to retardation of capital accumulation.

The increase of excise on sugar has baffled the supporters of the Government in finding out a motive behind it. It is the Government's declared policy to cheapen the price of sugar and to encourage consumption and domestic production. The new budget proposals seem to run counter to this policy. Mr. Deshmukh says that he does not want sugar consumption to go up and

he perhaps means that consumption should be restricted to domestic production. But this is just a piece of unrealistic thinking. We are unable to comprehend how in a free economy people could adjust their demands against falling productions of sugar. If they really mean to curtail consumption, then why do the Government talk about setting up new sugar mills and increasing consumption? The encouragement for increasing the output of sugarcane is therefore misleading in the changed context. Domestic production of sugar is short of consumption and the maximum selling price of sugar is laid down by the Government by fixing a price for imported sugar. Although the excise duty has been raised, the selling price of sugar has not been raised to that extent and as a result the margin in case of domestic sugar has been reduced in effect by a rupee per bag. Moreover, the price of sugarcane has been fixed by the Government and as such the price for sugar cannot be lowered to an appreciable degree.

The rise in excise on cotton cloth will seriously affect its production as well as consumption. Mills are nowadays finding it difficult to dispose of their productions and as a result a downward revision of selling prices was resorted to. In view of the consumer resistance, the mills may not find it desirable to shift the incidence of new burden on to the consumers. Instead they will try to pass on a part of the increased excise to the cotton growers who have already been affected by a sharp fall in prices.

In the new budget, the middle class in the middle and upper income groups has been subjected to taxation at a progressive rate. The main objective behind this is to bring about a reduction in large measure of inequality that exists as between income-tax payers in general and the mass of the population. This is the view of the Taxation Enquiry Commission. The Commission desires that equality of incomes is to be achieved by levelling down. But the result may be disastrous for the country. Taxation, both by direct and indirect methods, will make a distribution of poverty among the middle class and will contribute to their ultimate penury, if not liquidation. Entrepreneurs of industry and the intelligentsia of the society have come mostly from the middle class and their existence checks the spread of communism. The market for various goods, both utility and luxury, depends on the consumption by the middle class. Any reduction in their purchasing power will largely affect the market for various goods and ultimately the production. The provision of an allowance for married persons is a welcome feature long overdue, but the relief sought to be meted out is much too insignificant, especially in view of the indirect taxes. The existing tax exemption slab of Rs. 1,500 is being raised to Rs. 2,000 for married persons and reduced to Rs. 1,000 for unmarried persons as first step towards a scheme of family allowances. The net loss of revenue is estimated at Rs. 90 lakhs. The existing slab of Rs. 5,000 to Rs. 10,000 has been broken into two, the tax on the slab of Rs. 7,500 to Rs. 10,000 has been raised

by six pias from one anna nine pias to two annas three pias. This is expected to yield a revenue of Rs. 1.35 crores. The super-tax slabs has been re-adjusted and the level at which super-tax is attracted has been reduced from Rs. 25,000 to Rs. 20,000. The changes are estimated to yield an additional revenue of Rs. 5.75 crores. The existing limit of one-sixth of income subject to a ceiling of Rs. 6,000 for rebate allowed for payment of premium on life insurance policies and subscriptions to provident funds has been raised to one-fifth of income with a ceiling of Rs. 8,000, corresponding increases being given to Hindu Undivided Families. This concession would cost the Government Rs. 25 lakhs.

As regards the new excises in the coming year, there will be a levy of a duty of 10 per cent ad valorem on woollen fabrics, sewing machines, electric fans, electric lighting bulbs, electric dials and storage batteries, paper (excluding newsprint) and paper board, and paints and varnishes. The total estimated revenue from these excises would be Rs. 4 crores. The existing duty of Rs. 5/12/- per cwt. on sugar has been raised to Rs. 5/10/- per cwt. Cotton cloth has been classified into two categories, superfine and others. There has been prescribed a rate of duty on superfine cloth at 2½ annas per square yard and on other cloth at 1 anna per square yard. This involves an increase equivalent to about three pias a linear yard on superfine cloth and six pias a linear yard on medium and coarse cloth.

Indian taxation system follows the pattern laid down by our erstwhile foreign rulers. The recommendations of the Taxation Enquiry Commission have not improved the matter. Government accounting calls for recasting in the form of integrated social accounting which has been adopted in various foreign countries. Further, a committee should be appointed to go into the working of public enterprises. The balance-sheets of industries like the Sindri Fertiliser Factory, the Hindusthan Steel Factory, the Hindusthan Shipyard at Vizag, the Machine Tool Factory, Nahan Foundry, etc., should be thoroughly examined by this committee to find out if any irregularity in expenditure is taking place. Another public committee should also be appointed by the Government of India to examine the manner in which the State Governments had spent the loans and grants given by the Union during the last few years. A huge sum of money has been spent in this way and their accounting is essential. To meet these top-heavy and unregulated expenditure, the country is now being made to pay through the nose.

### *Taxation Enquiry Commission*

The Taxation Enquiry Commission's Report has endeavoured to define what should be the 'taxation policy' of India and the 'taxation structure' of India will continue to be governed at least for some years to come by the policy laid down by the Committee. The terms of reference of the Commission required it to examine the tax system in respect of the four features:

(1) the incidence of the tax system and its suitability for reducing inequalities of income and wealth; (2) the suitability of the tax system with reference to the development programme of the country and the resources required for it, including fresh avenues of taxation; (3) the effects of taxation on income, on capital formation and maintenance and development of productive enterprise, and (4) the use of taxation in dealing with inflationary situations. The Commission's main task was therefore to lay down the policy for improvement in distribution, for furthering the development in the public sector, for ensuring improvement in production in the private sector and for maintaining the stability in our economic structure. Better distribution, greater production in the public and private sectors and a higher degree of stability in the economic system are, in fact, important ingredients of national economic policy.

Discussing the question of equity, the Commission observes that an elementary application of the concept of equity requires the equal treatment of persons in similar economic circumstances. Now the most commonly accepted application of the criterion of equity is found in the principle of levying taxes according to relative "ability-to-pay." Ability-to-pay in turn points to some degree of progression, if fairness in relative treatment of persons of unequal resources is to be achieved. No principle or formula, however, yields even approximately the pattern of progression which would be appropriate in the conditions of any country. Equity is an elusive concept; it is also a highly relative one, particularly in the assessment of a tax system as a whole. Taxation by itself can only reduce incomes and therefore must reduce private consumption and investment. The Commission points out that the proceeds of taxation are, however, available to the public sector; and it is the public expenditure that determines whether, taking the public and private sectors together, the net effect of fiscal operations is to reduce or to increase the use of the current income of the community for the two purposes of consumption and investment. The Commission seems to be in favour of raising savings in the public sector through higher taxation. In discussing the role of taxation in investment, the Commission says that if taxation goes to increase the volume of public investment, and not to swell administrative and non-development expenditure, total investment will be larger to the extent that additional public investment made possible by taxation takes place at the expense not of private investment, but of consumption. ✓ In fact, taxation may be a most effective means of increasing the total volume of savings and investment in any economy where the propensity to consume is normally high. And probably the only really effective way to step up capital formation in such an economy is for the State to assume a major responsibility for securing a diversion of resources from private consumption to public investment. It follows that the structure of taxation, which will be most suitable and efficacious for the purpose, is a properly diversified

scheme of taxation—direct and indirect—which seeks to secure the diversion of physical as well as financial resources from consumption to public investment, in forms and on a scale appropriate to the development programme. In other words, the tax system must have an adequacy of both depth and range, if it is to promote an accelerated pace of development.

The Commission then goes on to indicate additional taxation of a wide range of luxury or semi-luxury products, at fairly substantial rate, accompanied by broad-based taxation of articles of mass consumption at comparatively low rates. In the field of direct taxation, higher rates in respect of personal income-tax should be accompanied by some relief for income which is saved or invested. On the whole, the kind of tax system which would be best adapted to meet the requirements of the Indian economy, having regard to the development programme and the resources required for it, appears to be one which would increase the resources for investment available to the public sector with a small diminution as practicable of investment in the private sector, and which therefore is accompanied by the largest practicable restraint on consumption by all classes. Restraint on the consumption of higher income groups must, of course, be greater than in respect of low income groups.

✓ The above views of the Commission will be received with dismay as they fail to diagnose the hidden defect of Indian economy. In a poor underdeveloped country like India, with a very low per capita income, it is really surprising to hear that the propensity to consume is high in this country. The statement of the Commission must be taken with a grain of salt and not as it is. Indian standard of living is admittedly very low and to assume a higher consumption, with the exception of a negligible minority, on the general body of the people is unsupported by fact. The views of the Commission seem to be vitiated by a conservative attitude to economic values. The high economic progress of the USA may be attributed to the high domestic consumption of the national products. The USA exports only 8 to 10 per cent of her total output and the rest is consumed within the country. This high degree of domestic consumption is responsible for her high standard of living which remains unsurpassed by any other country. We fail to comprehend how a low consumption will stimulate higher production and employment. The budget proposals for the coming year will affect all classes of Indian people without any discrimination between those who are placed in the higher income groups and those in the low income groups. The excise duties have been so widely distributed over a range of commodities that they are bound to affect the general price-level as well as the standard of living of the people. Curtailment of consumption to encourage national savings is something like killing the goose that lays the golden egg. The higher the consumption, the higher the production and employment as well. Of course, excise duties must be there, but their incidence

and distribution should have been more equitable. Another thing that is being overlooked in this connection by the Commission in its zeal to discourage consumption is that the same commodity of consumption is subject to double taxation—firstly, by the Central excise and then by the State sales tax. The cumulative burden becomes much higher than is envisaged originally either in the Union or the State budget proposals. Central excise and the State sales tax doubly tax the same commodity often and this is neither equitable nor judicious. These two taxes should be so reconstructed that a simpler system evolves without the possibility of double taxation.

As regards the limits of taxable capacity, the Commission observes that the question of the resources that can be raised for the development programme and, therefore of the limits of taxation is commonly put in terms of the taxable capacity (a) of the economy as a whole, (b) of particular sections of the population, and (c) sometimes, in the sense of scope for optimum utilisation with reference to particular tax heads. The last aspect will have to be considered in relation to individual taxes. Taxable capacity like equity is a relative concept. In the most significant economic sense, taxable capacity of different sections of the community may be said to refer to the degree of taxation, broadly speaking, beyond which productive effort and efficiency as a whole begin to suffer. The economic limits are qualified by political limits and these are usually reached earlier, especially in communities which function on a democratic basis with the widest franchise. In certain circumstances both these limits get qualified by administrative considerations relating to the problem of enforcement.

In considering the question in relation to the tax system as a whole, the Commission suggests that the proportion of the total tax revenue to national income is important. Indian tax revenues only amount to between seven and eight per cent of the national income; and this proportion is lower than in many other countries, including some in South East Asia. It has been suggested that this indicates the great potentialities that exist for additional taxation before the limits of taxable capacity has been exhausted and there is little scope for additional taxation. The issues raised are not merely academic but have practical implications and the Commission therefore seek to provide an explanation of this low proportion of tax revenues to national income in this country.

A basic explanation for the very low ratio of total taxation to national income is, of course, to be found in the living standards of the people reflected in low per capita income levels. The Commission admits that this sets rigorous limits to taxation for most people in the Community, if the existing frugal consumption levels are not to be lowered. The existence on a large scale of a non-monetised sector in the economy also makes it difficult to increase tax receipts through the usual forms

of taxation. Over and above this, the low ratio of international trade to national income, which is another aspect of the characteristic of the economy, restricts the area of the large-scale commercial sector, from which it is easier to raise taxation. It follows, any direct conclusions regarding the scope for further taxation in the country based on comparisons with similar proportions in more advanced countries are inappropriate.

The question remains, however, whether this proportion is indicative of the limit of taxable capacity having been reached or whether it is possible to raise it. This leads to a consideration of taxable capacity with reference to the whole system. If taxes were levied to enable the community to do things collectively that the tax-payers did individually before, and if there were a large degree of correspondence between taxes and beneficent expenditure which they makes possible, the limit of taxable capacity would be higher. The Commission therefore observes that the limit of taxable capacity is relative to the purposes for which proceeds of additional taxes are expended. Since psychological and political considerations mingle with the economic in the determination of such a limit, it depends to that extent on popular understanding and appreciation of the plans of development formulated by Government. Efficiency in administration and economy in public expenditure which make for more effective use of public funds and secure a better return on investment of tax proceeds—should at least diminish people's unwillingness to suffer an increase in tax burden.

Discussing its general approach to the need for incentives for savings and investment, the Commission remarks that increase in commodity taxation undoubtedly affects consumption; increase in the progression of the direct taxes may affect savings and investment. The Commission is definitely in favour of taxation that would reduce the consumption levels especially of the upper income groups in India. The disparity in consumption levels prevalent at present in this country is a matter of common observation and there can be no doubt about its demoralising effect on the large masses of workers in the country as regards their willingness to accept higher tax burdens and yet work harder. The disincentive effect of higher taxation on the will to work on the part of the higher groups is generally exaggerated, so the Commission holds. There is need for the upper income groups to adjust themselves to the reduction in money rewards that the changing social and economic conditions of the country necessitate. It is unrealistic to stress the disincentive effect of income-tax progression on the upper income groups, while the tax system calls upon the lower income groups, who constitute the masses of the country, to contribute an increasing portion of their meagre incomes. The Commission points out that even with the present comparatively high rates of tax, the range of inequality between the disposable incomes of the few and the many is wider than in many

countries where the rates of taxation on higher incomes are, in fact, lower.

The Commission has given much thought to the fixing of a ceiling on personal incomes on the basis of a reasonable multiple of the per capita or per family national income. In the opinion of the Commission there should be a ceiling on net personal incomes after tax which, generally speaking, should not exceed approximately 30 times the prevailing average per family income in the country. Although it may not be capable of immediate implementation, the Commission thinks that it is important to strive by stages for its implementation over a period of time. The accomplishment of this objective cannot merely be the result of tax changes, but must be related to an integrated approach along several directions. The most important phase of this approach would be an acceleration of the tempo of economic development and a widening of employment and production opportunities. The Commission, however, warns that the approach must be realistic in the sense that the tax system should not be strained to a limit which will endanger the productive system of the country or impair the possibilities of its expansion by affecting savings and investment in the private sector.

Explaining the anti-inflationary potentialities of the Indian tax system, the Commission observes that the Indian tax system already contains in its income-tax and commodity taxes important means of countering inflationary situations. The income-tax is a highly progressive levy. Under conditions of boom or inflation it automatically yields larger revenues and restricts the growth of disposable incomes left after tax. Export duties constitute another important means of preventing a strong foreign demand from exerting an inflationary influence on the internal economy.

### *Yalta Records Published*

The United States Government published on March 16 what purported to be a report of discussions held amongst the Big Three—Marshal Stalin, President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill—at Yalta early in the beginning of 1945.

The release of the Yalta papers revealed several instances of great divergence between the British and American points of view on certain important matters during the Second World War. It was now seen that President Roosevelt had made several approaches to Marshal Stalin of Russia without the knowledge of the British Prime Minister Sir (then Mr.) Winston Churchill.

The U.S. President, without the knowledge of the British, had proposed that Hong Kong should be handed back to China and made a free port. He also had proposed to place Korea under a trusteeship for 20 to 30 years—without British representation—with China, U.S.A. and the USSR as members.

Mr. Roosevelt had also favoured the idea of a trusteeship for Indo-China, then under Japanese occupation, but he had referred to British objections to

the proposal for the reason, among others, of their fear of the implications of a trusteeship for Burma.

M. Stalin reportedly expressed the view that Britain should not be excluded from the arrangements since otherwise Britain would most certainly be wounded. He had wanted the period of trusteeship to be as short as possible.

It also appeared now that there had been some disagreement between the British Prime Minister and the British Foreign Secretary over the voting procedure (right of veto) in the U. N. Security Council. Mr. Churchill had supported the veto on the ground that 'everything depended on the unity of the free powers' and that without that the world would be subjected to measurable catastrophe and that anything that preserved that unity would have his vote. On the other hand, Mr. Eden had strongly objected his Prime Minister pointing out the fact that there would then be no attraction or reason for the small nations to join an organization based on such organizational principles.

The British Prime Minister had apparently taken strong objection to a proposal put forward by Mr. Stettinius, that the planned UN should have machinery to maintain trusteeship over colonial areas.

*Reuter* adds: "Most of the facts contained in the papers now published have been disclosed by Sir Winston Churchill and other writers of war memoirs.

"But the reports of the statements, made by the three leaders at the meetings and at accompanying social functions contained some languages which might explain reluctance hitherto to publish the documents."

There was some heated controversy over the publication of the Yalta records by the U.S.A. The British Government had earlier signified their disapproval to the proposal for publication of the records. Sir Winston Churchill told the British House of Commons on March 17 that the releases were "in no sense an agreed official record of the Powers concerned." They were merely the American version. Pointing to the undesirability of the publication of records of international discussions so soon after the event he said: "If this became an established practice it might hamper the free exchange of views at future conferences. In any case, it would seem a good thing to consult together on the text of any publication during the lifetime of the individuals concerned." In reply to a question Sir Winston Churchill told the House of Commons on March 22 that he considered the publication of the records as "untimely." Referring to the earlier American suggestions for publication of the records, Sir Winston said that Mr. Dulles had told them on January 12, 1955, that he did not consider publication desirable then. On March 11, the U.S. Government had informed the British Government that it had decided not to publish the documents but on March 15 the British Govern-

ment had been told that publication could no longer be withheld and twenty-four hours later that had occurred.

In the United States itself also there were angry exchanges over the publication of the records. The Democratic Senators reportedly were insisting that the Senate should determine how the documents came to be issued to one or two chosen newspapers. Mr. Dulles had refused to answer that question.

### *Yalta. The Moral*

The *New York Times* which was the first newspaper to obtain, by "leakage," the full text of about half-million words, thus writes in its International edition of March 20, as a retrospect:

"What happened at Yalta ten years ago this month is less important than what is going to happen this year and next year and ten years from now. The Yalta conference, concerning which readers of this newspaper have had the opportunity to read several hundred thousand words, was the result of forces then in operation. Likewise it released new forces. We may argue as long as we like about the effect of personalities on history and the importance of isolated events. Yalta was not and could not be isolated. It touches all our lives today.

The forces acting in the world during that historic week were already visibly crushing Germany. Japan was as surely defeated as was Germany. The trouble was, as far as the United States and Britain were concerned, that this truth was not fully realized. American troops were locked in the bloody battle on Iwo Jima, which was to cost us more than 4,500 dead. They still had to take Okinawa at a loss of more than 12,500 dead or missing. Manila fell on the eve of the Yalta conference. Wise military men estimated casualties in landings on the main island of Japan by the hundreds of thousands. The A-bomb was known to the President and his advisers to be "reasonably certain" to "produce the equivalent of a 10,000-ton T. N. T. explosion."

Still, it was thought necessary to persuade and cajole the Russians to stay in the war in the West and to go into the war in the Far East. The Western Powers accepted a Government in Poland which could not be, and was not, free. They accepted unfair Polish boundaries. They gave concessions to Russia in the Far East at Chinese expense—and felt so unhappy about this that the facts were not made public for some two years.

As one reads or skims these tragic documents one gets two impressions: first, that the chief participants did not know all the factors with which they were dealing; second, that they were, so far as the Western Powers were concerned, caught in a struggle between two moralities—the morality of the democratic process vs. the morality involved in saving lives.

The Russians suffered from no such handicap. Human life literally meant nothing to Premier Stalin if it came in the way of any purpose of his. Respect for promises or respect for truth did not stand in his way, either. There is something sadly naive in the hopes and intentions expressed at Yalta that the future of Europe and of the liberated Axis satellite nations be settled "by democratic means."

The same issue contains a summary of some of the Yalta discussions in which we find the following.

"On *Poland*, the negotiations generated more heat at Yalta than on any other issue. Roosevelt and Churchill made plain their suspicions that Stalin was bent upon foisting a Communist regime on Poland regardless of what was done at Yalta. Roosevelt emphasized that he was worried about political reactions among Poles in the U.S. Churchill said he was worried about Parliament: 'I do not care much about Poles myself.' But both insisted upon the principle of democratic elections. This was an exchange:

Roosevelt: I want this election in Poland to be the first one beyond question. It should be like Caesar's wife. I did not know her, but they said she was pure.

Stalin: They said that about her but in fact she had her sins."

### *The Nature of Nuclear Weapons*

The following extract of an article by Eugene Rabinowitch, the Editor of the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, published in the *New Leader* of New York, gives a vivid picture of the threat of nuclear weapons.

Not quite ten years ago, the first atomic-fission bomb killed 70,000 people and destroyed two square miles of the city of Hiroshima. To use such a bomb to detonate a thermonuclear bomb ("H-bomb"), its power had to be increased 30-fold, from an equivalent of 15,000 tons (15 kilotons) of TNT to that of 500,000 tons. The thermonuclear explosions themselves, engineered by Americans in the Pacific and by Russians in Siberia, developed a power of up to 15 million tons (15 megatons) of TNT. Such a bomb can destroy 200 square miles of a city and kill several million city-dwellers. New York, London, Moscow or Peking can be effectively destroyed by a single H-bomb.

After Hiroshima, public opinion was more alarmed by the radiation threat of the new weapon than by the more familiar menace of blast and heat. The fear at that time seemed exaggerated, since the fine radioactive dust engendered by the explosion of an A-bomb high in the air was carried up into the stratosphere and scattered there by winds until it ceased to be dangerous. But, in the second of the Bikini tests in 1946, radioactivity revealed itself as a serious menace in an *under-water* explosion; the target fleet was drenched with radioactive spray, making the surviving ships unfit for manning for months afterward.

In the recent thermonuclear tests, a much more

ominous threat of radioactivity became apparent. These giant bombs, exploded close to the ground, pulverized enormous amounts of rock converting them into a relatively heavy radioactive dust, which "fell out" downwind from the explosion site, injuring islanders and Navy personnel on the surrounding atolls and Japanese fishermen on a ship 80 miles away. The radio operator of this ship has since died, after months of lingering radiation sickness. If large A- or H-bombs were exploded close to the ground in a future war, their radioactive fall-out would endanger people 50 or 100 miles away from "ground zero"—far beyond the reach of direct bomb damage.

The weak radioactivity which remains in the atmosphere or the ocean long after an atomic explosion cannot damage organisms directly exposed to it, but it increases slightly the frequency of mutations in their genes. This can cause no concern so long as only individuals or relatively small population groups are exposed; but in a future war, when thousands of A- and H-bombs might be exploded almost simultaneously, whole countries or whole continents are likely to be affected, and the genetic consequences of such mass exposure may well prove disastrous. A widespread increase in the rate of mutations, however slight, could throw out of gear the mechanism of evolution by which species are evolved and maintained in nature. It is a delayed, insidious damage, and it may take hundreds of generations for its fatal results to become apparent. Experimental study of such slow, cumulative effects is practically impossible, except on short-lived lower organisms, which are often less sensitive to radiation than higher animals. That is why geneticists cannot predict exactly what a certain radioactive contamination of air or water will do to humans or to other higher animals, but the best qualified among them take a very sombre view. In fact, some geneticists are worried about the genetic consequences of even the slight, transient increase in radioactivity which has been noted over wide areas after A- or H-bomb tests.

Thus, within ten years from their discovery, nuclear weapons have developed into an immediate threat to hundreds of millions of human lives and to our whole material civilization and they have become a potential menace to the biological future of the human race.

Military and civil defense against atomic warfare includes (1) the threat of retaliation, (2) early warning, and interception of bomb carriers, (3) evacuation of cities in the path of the attack, and (4) reduction of vulnerability by peacetime dispersal of population and industry.

### *The H-Bomb as a Shield*

The hydrogen bomb as an incentive for peace has become the theme even for the higher clergy in Britain. The same argument obtains currency on the other side too, as will be seen in the extracts given below:

Writing on the subject of atomic warfare, the *Yorkshire Post* (March 17) says: "Possession of the hydrogen bomb was yesterday acknowledged by the Archbishop of York, speaking in the House of Lords, as the one possible way of preserving peace in the years ahead. He was answering the many people who have written to him asking for the prohibition of the bomb. Wisely, he pointed out that for Britain alone to give up nuclear weapons would be no solution to the question of world peace; it would merely be inviting aggression and letting down the other nations which rely on us."

"The Archbishop's speech should set the seal on the nation's determination to go ahead with nuclear deterrents. While we are fearful of the effects of nuclear warfare, we are all the more likely to make greater efforts to achieve a peaceful settlement. The solution can only be world disarmament—as the Archbishop said, the production of the hydrogen bomb must be a shield for the work of peacemaking."

"But the shield is vital. Russia will not commit aggression unless she can be sure that retribution will not follow. Armed as we are, we stand the risk of annihilation in a worldwide struggle. But if we were unarmed and neutral, occupation would be much more of a risk. We must do everything in our power to bring home to the Russians what horrors might follow from war; and to assure them of our ardent desire to avoid such horrors."

The *Manchester Guardian* (March 17) draws attention to the difference between what the Russian Government is saying to its people at home on the subject of disarmament and atomic warfare, and what it says to foreign audiences.

"Thus *Pravda* said last week: 'Imperialists may attempt to blackmail peace-loving peoples with atomic bombs, but they cannot alter the course of history. Peoples have been, and are, the main force in history. It is they who have decided in the past, and will decide in the future, the fate of progress, the fate of civilisation. Assertions about the possibility of the destruction of the world, of civilisation, if the imperialists unleash a third world war are theoretically erroneous and politically harmful . . . If the imperialists succeed in unleashing a third world war then the result will be the destruction not of world civilisation but of the capitalist system.'

"This stand is in contrast with a broadcast from Russia in the foreign language services last week by the Minister of Culture, who addressed herself to 'mothers and grandmothers everywhere'.

"Not a single country, not a single town, not a single island can be called safe in a future war. If war starts, every part of the world will be vulnerable, every life in danger. Those who want to let war loose are those who want to atom-bomb Moscow. But even if the first bomb does fall on the capital of our country, who can say where the second bomb will fall, and the third and fifth? "

## Formosa and U.S.A.

The *Worldover Press* commentators, Devere and Marie Allen, gave the following summary about the reactions in U.S.A. and abroad to President Eisenhower's message on Formosa, on the 24th of January. Now that the acuteness of the crisis is somewhat slackened, the reactions noted can be considered as they gave a good indication of the temper of the people involved:

"Senator Knowland was at first elated; later he grew angry. In epitome, this symbolized the transition of events from President Eisenhower's January 24th message on Formosa to United Nations efforts for a cease-fire.

The overwhelming support received by the President in Congress was hailed in some quarters as proof of popular unity. The truth is that the House voted so precipitately, like panicky sheep, that few Members comprehended the resolution they were backing. In the Senate, most who voted Aye did so with troubled minds. The American people were anxious and bewildered, but wistfully inclined to trust the Great White Father in Washington. The rest of the world's peoples—as shown by innumerable sources—were apprehensive if not downright hostile. It was realized by many that crucial questions remained to be asked and answered. Some, but not all, had been put courageously on the Senate floor.

### WHAT REALLY HAPPENED?

The President emphasized "our readiness to fight if necessary," but he also said, "Our purpose is peace." If it was a peace message, it got the strangest reception in history. At once, every full-throated jingo in the land began boasting of America's mission to set the world straight by force, and the power of the U.S. to win a war anywhere on the planet. Every weapon in the arsenal was trotted out for verbal display, from poison gases to a new device with three times the destructiveness of the H-bomb. Messrs. Eisenhower and Dulles did little to counteract this spate of bellicosity except, respectively to drive for the golf green and go fish.

Peace moves had actually been made, however, but behind the scenes. To the superficial eye it looked as if Sir Anthony Eden, with assists from Prime Minister Nehru and Commonwealth spokesmen, was taking the initiative. He was moving with Washington's approval, but there was more to it than that. The State Department, off the record, had outlined specific proposals for Eden to transmit to Peking. The gist of them was this: the U.S. to evacuate the Nationalist-held coastal islands, except Quemoy and the Matsus, over which there was strong disagreement, and restrain Chiang Kai-shek from attacks on the mainland or islands; Red China to forgo any attack on Formosa or the Pescadores, and refrain from building up offensive bases on the islands it gained.

But why the sudden crisis? Communist China, true, had done little to encourage a peaceful solution. Its virulence on the radio and in its newspapers—all tightly controlled—had outdone the wildest U.S. ex-

cesses, and gone far beyond those of Moscow. But this was old stuff, after all. It had shelled Quemoy; but Quemoy, on its doorstep, was a Nationalist base for constant air raids and naval action against Communist shipping. It had captured tiny Yikiang, but this was 240 miles off in the Tachens, which the U.S. was willing to abandon. In May, 1950, Chiang yielded the Chusan Islands near Yikiang, located strategically at the mouth of the Yangtze, without a ripple of excitement anywhere. Peking continually threatened to take Formosa, but it had never ceased such threats since 1949. Its air force had become more powerful, but not once had it bombed Formosa, though it could have damaged the island heavily with a minimum loss of planes. The attitude of Red China has been annoying and at times inexcusable, but that alone provides no answer to the question, "Why the sudden crisis?"

The crisis arose in the United States itself. It had three main sources:

1. There exists in the U.S. a pro-war minority, determined and powerful, which some Democrats follow but which is in the President's own party and the Joint Chiefs of Staff (General Ridgway excepted). The President wanted peace, but could work for it, he thought, only by methods which would appease this trigger-happy group.

2. Often stirred by idealism, the President reverted to his long military experience when pressures get hot enough. This time the argument that a great show of armed might would impress Red China and Asia in general came directly and vigorously from Secretary Dulles.

3. The military had one long-range influential view. If the status quo went on too long, with Chiang's soldiers growing old and Formosan morale weakening, American troops on Formosa might be a necessity. Such an outcome would prejudice American chances of avoiding charges by its allies of "open military imperialism."

Is it safe to leave the key decision to Mr. Eisenhower? Congress has so voted; but it may come to have regrets. The President has made a pledge that he alone will ever give the signal for attacking Quemoy or bombing the mainland. This is supposed to mean he will not let the nation become embroiled in a major war through the rashness of a Commander on the scene. The President's integrity is beyond dispute. In the midst of a crisis, nevertheless, he often wavers. He almost agreed not to issue his message when appealed to by important Congressional leaders fearful of its results; but he allowed Admiral Radford to over-rule them and even made the message tougher.

The President can hardly arrive at such a decision "alone." If and when he makes it, he will have at his elbow, and will have to consult, both Admiral Radford as Chairman, J.C.S., and the National Security Council. They will carry tremendous weight. In November, Admirals Radford and Carney all but had the U.S.,

committed to a blockade of Red China, an outright act of war; Dulles and Eisenhower at the eleventh hour pulled back. The previous September, the Joint Chiefs of Staff all but got the country into war over naval action against Quemoy, but General Ridgway finally persuaded the President to drop it. Earlier, in April, Vice President Nixon, Senator Knowland and Admiral Radford all but had the U.S. sending carrier-based bombers over Indo-China, but Ridgway was opposed and Britain stepped in to say flatly, No. Each time the President belatedly stood for peace, but each time he wavered, and almost did not.

*Is the United States on solid legal ground?* As it stands after the Congressional resolution, it is not. Chapter I, Article 4 of the U.N. Charter says that "All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity... of any state." The *New York Times* was quick to point out in January, 1950, when Formosa was a grave problem, "By the Charter of the United Nations... the United States is committed against investing and defending unilaterally the territory of any other people where factional strife exists, as in China..." More recently, the London *Observer* echoed this warning. We have lost our caution about that, and rather astonishingly about something else. For on January 5, 1950, the *Times'* Arthur Krock declared: "The Joint Chiefs of Staff have concluded that, lying one hundred miles of the mainland of China, Formosa in unfriendly Chinese hands is *not vital to our strategic line from the Philippines to Japan.*"

Formosa was wrested away from Japan in war, and if it were not for two events, the U.S. would hold it legally as war booty. First, by the wartime Cairo Declaration it was ceded to "the Republic of China." What is "the Republic of China" now? Is it Chiang's regime, or that of the Communists? When the U.S. handed it to Chiang, its status was "frozen" pending a Japanese Peace Treaty. But, second, when that treaty was signed, the issue was evaded, the pact stating it "merely takes Japan formally out of the Formosa picture, leaving the position otherwise unchanged." The powers signing did so not as Members of the U.N.; the U.N. has given no authorization for U.S. actions regarding Formosa.

#### WILL THERE BE WAR?

This query, tossed at us constantly since January 24th, can be answered only by prophecy, and resolutely we never predict. Given all the circumstances, peace is a long shot. It is a fair guess that Peking will yield neither gracefully nor at once to appeals couched in the language of an ultimatum, even if urged by Moscow. There may be some sharp fighting in Formosa Straits. It will not lead to World War III, however, if the American people and President keep their heads. Russian troops are a thousand miles away, and we doubt if Russia will send substantial naval support should the combat be restricted to clashes in coastal

waters. If American forces attack the mainland by sea or air, however, whatever the reason, Russia will have difficulty in finding a plausible excuse for ignoring its mutual defense treaty with the Communist Chinese People's Republic.

*Whether there is limited fighting depends chiefly, now, on the Red Chinese leaders. Whether there is a major war depends chiefly, now, on the degree of influence wielded at Washington by the war party and its central figure, Admiral Arthur William Radford.*

*Have the Red Chinese an Alternative to War or Loss of Face?* They are wedded to a philosophy of dictatorship and force, and they yearn to play a role in the world commensurate with their enormous population. Yet they have shown some minimal signs of compromise internally, and at Geneva in negotiations over the Indo-China War. If they had the vision, they could gain immense prestige, win admission to the U.N., and speed the downfall of Chiang Kai-shek. They would first have to accept the Tachens without a display of arms. They would have to let Formosa's status continue until they had won more influence in the U.N.

They could drop a pacific bombshell in the U.N., especially, by coming to it under Chapter VI, Article 35, Section 2 of the Charter:

"A state which is not a Member of the United Nations may bring to the Security Council or to the General Assembly any dispute to which it is party if it accepts in advance, for the purposes of the dispute, the obligations of pacific settlement provided in the present Charter."

*What can the United Nations do in the crisis?* Tactfully, the New Zealand bid for an invitation to Red China sought to avoid a veto. It kept the question of Red China's coming for discussions on the procedural level. A cease-fire wasn't even mentioned. It spoke of talking over "hostilities in the area of certain islands off the coast of the mainland of China." Should the Chinese come, there might very well be fruitful negotiations, backstage, as there were at Geneva. The open debates would follow the conventional patterns, and for a time, disguise anything hopeful going on behind them."

#### East Germany Defence Pact

After the ratification by France of the pact for the West German rearmament pact Moscow's reaction is indicated by the following news-item:

Berlin, March 28.—The West Berlin radio "Free Berlin" said today eight Communist nations including East Germany would sign a formal military aid pact immediately after Easter.

The pact would be concluded at an 8-Power conference in Moscow at that time, it said.

The official East German Communist Press said the weekend vote for West German rearmament in the French Council of the Republic has made the immediate execution of "security measures" necessary.

An article in *Neues Deutschland*, the chief Communist Party paper yesterday on "the new situation and

what it demands of us" was reprinted in full today in other East German papers.

Its salient points were

(1) A reunion of Germany is possible only if the Paris agreements are cancelled.

(2) There must be an unrelenting campaign of propaganda and active resistance against West German rearmament.

(3) The campaign for all-German talks at all levels and in all spheres must be continued with emphasis.

(4) Recruiting for the armed forces and voluntary military training of workers and youths must be intensified.

(5) The East German economy and political stability must be strengthened

Western Allied officials here believed this meant no attempt would be made to build up a permanent military force rivaling the half million Army envisaged for West Germany because of the disastrous effect this would have on the already severe labour shortage in agriculture and industry.

### *U.S. Far-Eastern Policy*

Recently in connection with the Bangkok Conference of SEADO powers, the U.S. Secretary of State, Mr. John Foster Dulles undertook an extensive tour of South-Eastern Asian countries. Mr. Dulles and his party visited Burma, Laos, Cambodia, Southern Vietnam, the Philippines and Formosa, in addition to participating in the Bangkok conference. Besides, he attended a conference in Manila of U.S. diplomats stationed in 15 countries of the Far East.

After his return to the U.S.A. at the conclusion of his South-Asian tour, Mr. Dulles gave a report of his trip over the radio on March 8 outlining the policy, the U.S. Government proposed to follow in that region.

Referring to the Manila Pact, Mr. Dulles said that the Pact had three main purposes: "first, defence against armed aggression; second, defence against subversion; and third, the improvement of economic and social conditions."

For military defence the U.S.A. would "rely largely upon mobile allied power which can strike an aggressor wherever the occasion may demand." The U.S. contributions would be primarily in terms of sea and air power. The allied nations possessed together plenty of power in the area. The United States in particular had sea and air forces "now equipped with new and powerful weapons of precision, which can utterly destroy military targets without endangering unrelated civilian centres." The SEADO Council had concluded that "the available military power offered solid hope of deterring open armed aggression against the treaty area." The military advisers of the SEADO powers in Bangkok had started their work together in order to "bring our power to a concerted pitch;" and

out of those meetings might come plans for combined military exercises.

The SEADO Council did not intend to build up vast new military establishments. Nevertheless there was need of modest national forces which were well-equipped and loyal, capable of supporting the authority of the government throughout its territory. But some of the countries were not in a position to shoulder the economic burden of even these limited forces. So defence assistance would be necessary. The U.S.A. would accord special recognition to the needs of those countries which assumed military obligations with her, Mr. Dulles said.

The problem of economic development in general went beyond the immediate treaty area which could in no way be regarded as a self-sufficient economic unit. The great bulk of its trade was with outside areas. "There is need for programmes to develop broadly the economic possibilities of all the free Asian countries. The treaty nations will study their problems from this viewpoint," Mr. Dulles added.

He proceeded on to refer to his visit to Taiwan (Formosa) where he had exchanged the instruments of ratification which officially had brought into force the mutual defence treaty between the Government of Chiang Kai-shek and that of the U.S.A. covering Formosa and the Pescadores. The first meeting of consultation under Article IV of the treaty had been held in the presence of Admiral Carney, Chief of Naval operations and Admiral Stump, U. S. Commander-in-Chief in the Pacific.

He said that politically it had been decided to defend Formosa and the Pescadores. "However, the law permits a defence which will be flexible and not necessarily confined to a static defence of Formosa and the Pescadores themselves." The implementation of the flexible defence, Mr. Dulles continued, would be decided by the U.S. President having due regard to the consultations provided for by the mutual defence treaty.

### *U.S. Economic Aid Policy in Asia*

Mr. Harold E. Stassen, Director of Foreign Operations Administration of the Government of the United States of America, announced on March 17 that the administration, in complete agreement with the Executive branch of the Government, would propose to the Congress a \$2140,500,000 aid program for Asia in April next. The ultimate quantity of the proposed aid would however be decided by the Congress. The aid would be distributed in the following manner:

\$675,500,000 for military items and training;

\$550 million for direct forces support; and

\$915 million for all other programmes.

The following countries would be eligible to receive aid under the proposed programme: Afghanistan, Pakistan, India, Nepal, Ceylon, Burma, Thai-

land, Indonesia, Laos, Cambodia, South Vietnam, the Philippines, Formosa, South Korea and Japan.

Mr. Stassen said that the proposed Asian aid programme would constitute substantially more than half of the total mutual security programme outlined in President Eisenhower's budget message in January last. At that time the President had proposed a total programme of 3,530,000,000 dollars, to be divided as follows:

- \$1,400 million for military items and training;
- \$630 million for direct forces support; and
- \$1,500 million for all other programmes.

The proposed programme, Mr. Stassen added, was in line with the findings of the group of U. S. officials—himself included—who had made a recent trip to Asia to discuss aid plans with Asian leaders.

The Asian countries likely to benefit from the programme now had a gross output of 65,000 million to 70,000 million U.S. dollars. According to Mr. Stassen, that gross output could be advanced to between \$85,000 million and \$90,000 million in about eight years—assuming an adequate food supply and the existence of peace.

The aid would, to quote him, be "related to the situation in each country." Japan would have an "important part to play" in the proposed Asian aid programmes. Emphasis would be given a technical assistance and loans rather than on outright grants. Industrialisation of the Asian countries should be helped by private capital from the United States and other countries.

It may be pointed out in this connection that U.S. net private investment in South and South-East Asia had averaged only \$12 million a year in the nine post-war years.

The United States expenditure on foreign aid since World War II totalled about 50,000 million U.S. dollars.

The U. S. Deputy Under-Secretary of State, Robert D. Murphy, said in course of a speech at the opening of the Fourth International Trade Fair in the Pacific Coast City on March 11, that the United States Government was giving intensive study of the principles of an economic aid programme for the non-Communist countries of Asia.

Mr. Murphy listed the types of economic aid under three main headings. First, there was the broad problem of economic development common to all countries of the area. Co-operation in this problem might well be considered within the framework of the Colombo Plan or other plans which might be worked out in the future. Secondly, there were technical assistance programmes, which the U.S. Government wanted to be expanded and continued. Thirdly, there were the special economic needs arising from collective defence which the U.S. Government readily recognized. The U.S. Congress had classified

aid under defence heading into three categories: (a) mutual defence assistance programmes; (b) direct forces support; and (c) defence support. "The degree to which we would grant direct support for military forces and for general defence purposes would depend on the circumstances prevailing in the individual country," Mr. Murphy added.

### *\$45 Million U.S. Loan to India*

A simultaneous announcement was made in New Delhi and Washington on March 22 about the grant of 45 million dollar loan to India by the U.S. Foreign Operations Administration. The loan was part of the \$60.5 million assistance programme for India for the U.S. fiscal year ending June 30, 1955, and was the largest negotiated so far under provisions of the U.S. Mutual Security Act.

According to a FOA note, a total of \$260,100,000 in U.S. aid had been made available in support of India's own development programme

### *U.S. Foreign Aid*

There is another side to U.S. aid, as the *World-over Press* commentator points out. We quote:

"The woman was grumbling amiably about high taxes as she served up the hamburger and coffee. 'I'll tell you what we've got to do,' she remarked, absently pushing the sugar away from me instead of nearer, 'we've got to stop sending all our money abroad to help the foreign countries.' 'Hcy, take it easy,' I advised her: 'do you want to have us go broke?' It was an exaggeration, but it startled her into a new look at the basis of foreign aid. Before I left, I filled her up with facts and figures, which next day I found were far too conservative.

The foreign operations administration, right on the heels of the lunch-counter discussion, came out with statistics even more startling than any I would dare have used. I see no reason to question them. The F.O.A. points out that three-quarters of all the money spent on foreign aid goes directly into orders for American goods and farm products, or into ocean freight paid to vessels flying the U.S. flag. Take the fiscal year 1954. Out of \$4,900,000,000 spent on foreign aid, 76 per cent of it, or \$3,700,000,000 was spent directly in the United States.

That is not the whole story. A fourth of all U.S. exports were financed by foreign aid expenditures, and the F.O.A. financed 17 per cent of American agricultural exports. Critics of the U.S. will now be able to chuckle and say that behind American foreign aid is nothing but self-interest. It's hardly that, but any idea that Washington is just pouring money out to "them foreigners" without any return for itself belongs with all the other myths."

### *Pakistan Government Wins*

Maulvi Tamizuddin Khan, the Speaker of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly had challenged the

Governor-General of Pakistan's order, dissolving the Constituent Assembly. He has lost in the final appeal, as the sub-joined news shows:

Lahore, March 21.—The Federal Court of Pakistan, by a majority of four to one, today accepted the appeal filed by the Government of Pakistan against the decision of the Sind Chief Court on the petition of Maulvi Tamizuddin Khan, challenging the Governor-General's proclamation of October 24 last dissolving the Constituent Assembly.

The court set aside the judgment of the Sind Chief Court and recalled the writs of mandamus and quo warranto issued by that court. The Federal Court ordered the parties to the appeal to bear their own costs.

The Chief Justice, Mr. Mohammad Munir, and three other judges, Mr. Justice Akram, Mr. Justice Shait, and Mr. Justice Rehman gave a concurring judgment. Mr. Justice Cornelius held to the contrary.

The Chief Justice, delivering judgment at the conclusion of arguments by Mr. Chundrigar, Senior Counsel for Maulvi Tamizuddin, said: "The Court holds that when the Constituent Assembly functions under Section 8, Sub-Section 1 of the Independence Act, it acts as the Legislature of the Dominion within the meaning of Section 6, and that Section 6 Sub-Section 3 makes the Governor-General the constituent part of the Legislature. Therefore, because Assent in Section 223 (A) of the Government of India Act was not given by the Governor-General, it is not law and the Section had no jurisdiction to issue writs. The appeal is accepted."

Continuing, the Chief Justice said that authentication was not assent. If it were to be held that the Governor-General was the constituent part of the Constituent Assembly, then his consent would be necessary. The point was whether Section 6 Sub-Section 3 made the Governor-General a component part of the Constituent Assembly. If that was so, it would make his assent necessary.

### *"Emergency" in Pakistan*

The decision of the Federal Court of Pakistan, for the Governor-General's order, has resulted in the proclamation detailed in the news subjoined below. It is likely to have far-reaching repercussions we believe:

Karachi, March 27.—The Governor-General of Pakistan, Mr. Ghulam Mohammed, to-night proclaimed a state of emergency throughout the country.

Under an Ordinance issued by him, the Governor-General has assumed powers to constitute different provinces in West Pakistan into one unit and rename East Bengal as province of East Pakistan.

The Ordinance also vested the Governor-General with powers to take all necessary steps for the purpose of framing a constitution for Pakistan.

The Governor-General also validated by the Ordinance 35 Acts including the Rawalpindi Conspiracy Case

Tribunal Act passed by the Constituent Assembly which had been rendered infructuous for lack of Governor-General's assent following the Federal Court's judgment of March 21.

Mr. Ghulam Mohammed recently survived a court challenge to his action last October in dissolving the Constituent Assembly and declaring a state of emergency. Last Monday the Pakistan Federal Court upheld his right to do this reversing the decision of a lower court.

The Ordinance authorised the Governor-General to authenticate the Federal Budget for 1955-56 in the absence of Parliament which was dissolved by him through a proclamation on October 24 last.

The new province of West Pakistan shall formally come into being as early as possible and in any case by the end of May this year, an official communique said.

An order has been issued by the Governor-General under the Ordinance amending Government of India Act 1955 investing the Council for the Administration of West Pakistan with powers to take whatever steps it considers necessary to set up the administration of the new province within that time.

The communique said that the Central Government had also examined and approved in principle the recommendations relevant to the creation of the new province (West Pakistan), contained in the report which the Council submitted last month.

Salient decisions of the Council approved by the Central Government are:

(1) The capital of the new province should be located at Lahore and that a suitable site in the Abbottabad area in N.W.F.P. should be developed as its summer capital as soon as possible.

(2) At the headquarters of the new Governor will be located the Governor, the Cabinet, the Legislature, and a single Secretariat in replacement of the present several Governors, Cabinets, Legislatures and separate Secretariats.

The new Secretariat will be a compact organisation. Its function will be to help Ministers in enunciating and formulating policies.

(3) The administration of all areas in West Pakistan at present directly administered by the Central Government including the Tribal areas and Karachi, with the exception of the Federal area in which the Centre's writ will run supreme, will vest in the new Provincial Government. No change, however, is contemplated in the present system of administration in the tribal areas.

The Province of West Pakistan shall consist of areas of the provinces of Punjab, N.W.F.P., Sind, Baluchistan, Karachi, States of Bahawalpur and Khairpur, Bahawalpur States Union and Tribal areas.

(4) The new province will have 50 districts grouped into 11 Divisions. The Divisions are Peshawar, Dera Ismail Khan, Rawalpindi, Lahore, Multan,

Bahawalpur, Khairpur, Hyderabad, Quetta, Kalat and Karachi.

(5) The Commissioner will be the administrative head of each Division. He will be given more extensive powers than the Commissioner now exercises. He will be the final appellate authority in revenue appeals except when on a point of law in a case where the original order has been passed by a Collector, the appeal will lie to the Board of Revenue which will replace the present Financial Commissioners.

The Commissioner will also be invested with powers of revision in all revenue cases decided by officers subordinate to him. He will exercise general supervision and control over the business of all departments serving in his Division and will co-ordinate their work with a view to maintaining a high level of administration.

(6) There will be one High Court for West Pakistan. The seat of this court will be at Lahore with two benches functioning throughout the year at Peshawar and Karachi. Apart from this, Circuits will also function at different times of the year at centres other than Peshawar and Karachi to deal with arrears, special cases or civil or criminal appeals.

The Circuit Judge or Judges will sit at Divisional or District Headquarters.

As regards District Courts subordinate to the High Court, they will continue to function as at present.

The communique said that the intention of Government was to replace the existing separate cumbersome administration which today functioned in West Pakistan by one administration so fashioned as to meet the needs of the people not only more economically but also more effectively than was the case at present.

The work so far done in connection with the setting up of one provincial Government for West Pakistan had not only been "very heavy but also quite unprecedented," it said.

The communique said: "In a vast change such as this, there are bound to be initial difficulties but the Central Government have confidence that public leaders, Government officials and public themselves will do everything possible to ensure that the foundations of the new province are well and truly laid so that West Pakistan is firmly set on the road to rapid progress and the evils of provincialism are banished for ever to the lasting benefit of the nation as a whole.

### *Buddhist Monastery in Pakistan*

Considerable progress is reported to have been made in the excavation of the Buddhist monastery at Mainamati, near Comilla in East Pakistan, which had been in progress for over two and a half months.

Dr. Fazal Ahmad Khan, who was directing the operations, is reported to have told the Dacca representative of Radio Pakistan that excavations carried out so far showed the monastery was a very big one and it would take them another two winter seasons to uncover the whole of the monastery and the *stupa*.

According to Dr. Khan, so far they had uncovered the 174-foot long brick-paved 'approach road' leading to the monastery and the *stupa*, the main gateway to the *stupa* with a 74-foot wide frontage, a small chamber in the entrance hall of the *stupa*, the top plan of the *stupa* and fourteen cells of monks. It had also been possible to uncover 350 feet of the outer wall of the monastery on the western side. The northern wall had been uncovered in places. The work of uncovering the entrance hall of the *stupa* was now in progress. The hall, when completely uncovered, would measure 33 feet by 33 feet. The brick masonry of the gateway was found to be in a very good state of preservation with visible traces of later repairs.

Dr. Khan reported the yield of valuable finds in the shape of terracotta plaques—excellent specimens of folk art depicting subjects like a lotus flower, a fish, a well-built horse, a wild boar, a seated buffalo with twisted horses, a lion in a hunting posture and female dancers. Those plaques had confirmed their earlier estimate that the remains related to the period between 800 A.D. and 1200 A.D. inasmuch as they depicted animal and plant forms which the early Buddhists did not accept. They represented a later period when the Buddhist and the Hindu elements had got mixed up together.

### *World's First Transocean Telephone*

USIS reports that early this summer, when the Atlantic Ocean was at its calmest, work would begin for laying the world's first trans-ocean telephone cable in the history of world communications. The work of laying the 2300-mile cable linking Europe (Great Britain) and North America (Newfoundland), to be completed by mid-1956, would be done by the largest cable ship in the world, the British Post Office ship H.M.T.S. *Monarch*.

There were already a number of cables across the Atlantic Ocean carrying telegraphic communications. The first successful telegraph cable was laid in 1866. The largest deep-sea telephone line in existence was only about 120 miles long stretching on the ocean-floor from the south-easternmost tip of the United States at Key West, Florida, to Havana, Cuba.

The new trans-Atlantic cable would be jointly owned by the British Post Office, the Canadian Overseas Telecommunication Corporation, and the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, a private U. S. Company. The total cost would be about thirty-five million U.S. dollars.

The technical obstacles to the proposed trans-oceanic cable, the dream of engineers for 25 years, were solved only in 1953. The chief problem was the development of repeater vacuum tubes that could withstand heavy stress and pressure, endure many years, and fit into a 1½ inch cable. Another problem,

now successfully overcome was the construction of a light-weight cable strong enough to endure for years.

### *Photosynthesis as Food Source*

Scientists have at last been successful in achieving complete photo-synthesis outside of living plant cells, i.e., in making food the way plants do. Photo-synthesis, characterised by scientists as the most important chemical action in the world and the basis of all life, is the process by which plants use sunlight to make carbohydrates from carbon dioxide, water and soil minerals.

The achievement of artificial photo-synthesis was recently announced by Dr. Daniel I. Arnon on behalf of a group of plant physiologists of California University before a meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, reports the *USIS*.

Dr. Arnon said that the achievement though a preliminary, "brings nearer the day when man, after mastering the secrets of the processes in green cells, will reduce his age-long dependence on crop plants for food and energy."

### *"Socialistic Pattern of Society"*

We append the following from the *Harijan* for the benefit of our readers. Personally we do not think that the clarification attempted therein has improved matters in any way:

Ever since the Avadi Session of the Indian National Congress adopted the important resolution on the Socialistic Pattern of Society, Congress workers as well as others interested in economic planning are, naturally, asking the question: "What is exactly meant by the 'Socialistic Pattern'?"

The study of the Avadi resolutions, the objectives of the Congress Constitution, and the Directive Principles of State Policy in the Indian Constitution enables us to form a fairly comprehensive idea of what is exactly meant by a Socialistic Pattern of Society. I would summarize the contents of a socialistic pattern in the following terms:

(a) The basic objective of a Socialistic Pattern of Society would be the establishment of social and economic order based on equality of opportunity and political justice;

(b) Such a society would do away with all distinctions of caste, creed, sex or social and economic status and would ensure the right to work and a living wage to all able-bodied citizens. In other words, a Socialistic Pattern of Society would create conditions for full employment;

(c) The State shall own or effectively control the principal means of production and material resources of the community in the best interests of the nation;

(d) The society shall organize economic system in such a manner that it does not result in the concen-

tration of wealth and means of production to the common detriment;

(e) Systematic attempts are made to increase and speed up the total production of wealth in the country;

(f) It is also necessary that there should be equitable distribution of the national wealth and the existing economic disparities are reduced to the minimum;

(g) Such a transformation of the social and economic order must be brought about through peaceful and democratic methods;

(h) A socialistic pattern of society would necessitate a bold decentralization of economic and political power in the form of Village Panchayats and the organization of small-scale and cottage industries on a very wide scale.

It will not, however, be right to interpret Congress economic policy in a very rigid and dogmatic fashion. Our approach is basically a pragmatic and not a doctrinaire one. The broad objective of our policy is, indeed, quite clear and unmistakable. But it is dynamic and not a fixed and a static policy.

The basic objectives of full employment, maximum production and social and economic justice can be achieved in our country in a certain manner under the existing circumstances. A change in the economic conditions would necessarily mean certain changes in our methods and programmes. This policy is, more or less, based on the principles enunciated by Mahatma Gandhi. The Socialistic Pattern of Society is broadly based on Sarvodaya. The Congress has, however, not used the word 'Sarvodaya,' because it has no desire to exploit this noble word for political purposes. But it is quite clear that the Congress sincerely desires to pursue the ideal of Sarvodaya as best as it can under the existing circumstances.

The "Socialistic Pattern" does not in any way imply the establishment of a highly centralized and regimented society. Socialism, as it is generally understood in the West, is, therefore, not our cherished goal. A centralized economic order based on large-scale production necessarily generates forces of violence and class conflict. The Congress is wedded to the methods of peace, democracy and non-violence and would firmly resist all attempts to create a totalitarian or authoritarian society in this country.

### *Andhra Elections*

The Congress Party has secured an absolute majority in the first-general elections held in Andhra after the inauguration of the State on October 1, 1953. The new Government headed by the Congress leader, Shri B. Gopala Reddi will take office on or about March 28. The first government of Andhra which was headed by Shri T. Prakasham, it may be remembered, fell on November 6, 1954, the State Legislature having passed a vote of no-confidence in the Ministry on the prohibition issue.

The strength of the new Assembly would be 196 while the previous one was constituted by 140 members. The relative strength of the various parties in the new legislature was: United Congress Front (consisting of the Congress, the Krishikar Lok Party headed by Prof. N. G. Ranga, and the Praja Party headed by Shri Tenneti Vishwanathan) 146, Communists 15, P.S.P. 13, Independent 22. The composition of the old (140-member) Assembly was: Congress 53, Communists 46, Krishikar Lok Party 16, Praja Socialists 12 and Independent 13.

There were 573 candidates in all for the 193 contested seats in the new Andhra State Assembly. Three Congress candidates were returned unopposed. The United Congress Front contested 185 seats (Congress 134, Krishikar Lok Party 37, Praja Party 14); the Communists 169, Praja Socialists 45 and the Jan Sangh 6. There were 175 independent contestants.

According to *PTI*, the result was as follows:

Seats—196  
Electorate—11,568,659  
Votes polled—8,630,311.

Party	Seats contested	Seats won	Deposits lost	Total votes polled
United Congress Front	188	146	5	4265814
Communists	169	15	18	2695562
P.S.P.	25	13	16	482825
Independents	162	22	102	1173745
Jan Sangh	6	Nil	6	8164
Invalid votes	—	—	—	4201

Analysing the results of the elections in Andhra the *Statesman's* special representative in Delhi points out that the small number of seats won by the Communist Party did not show the real picture of the relative strength of the party. Significantly the Communist Party recorded an increase of nearly 100 per cent in its vote since 1952 when their total had not exceeded 1.4 million.

"On the other hand, against the 3.9 million votes in 1952 cast in favour of the three competing non-Communist parties, now coalesced into the United Congress Front, only 4.3 million votes fell to their share in the recent election, showing that a much smaller proportion of the voters have veered round to the Congress coalition point of view during the last three years."

Though the Praja Socialist Party somewhat increased its numerical strength in the Assembly the total number of votes cast in its favour had remained unchanged at 0.5 million, unlike other parties which had increased their totals—thus indicating a possible tendency at stagnation of the party.

The Independents, though gaining in number of seats, showed a decline in votes cast in their favour. Their total number of votes declined from 1.5 million in 1952 to 1.2 million.

The utter defeat of the Jan Sangh candidates and the small number of votes cast in their favour would seem to indicate a rejection by Andhra voters of the parties of the extreme right.

The *Vigil* in an editorial article on the results of the elections in Andhra writes on March 12 that the results of the elections were more sensationalized than they are really sensational. Thanks to the Communists anti-Communists and the Press, an impression had been created that a deliverance or a disaster—according to taste—depended on the issue of the elections. Referring to the repeated and confident prophesies of win made by the Communist Party before the elections the newspaper notes that perhaps such over-confidence, especially the unwise parading of it, had cost it some seats at least in so much as that had spurred their opponents to that extra bit of effort that tipped the scales.

The newspaper is of the opinion that the results did not indicate any great change in the state of popular mind despite undisputed control of the legislature by the Congress.

Commenting on the outcome of the elections, the *New York Times* writes: "The result, of course, is extremely satisfactory to Western observers, who would like to see the difference between Nehru's Socialism and Moscow's Communism more sharply emphasised. Mr. Nehru has seemed to be expecting more from Moscow than common sense would justify. Here, at least, we find that the humblest voters in overcrowded and impoverished areas are able to tell the difference between a foreign conspiracy and what we take to be an honest attempt to improve the lot of the Indian people."

### *Popular Ministry in Andhra*

Kurnool, March 28.—A popular Ministry assumed reins of Government in Andhra this morning ending four and half months' old President's rule in the State.

The eight-member Ministry of the United Congress Party, which swept the February elections winning 146 seats in the 196-member Assembly, is headed by the 48-year old Sri Bezawada Gopala Reddi.

The Ministry was sworn in two hours after President Dr. Rajendra Prasad had signed an order at 9 this morning in New Delhi revoking the proclamation of November 15 last enforcing President's rule in Andhra. The Governor of the State assumed administration of the State after the Prakasam Ministry fell on the issue of prohibition.

The Governor Sri C. M. Trivedi invited Sri Gopala Reddi to assist him in the formation of a Council of Ministers after he had been informed from New Delhi over the telephone the President's signing the order of revocation.

The seven other Ministers sworn in this morning are Sri Neelam Sanjiva Reddi, Sri Kala Venkata Rao, Sri Gouthy Latchanna, Sri Kalluri Chandramouli, Sri D. Sanjiviah, Sri N. V. Rama Rao and Dr. A. B. Nageswara Rao.

### *India's Defence Policy*

Pandit Nehru, the Premier, intervened in the debate on the Defence demands in the Lok Sabha on March 25 to announce certain measures of policy and organisation of India's defence.

Three basic considerations governed the Government of India's defence policy, said Shri Nehru:

"(i) Since it was purely defensive she was not concerned with long distance striking power, but only with regional defence;

"(ii) She had neither the capacity nor the intention to develop atomic weapons, but would rely on the conventional type; and

"(iii) She would prefer slightly inferior indigenously produced weapons to others for which she would have to depend on foreign countries."

The Prime Minister also announced a change in the designation of the heads of the three armed services. The designation of Commander-in-Chief would no longer be used by the heads of armed services. Instead they would henceforth continue to be known only by their alternate designations of Chief of the Army Staff, Chief of the Naval Staff and Chief of Air Staff. It was however made clear that the change of designation did not imply any reduction in the authority or status of the Chiefs of Staffs. The Prime Minister clearly indicated the intention of the Government gradually to develop defence councils for each service on the model of those in such other countries as Britain. He referred to the history of the use of the designation of Commander-in-Chief in India and said that it was no longer compatible with the democratic set-up. The designation was now used only for operational purposes.

It was also disclosed in the Prime Minister's speech that the present Indian Naval Chief would shortly be succeeded by another officer of the Royal Navy after which an Indian officer would be appointed to that post.

During the discussion on the budget demand for grants on defence totalling Rs. 224.9 crores, members criticized the paucity of information regarding India's defence organizations. Mr. Joachim Alva drew pointed attention to the contrast between the information given in the British White Papers on Defence and the statement of activities of the Defence Ministry provided to M.P.s. While the British Government provided detailed information regarding the strength, organisation and equipments of the British Army, the Indian Government kept the activities veiled under thick secrecy. Shri S. S. More said that the secrecy was pointless in view of the fact that most of the equipment was ordered from abroad. Ignorance con-

cerning the strength of India's Armed forces could only contribute to panic in case of emergency, he said.

A Congress member, Shri G. H. Deshpande complained that 26,000 acres of land near Deolali Cantonment, comprising 17 villages, had been requisitioned by the military authorities without paying compensation, reports the *PTI*. Pointing to the great hardship in which the villagers had been put, the member urged the Government to expediate payment of compensation to those affected.

Replying to the criticism about the purchase of outmoded ships for Indian navy he referred to the huge cost of new ships and said that the ships were being acquired for training purposes and not for warlike operations.

The Deputy Defence Minister, Shri Satish Chandra, said that Government was in full agreement with the views expressed by some members about the development of Defence industries in the country and assured them of the Government's serious efforts to make the country self-sufficient in Defence stores. Referring to the Indian Air Force, the Deputy Minister said that efforts were being made to "find a new type of aircraft." The Army was fairly modernized, he added.

### *Defence Policy Debate*

We append the news-items containing the relevant debates below:

New Delhi, March 28.—Mr. Joachim Alva today brought out the main weakness of the Defence debate in the Lok Sabha when he drew attention to the lack of factual information on which members could base their speeches.

As a result, the debate could not but be uninformative. It was limited to vague suggestions concerning general policy and minor complaints, but there was none of the detailed analysis of Defence programme and their implementation expected on demands, which make up nearly half of the Central budget.

Attendance thinned steadily until it was necessary to ring the quorum bell early in the afternoon. Even after it had been rung, there were only 55 members in the House.

Mr. Alva contrasted the difference between the information given in the British White Papers on Defence and the statement on the activities of the Defence Ministry provided to M.P.s. The bulky White Papers gave a detailed picture of the strength of Britain's Armed Forces and their equipment, but the Defence Ministry's activities were surrounded by secrecy. Whereas, for instance, the I.A.F. had been dismissed in a little over two pages the British estimates devoted 250 pages to the R.A.F. Faults in their latest fighters were confessed and the subject debated frankly.

#### MINISTER'S DISCLOSURE

A speech by the Deputy Defence Minister, Mr. Satish Chandra, helped to prove Mr. Alva's point. His only disclosure about the I.A.F. was that "efforts are

being made to find a new type of aircraft." About the Army, "it will not be incorrect to say that the Army is fairly modernized." When a member tried to provoke him to say something about anti-aircraft gun policy, he avoided a discussion.

Mr. S. S. More said that secrecy about defence equipment and strength was pointless when most of the equipment was ordered from abroad. Ignorance concerning the strength of India's Armed Forces could only contribute to panic in case of an emergency.

The debate left a general impression of satisfaction with the quality of the Armed Forces with the accent on strengthening them by recruiting extensive reserves and developing industrial potential rather than on economy.

The ignorance, betrayed in some speeches, could not be excused by the plea of inadequate information. A member, for instance, climaxed his praise for the policy of nationalizing the Armed Forces by prophesying that the I.A.F. would soon have an India C-in-C.

New Delhi, March 28.—Not much progress has been made so far with the official plan, announced in Parliament by the Prime Minister last week, to set up Army, Navy and Air Force Councils, but the proposal has aroused much interest.

It is understood that the suggestion will not be implemented for some time, especially as a number of details remain to be settled before the British model can be adapted successfully to Indian conditions.

One conspicuous difference between the conditions prevailing in Britain and those in India is that this country does not have separate Ministers for the three Services, but only a single Defence Minister for all three.

While, the two Deputy Defence Ministers in India specialize in some departmental work concerning the Navy and the Air Force, they would not be regarded as senior enough to preside over separate Councils.

This difficulty will probably be surmounted by having the Defence Minister as President of all the three Councils, though a suggestion has been made that the Prime Minister should fill that role.

In Britain, the Army Council comprises the Minister of War, five military members—the C.I.G.S., his deputy, the Adjutant-General, the Quartermaster-General and the Director-General of Army Requirements, a finance member and a civil member.

India's nearest parallel to Service Councils is the Defence Minister's Committee, consisting of the Defence Minister, the three Service Chiefs, the Financial Adviser and the Defence Secretary.

Apparently the Defence Minister's Committee will be abolished when the three Service Councils are set up. Hitherto, this Committee has been valuable largely as a co-ordinating body without being very effective.

Again, the practice in the Defence Ministry so far has been for the Civil Secretariat to have overriding powers over Service matters, without necessarily bringing in the Defence Minister except at the stage of decision.

Thus the principal advantage of the proposed Service Council will be that consultation between the Minister and his senior officials will be direct and decisions speedier, with all concerned participating.

Although authority would be decentralized and business will be transacted more quickly, the Minister will still retain control, thereby taking away a great deal of responsibility both from the Secretariat and the Services.

As the Prime Minister said in Parliament, the new proposed system will lead to greater democratization to suit the country's changed conditions. Seen in terms of power distribution, the system will act both ways.

It is true that the C-in-C. will lose his title and, therefore, some of the conventional prestige that goes with it, especially in the eyes of the rank and file in the Services, who have always looked upon him as the highest executive head.

On the other hand, the Service Chiefs will gain some effective authority by being able to avoid delays over their proposals, which have been found inevitable in the existing Secretariat set-up.

### *Administrative Costs in Bombay*

In course of reply to the debate in the Bombay Assembly on the General Administration demand for Rs. 54,414,200, the Chief Minister of the State, Shri Morarji Desai said on March 16 that maximum salaries of newly appointed higher officers would soon be brought down. In case of new appointments the maximum would no more exceed Rs. 2,300 per month. The Chief Secretary of the State Government now drew the highest salary of Rs. 3,750 per month.

Under the proposed arrangement the highest paid officer, that is, the Chief Secretary would get Rs. 2,300 and other Secretaries Rs. 2,000 each. The maximum salary for other officers, including Collectors would be Rs. 1,800 per month.

The disparity existing now between the highest and the lowest paid was about thirty-fold after deduction of income taxes from the salary of highly paid officers.

The Government had a mind to raise the salaries of lower servants. But success depended on the State's prosperity.

### *Madhya Pradesh P.W.D.*

The *Hilavada* reports: "The Estimates Committee of the Vidhan Sabha, which presented its second report in regard to the working of the Public Works Department during 1953-54, has brought to light the sorry state of affairs prevailing in that Department, and has recommended a thorough probe into some of the works included in the budget of that year.

"The report, which deals with four grants to the Department, viz., Irrigation, Embankment, Drainage Works, Public Works Establishment and Tool and Plant and Civil Works, sounds a note of warning that, like the Agriculture Department, this Department has

also grown out of proportion and the pace of its expansion is so rapid that if it continued longer in the present haphazard manner, it would result in a crash."

The Committee noted that the Administration and Accounts of the Public Works Department were in a chaotic state. There was acute inadequacy of trained personnel as a result of which a number of persons had to be recruited from other States and unduly rapid promotions had been given some new and relatively inexperienced officers seriously impairing the efficiency of the Department. The practice of the same men being the Personal Assistant to the Chief Engineer and at the same time Under Secretary to the Government was condemned by the Committee because in its opinion, "This double capacity cannot be effective in the matter of administration, for either they will not be able to bring their mind to bear independently on the proposals or they will be criticising the decisions in the making of which they had a part." It was suggested that of the two Personal Assistants, the Chief Engineer should retain one as his wholetime Assistant and the other should be released to devote exclusively to Secretarial functions.

The Committee found that "the Sub-divisional headquarters of certain Sub-divisions are located outside such Sub-divisions."

Relating the "hopeless mess" in which the accounts had been found by the Committee, it gave an example when out of the total grant of Rs. 48,484,000 originally sanctioned there had been a saving of Rs. 19 lakhs and yet supplementary grants amounting to 48 lakhs had unnecessarily been obtained." The Committee held such a practice highly undesirable and said that if such supplementary grants had at all been "necessary on grounds of new service, token demand could have been obtained. The obtaining of supplementary grants in this way is most undesirable from a budgetary point of view."

The Committee further stated that while re-appropriation of funds had to be made in certain cases, "there must be some restrictions on re-appropriations so as to prevent re-appropriations taking the form of replacements."

There had been no accounting of the storage of tools and plants. The expenditure on tools and plants, as quoted by the Committee, had been as follows:

Year	Amount (in Rs.)
1948-49	2,636,400
1949-50	1,534,450
1950-51	1,417,966
1951-52	932,682
1952-53	1,377,990
1953-54	2,216,000 (estimated)

"All these figures," the Committee continued, "show that the expenditure on tools and plant is considerable and it is surprising that in spite of provision for check of tools and plant in the Manual,

there seems to be no supervision and check of the tools and plant in stock. This situation was bound to result in loss and wastage; and the department must take steps to institute proper check of tools and plant periodically."

The Committee further reported the fact that machinery worth lakhs of rupees had been purchased and also was being purchased practically every year by the department, though there was "no departmental work worth the name which is being carried out by these machines with the result that these machines are given on rent to the contractors. It is also understood that they lie idle for a major part of the year."

Despite the rules tenders had often been called without preparing an estimate. The Committee held the practice "highly undesirable as it is bound to result in giving unnecessary discretion to the officials concerned." The Committee therefore suggested a rigid conformity to the Rules.

The Committee also referred to a relatively new practice developed in the Public Works Department of giving works by negotiations and avoiding the calling of tenders. While feeling that the practice might be useful in certain special cases the Committee discouraged such a practice and said that it "should only remain as an exception and not as a rule."

The Committee also noticed that various departments had given contracts without the knowledge of the Public Works Department. "This practice becomes extremely objectionable especially when one particular firm is given several works by one particular department." The Committee suggested a strict check and supervision on such works.

### *"Atoms-for-Peace" Exhibition*

The "Atoms-for-Peace" exhibition illustrating the peaceful uses of atomic energy was inaugurated in New Delhi on the 10th March by Dr. K. S. Krishnan, Director of the National Physical Laboratory of India and member of Indian Atomic Energy Commission.

The exhibit had its premiere at the UN Headquarters in New York City on November 29, 1954, and had been shipped to India for showings under the auspices of the United States Information Service. The exhibition, after its showings in New Delhi, would tour over 50 Indian cities, towns and universities for continuous showings during the next two years.

A message from President Eisenhower, read at the inaugural ceremonies, described the exhibition as a symbol of mutual efforts made by India and the U.S.A. to advance human welfare and seek enduring peace. He added: "History will record unlocking of atom's boundless energy as one of man's greatest accomplishments. This achievement demands from men of goodwill determination that this new knowledge be used to serve ends of human progress, peace and freedom."

Inaugurating the exhibition Dr. K. S. Krishnan

referred to the change in the ideal of the scientists. Formerly scientists were least concerned with practical application of their theories. Today the picture was almost reversed. One was rather tempted almost to forget now-a-days the fundamental side of science, impressed by the remarkable usefulness of the applications and their contribution to a better way of life. However, one wished that at least in one branch of knowledge—concerning the release of enormous energies by fission of atomic nuclei—the scientist had better refrained from applying his knowledge. Owing to the tragic circumstances accompanying the first application of that knowledge, the subject evoked in people's minds "almost the same feelings which witchcraft might have evoked in an earlier age. The great secrecy incidental to such knowledge does not naturally conduce to a mitigation of those feelings."

Under such circumstances, continued Dr. Krishnan, the atomic scientists had some difficulty in rehabilitating themselves in the people's minds. Fortunately, there were immense potentialities for peacetime uses of atomic energy and it was very refreshing that great efforts were being made, "if not towards diverting all the energies of the atomic scientists to peacetime uses, at least towards shifting the emphasis in that direction." The current peaceful applications of atomic energy were already quite impressive "though the use of atomic power may not be round the corner, as many of us believe, it is definitely near it," Dr. Krishnan said.

### *The Indian Museum*

Scholars of archaeology, art, ancient history, etc. would be relieved by the confirmation of the following news:

March, 28.—The proposal for shifting the Indian Museum from Calcutta to Delhi is being dropped, it is learnt.

The West Bengal Chief Minister, Dr. B. C. Roy who met the Union Education Minister, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad on Monday conveyed to him the concern of the people of West Bengal over the reported move on the part of the Central Government to shift the museum which is one of the pride possessions of the State, it is understood.

### *Education in Bombay*

The Bombay Government had completed investigations and prepared a plan to introduce free and compulsory education up to the age of 14 years by 1960, in accordance with the directive of the constitution, reports the *Bombay Chronicle*.

Making a statement to that effect in the Legislative Assembly, Shri Dinkarrao Desai said on March 15 that the Government intended to introduce compulsory free primary education in all villages with a population of 500 and more by June next. The scheme would then be extended to other villages.

The implementation of the constitutional directive regarding the introduction of free and compulsory primary education for all children of schoolgoing age would require 15 to 20 crores of rupees. Shri Desai was confident of finding some way to get the money.

Turning to the question of the medium of instruction Shri Desai said that Government had no intention to interfere with the autonomous working of the universities in that regard.

The State Government aimed at starting at least one multi-purpose school in each district as soon as the plans for such schools were sanctioned by the Union Government.

Endeavours would be made by the Government to bring down the prices of text-books, Shri Desai went on, but parents who did not mind spending on luxuries like smoking should not grudge the cost of text-books.

### *Work of the State Enforcement*

An unofficial account of the work done by the West Bengal State Enforcement Branch during the month of January, 1955, states that 3226 cases involving 4881 persons had been detected by the police during that period. 2337 of the cases related to the districts and 889 to Calcutta. The cases covered a wide range including contravention of various control orders, adulteration of foodstuff, short weights, violation of Vagrancy Act, rowdies, evasion of sales tax, sale and manufacture of spurious drugs and other miscellaneous matters.

In the districts 1161 shops, storage places and vehicles had been inspected in the course of which 192 samples of suspected stuff had been taken and sent for chemical analysis. 414 cases of possession of false weights or measures had been detected as a result of 1009 drives in that direction. In Calcutta, two such cases had been detected.

Enquiries undertaken into cases of evasion of sales tax and income tax numbered 134 and 24 instances had been reported to the Departments concerned. In Calcutta three arrests had been made in connection with evasion of sales tax.

A large quantity of mustard oil had been seized in Calcutta from a tank wagon at Railway siding and it was found adulterated on chemical analysis. A Depot Manager had been arrested. Two Directors of a firm in Calcutta had been put under arrest for having had attempted to cheat the Iron and Steel Directorate by false and fraudulent representation in respect of an export permit for scrap iron.

Out of 1986 cases disposed of in the districts, 1852 had ended in conviction. An amount of Rs. 19,626 had been realised as fines and the value of commodities confiscated had amounted to Rs. 12,892.

In Calcutta, 4154 persons had been convicted and an amount of Rs. 11,060 realised by way of fines.

## INDIA TO AMERICA \*

By G. L. MEHTA,  
*Ambassador of India to U.S.A.*

THE object of this Foundation † is really something that is nearest to my heart. Not merely as an official representative of the Government of India to this country, but also as an ordinary citizen I feel strongly that a correct understanding between our two countries is a vital necessity of the day.

Dr. Das ‡ is not unknown to you any means, but long before I came to this country I had heard his name, having read in my younger days some of his articles in a well-known Indian journal, *The Modern Review*. I do not mean to imply that he is very much older than myself! Nevertheless, it was a great pleasure to meet him personally when I came to this country two years ago and I am sure all of you here, as we in India, appreciate the praiseworthy object for which he has established this Foundation.

The title of this talk, is "India to America." I hope you will not consider me facetious if I say that you should not expect me to start on a travelogue nor does the title signify a long distance call from India to America! It is, however, a call—a call from the largest democracy in the East to the largest democracy in the West, from one of the most ancient countries in the world to one of the most modern, from one of the undeveloped and poor areas to the richest and most powerful land. I hope I shall not be misunderstood if I say that on the relationship of these two countries depends the future of democracy. Economic development in Asia, and also peace in the world, hinge on this relationship.

"India to America" involves a greater knowledge of each other, more contacts, more understanding and more tolerance. It involves not merely better communications in the sense of frequent air services or a quicker means of information, although these are all necessary, but also a mind-to-mind link across the vast chasm of space. Nothing travels faster than thought, and great distances today are narrowed by free intercourse between the minds of men. It would be a tragedy, indeed, if with all the technical equipment available to us for intercommunication to-day, misunderstandings between nations should be greater than they were when it took long to travel from one country to the other and when it was difficult to communicate our views and feelings.

In a sense, India "created" America; for it was in seeking the spices and wealth of an old country that Columbus stumbled upon a new continent. Mark Twain, I think, said it was surprising that America was discovered by Columbus, but it would have been still more surprising if he had not done so. If, therefore, America was discovered in searching for India, I hope this compliment would be reciprocated by America discovering and rediscovering India. India is a land which is old and yet new; a land in the process of regeneration and revival. Only by continuously discovering each other shall we build a better world.

I do not desire to speak to-day, much as I would like to, about the cultural contacts between our two countries during the last one hundred years. I would only mention in passing that last May, when I went to Emerson's House in Concord and saw Emerson's library, I was surprised to see four books there: one of them was our scripture, the *Bhagawat Geeta*, the Song Celestial, the other was *Vishnupurana*, an old mythological book, another a book on Sankhya, a school of Hindu philosophy and the fourth a book on Hindu Law. And in Thoreau's room there was on his table near his bedside the *Bhagawat Geeta*, the Song Celestial, and I thought to myself that when there were no means of transportation as to-day—no planes, no radio communication, no television, no press services in the modern sense between India and the United States—even then minds traversed over all this vast distance and these philosophers knew something of the thoughts and philosophies of other lands.

So, too, perhaps as many of you are aware, the Indian intelligentsia during the last 50 or 60 years, read the writings of many American thinkers and men of letters and have been in many ways influenced by them. Thoreau's remark: "In an unjust state the proper place for a just man is the prison," was a favourite expression of Mahatma Gandhi. Nor do I want to speak to-day about the sympathy and moral support we had from this country during our national struggle.

Closer relations between us have developed since the last World War and, particularly, after the attainment of Indian independence. There are far more Americans to-day in India than ever before. There are about 1800 to 1900 Indian students in this country as compared to hardly 100 students 10 years ago and very few 25 years ago. Technical co-operation programmes, whether they be under Point Four or

\* Text of speech delivered at the Seventh Mary Koalinge Das Memorial Lecture, McMillin Theatre, Columbia University, New York, on Monday, 13th December, 1955.

† Mary Koalinge Das Memorial Lecture.

‡ Dr. Tarak Nath Das.

F.O.A. as well as Community Development Projects and National Extension Services have led to continuous close co-operation between Indian and American specialists, experts, and technicians during the last five years. Nearly 200 Indians have been trained here for various technical purposes under such programmes. And an equally larger number of Americans have been working in India. Various exchange programmes and studies by Foundations like Ford and Rockefeller and Carnegie have also widened the intellectual co-operation and technical collaboration in many services, such as health, education, agriculture, etc., between our two countries.

Trade relations have been closer during recent years. Our trade with U.S.A., which was hardly seven per cent of our total foreign trade before the war increased to as much as 25 per cent about three or four years ago and now is about 19 per cent of our total trade.

And there has been more of private American investment in India during the last few years than before independence. About ten years ago, there was about 30,000,000 dollars of private American capital investment in India. To-day, there would be, with the establishment of the two oil refineries, one in Bombay and another in an eastern port of India, nearly 100 million dollars of private American capital!

India's independence has enabled her to play a more active part in world affairs. This, too, has brought India and the United States closer in various international organizations. When we speak of Indo-United States relationship we should think not merely of agreements or disagreements in international affairs but also view the picture as a whole. We should remember the variety of spheres—educational, technical and scientific, commercial and industrial—in all of which co-operation between India and America to-day is more continuous and fruitful than ever before. It has been well said, however, that 90 per cent of the difficulties between individuals as well as nations are psychological. There are, indeed, many similarities between Indians and Americans. They are both friendly, informal, hospitable and sensitive.

But while the Americans are forceful, somewhat impatient and quick of movement, Indians are by temperament and tradition, slower, rather cautious and, having borne the burden of centuries, inclined to be patient. The American mind is experimental and empirical. It puts faith in innovation, investigation and action. India, during the ages, has been more inclined to contemplation than action, more interested in theory than in practice. But it is as yet too early to say as to what would be the national psychological characteristics of a free India.

In the social sphere, too, there are wide dissimilarities between the two countries, whether it be in the family system or the relationship between the sexes. A sense

of social equality despite differences in wealth and position is a striking feature of American democracy.

India has of her free volition chosen political democracy as the basis of her social and economic structures. This involves complete elimination of caste inequalities. It is only a question of time before untouchability is abolished in practice in India; it has already been abolished.

I need hardly point out the radical difference between our two countries in economic conditions and standards of living. While the per capita income of an Indian is \$54 per annum, in the United States it is \$1500. Consumption of cotton textiles, of cloth, is 65 square yards per year per head in this country as compared to 12 to 14 yards in my country. While production of steel is about 1.3 million tons per annum in India, in the United States it is 120 million tons. One person in about 1400 has a car in India compared to one in three in this country. As someone remarked, there are three persons to every car in this country, but these three are in front of this one car at every street crossing! The consumption of oil is 23 gallons per head in India as compared to 550 gallons in this country.

I could go on multiplying these examples but it is hardly necessary. No one who has seen the dire poverty in Asian countries need be persuaded that we are not only two nations, we seem to be living in two different worlds! It is evident that the wide differences between the economic and social conditions of the two countries make difficult the wholesale adoption and indiscriminate application of methods and techniques of production and distribution of one country to another.

We have a large and growing population, low capital resources, a lack of purchasing power, a crushing pressure of numbers on land, and an undiversified economy. We cannot have the same social dynamics or economic tools which you have—thanks to the vastness of your country and a relatively small population exploring and exploiting its tremendous resources. Not having the initial capital resources and with a foreign government in control of the country for over a century and a half, private enterprise did not have the necessary resources and opportunity for developing the country.

Methods of mass production which demand mass consumption are not necessarily suitable in a land where there is still a vicious circle between low purchasing power, a limited demand and high costs of production. We are, no doubt, endeavouring to break this circle by seeking to create demand through better distribution as well as by augmenting production in various economic spheres.

We have to fight on many fronts and yet maintain a certain order of priorities because the available resources have to be used for more important and urgent needs. So, too, mechanization which has advanced so much in this country has too taken place in a selective manner in my country. In the absence of full economic development, much larger in scope and speedier in pace,

technological unemployment would only accentuate the existing economic difficulties and hardships. We are, therefore, seeking to achieve a balance between the use of machinery and the employment of men.

I turn to a sphere which always somehow attracts people more than anything else; namely, the political aspects of Indo-US. relationship. So far as the domestic aspects are concerned, there are similarities in the fundamental conceptions of the two countries. We believe, as you do, in government by the consent of the governed, the rule of law and respect for personal freedom. Our Constitution, which is democratic and federal in nature, embodies these Fundamental Rights, many of them having been adapted from your Bill of Rights. We have an independent judiciary. We have a parliamentary form of government modelled somewhat on the British system. We have no censorship of the press. There is an opposition functioning in the federal parliament—in both the Houses—and in all the States and we believe that democratic processes, even if at times slower, are the surer means for ensuring the progress of a country.

Take then the international aspect. In regard to international matters our objectives are also the same as those of the United States: peace, self-determination of nations, international co-operation through appropriate organizations for removing tensions and for promoting social welfare, health, education, and culture (through such bodies as the UNESCO and WHO), technical assistance through the United Nations and the United States; financial aid and co-operation by the International Bank, suitable currency and exchange relationship through the International Monetary Fund; co-operation for trade through the GATT, General Agreement of Tariffs and Trade as well as private capital investment.

Only the other day a scheme was formulated which is now likely to come into operation early next year. It is a scheme for the establishment of an Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation with the assistance of FOA and International Bank and also comprising private capital in India, the United Kingdom and the United States. This is a unique example of partnership between three countries for private investment and also a partnership between government and private enterprise; between private enterprise in India and the government there as well as with institutions like the International Bank and FOA.

Nevertheless, somehow we are always struck more by difference and dissimilarities than by similarities.

I think the press would be in a very difficult position if this did not happen. When I was a journalist I was told that when a dog bites a man it is not news but when a man bites a dog it is news. You don't see headlines in newspaper saying that a man in Bronx is on very good terms with his wife; but when he hits her, it is a piece of news. Therefore, I think we are

all apt to exaggerate and magnify the points of difference and disagreement.

Another difficulty is that we are all apt to oversimplify the attitudes of other countries. We are also prone to exaggerate and magnify the points on which we do not agree.

Even the fact that countries are called by certain names—we have no such name for India as yet—for example, the United States is described in other countries as Uncle Sam, England as John Bull, and so on, makes us think of a whole nation in terms of a particular stereotype. This is not helpful for a better understanding between countries.

So, too, it is true of individuals as well as of nations. We are all more anxious and more keen and eager to be understood rather than to understand and we are all apt to assume that understanding is the same thing as agreement. We can disagree and yet try to understand. We can understand and yet disagree. And this, I think, is very important in discussing any question of relationship between two countries. It is, therefore, necessary to mention the area of agreement in international outlook and policies. It is also necessary to emphasize that during recent months our two countries have been coming closer on various matters on which apparently they seem to hold different opinions and views from time to time: not in regard to objectives but in regard to methods and approach.

Take, for example, the question of opposition to war and the desirability of some kind of "peaceful co-existence." But if you don't like that word, let us have the Latin phrase *modus vivendi*. President Eisenhower has been explicit and emphatic on this subject in recent months. I shall only cite one quotation. The President said:

"There is no alternative to peace. There would not be much left of the world unless war was prevented in this atomic age."

This observation is akin to statements made by our own Prime Minister and other statesmen. It is realized by responsible persons in all countries that negotiations and compromise do not necessarily mean appeasement and surrender. They are the essentials of diplomacy and international co-operation.

The fundamental objective of diplomacy in the past and of the United Nations to-day has been maintenance of peace. But I suggest to you that this term "co-existence" should not merely mean an armed truce. It should in course of time mean better understanding; freer communication and active co-operation in economic, technical, and cultural spheres for human progress. For this purpose, fear and suspicion have to be removed and confidence inspired.

The five principles which are the basis of Indo-China and India-Burma Agreements include mutual respect for each other's territory, integrity and sovereignty; non-aggression; non-interference in each other's internal affairs; equality and mutual benefit; and peaceful co-existence. No doubt, it is easier to lay

down principles than to implement them. But I think that if our face is turned in the right direction, if we believe and have enough confidence in ourselves, then we shall be in a better position to implement these principles than otherwise.

Another point to which I should like to refer is the importance of Asia. But before I do so let me mention this matter to which I was just referring: namely, the question of a *modus vivendi*. Let me quote what some of the leaders in this country and elsewhere have said about this. President Eisenhower has said that there is no alternative to peace. He said that war does not present the possibility of victory or defeat any longer, but only an alternative in degree of destruction.

The Secretary of Defence, Mr. Wilson, said:

"The alternative to co-existence is to look forward to war."

Mr. Adlai Stevenson said:

"Armed co-existence is certainly a bleak prospect, but it is better than no existence."

Winston Churchill said:

"We are on the brink of hell. Victory in an atomic war would be victory on a heap of ruins."

Mr. Attlee, leader of the British Labour Party, said:

"The alternative to co-existence is non-existence."

Mr. Nehru said:

"The alternative to co-existence is co-destruction."

And Mr. Lester Pearson, the Canadian Foreign Secretary, said:

"If we are to accept the view that co-existence can be nothing but a snare and delusion to be spurned at all cost, then we are driven logically to the thesis of the inevitability of an atomic war."

Now this proves the point I wanted to make that to-day there is a widespread recognition and realization of the futility of war. What is it then that constitutes a fundamental difference between us? Does any responsible body of people in this country want to commit aggression or want to have a "preventive war"? The eyes of all responsible leaders—the minds of all responsible leaders—are turned towards ensuring peace.

Then, as I said, there is the importance of Asia and the need for recognizing the implications of the awakening of Asia. Problems arising from the awakening of Asian nations have to be solved with mutual goodwill, patience, and tolerance.

As you know, many of these countries in Asia have been under foreign domination for years. Several of them attained independence only after the second World War. It is a striking fact that the countries which have won independence recently, like India, Burma, Ceylon, Pakistan, Philippines, Indonesia are keen to resist aggression because having suffered from alien domination before they do not want to be dominated by any other power again. They do not want to march under any other flag, having once got their own national flag.

And it should be realized that the roots of govern-

ment being in the people there can never be any strengthening of a nation through the requisition of foreign arms or military aid. What is essential is not only the national independence of the countries concerned but an equality of status for all of them. The voice of these countries will have to be heard even if they do not have the necessary economic strength or military prowess. In the new world, their wishes and desires, their pride and even prejudices cannot be ignored and their voice will have to be predominant in settling their own affairs.

The third point on which I do not think there is any fundamental divergence between the American view and the Indian view is the problem of what is commonly known as "colonialism". The people of the United States have an instinctive sympathy for those struggling for national independence and freedom. It is true that on certain matters there has been a difference of opinion because of an order of priorities which the United States has worked out for combating Communist movements. But despite this difference in approach, the fact remains that you are anxious as the people in India to see that dependent countries achieve their freedom and are not dominated by any foreign power. I think it is possible to work together for such an objective.

Then, again, there is one matter on which despite all this emphasis on peace and on anti-colonialism there has been some divergence in approach because of the highest priority being given in this country to fight Communism. The question I refer to relates to the priority as between economic and military approaches *vis-a-vis* Asia. No one can deny the necessity of taking measures for national security. The question is whether peace in an area would be promoted more by negotiation or by forming rival blocs and entering into a competitive race of armaments.

I do not wish to be dogmatic in this matter, but I am only trying to tell you what this point of difference exactly is. And let me on this point quote what a highly experienced diplomat and able writer who believes in "realistic" foreign policies, I am referring to George Kennan, says in his book *Realities of American Foreign Policy*. He says—(I am quoting):

"There are a few considerations with regard to the general problem of Communism in Asia which might be worth noting at this point. It is here, above all, that we must avoid the fallacy that we are dealing with some threat of military aggression comparable to that which faced the world when Hitler put his demands on the Poles in 1939. Military aggression can never be ruled out entirely as a possibility, but it is not the most urgent and likely of the possibilities with which we have to reckon. We are dealing here in large measure with tendencies and states of mind which, however misguided and however befuddled by deceptions practised from outside are nevertheless—"

And I wish you to note this:

"—are nevertheless basically the reflections of wholly real and profound indigenous conditions, and would not be cause to disappear even in the unthinkable event that Moscow could be threatened or bludgeoned into telling them to do so."

As I have said repeatedly in this country, the problems of poverty and illiteracy, unemployment, malnutrition, ill-health, disease and so forth would have been there in Asia even if Karl Marx had not gone to London and written *Das Kapital*; even if there had been no revolution in Russia and China. We have, therefore, to face the fact that these problems will confront us irrespective of any ideologies or isms. The more we try to think of certain countries in terms of certain ideologies, the less prepared we would be to face these grave and urgent problems in a realistic manner.

This is the test of statesmanship. And on this, I shall quote Mr. Kennan again :

"For with the Russians and ourselves in the coming period is going to be the skill with which we are able to adjust to this new situation, and the vision and imagination with which we succeed in shaping new and advantageous relations with the in-between countries, to replace those that have rested, since the recent war, under abnormal conditions of political subjection in the Russian case, and economic dependence in our own."

Here, in application to this new task, he says :

"A strictly military approach, which attempts to subordinate all other considerations to the balancing of the military equation, will be not only inadequate but downright harmful. For the demands placed on our policy by the rise of these in-between countries to positions of new vitality and importance will often be in direct conflict with the requirements of the perfect and total military posture ; so that by a rigid military approach we will be in danger of losing on the political level more than we gain on the military one."

I believe many persons in this country realize that if the world is now to settle down to a long period of co-existence or competitive co-existence or armed truce or *modus vivendi*, or whatever you may call it, then the conditions in underdeveloped countries will demand measures for economic amelioration, for raising the standards of living so as to prevent any internal movements which are subversive, destructive and violent rather than measures of military aid which can result in only temporary and flimsy gains.

And on this point greater realization has been apparent during the last two or three months : the realization that providing bread and jobs is more important than providing guns and bombs.

Responsible leaders have said that the "cold war" is becoming economic rather than military in its nature. And this I venture to suggest is only commonsense. Without a firm basis of national economy and a contented population, the mere military bases and armaments are not likely to ensure stability and security. We saw this in the last war. We know that in a total war the morale of the civilian population is of vital importance. It was Napoleon who said that in war the moral to the military is as ten to one ; and this is far more so in poor and underdeveloped countries, in countries under the head of a make-shift military junta or a reactionary

government where it is very easy to create feelings of discontent against that rule. But if the government is rooted in the people and is responsible to them and responsive to their needs, then it is far more difficult for any outside agency to try to subvert it. This is a crucial point, and its importance is now being recognized all over the world. It means that in the next few years, our main task should be to see that this ideal of one world is steadily realised so that those who can help others to help themselves should do so.

But I would like to add in this connection that such programmes should not be worked out merely on a philanthropic basis. There should be no semblance of charity. Of course, I don't refer to humanitarian help in regard to say famine, flood, epidemic or earthquake. That is quite different. Even poor countries help one another at that time. But the programmes of economic assistance should be programmes of economic co-operation. They should be programmes so worked out as to enable that aid to be properly utilized and absorbed, else all the money spent would be worse than wasted. The object of such aid should be to make the recipient country more and more independent and not more and more dependent on others.

This is also now widely recognized. On this issue again, so far as I know, between my country's leaders and yours there is no fundamental divergence. While we are grateful for such generous assistance as has been rendered to us by this country and others through the Colombo Plan and the United Nations, we believe that eventually our future depends on ourselves. Eventually, we have to build up on our own resources.

No doubt, foreign aid can, for a time, supplement national efforts. But indefinite and indiscriminate aid would tend to sap initiative and the spirit of self-reliance. So, too, in this country there is a realization that money should not be wasted for assistance to countries which are not able to utilize it properly and absorb it adequately. In the last analysis, it is the countries themselves which can make or mar their future.

Before I conclude, I should like to say that one of your great leaders has himself put this point much better than I can.

In his book *Call to Greatness*, Mr. Adlai Stevenson has said :

"I have tried to point out that much of the world in Asia, Africa, and the Middle East, is on the way somewhere. They are trying to telescope centuries into decades, trying to catch up with Western industrial and technological revolutions overnight and under much more difficult circumstances, and they are trying to accomplish this mighty transformation by the methods of consent not coercion. The challenge is to identify ourselves with this social and human revolution, to encourage, aid and inspire the aspirations of half of mankind for a better life, to guide these aspirations into paths that lead to freedom. The default would be disastrous."

# AGRARIAN FINANCE IN INDIA

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## III

### INSTITUTIONAL AGENCIES FOR RURAL CREDIT

The question of the supply of finance to the rural areas and the provision of a suitable machinery for this purpose has received a good deal of attention during recent years. The whole subject has been comprehensively discussed in several reports, the more important of these being the reports of the Agricultural Finance Sub-Committee (Gadgil Committee) of 1945, and the Co-operative Planning (Saraiya) Committee of 1946, the report of Dr. B. V. Narayana-swamy Naidu on Rural Indebtedness in Madras Presidency (1946), the report of the Bombay Agricultural Credit Organisation (Nanavati) Committee (1947), the Planning Commission Final Report (First Five-Year Plan) and All-India Rural Credit Survey, 1954. Any such scheme of reorganisation of institutional rural finance is closely related with the problem of the reduction of indebtedness which we shall discuss later on.

#### SINGLE OR MULTIPLE CREDIT AGENCY

The Gadgil Committee thought that on theoretical grounds a single financial agency which covered the entire field of all credit to the agriculturist-producer, would be the most logical solution of the problem, but in view of the practical limitation to which such a project would be subject in the existing conditions, they did not consider its establishment feasible, and decided to adapt their recommendations "as largely as possible, to the existing structure and work along the lines of present development." In view of the vast extent of the country and the large variety of conditions within it, they felt the need to develop "as varied a system of institutional finance as possible for financing agriculture". The Rural Banking Enquiry Committee also considered this line as practical and necessary under the present conditions.

Although the Co-operative Societies were found by the Committee to constitute the ideal agency for rural credit, in practice their working was defective, and as such their extension all over the country is impracticable on the following grounds:

(1) Despite their phenomenal growth, the co-operative societies cover a very small proportion of the rural people and meet only a fraction of their requirements;

(2) Except in a few regions their working has not been very satisfactory;

(3) The extension of co-operative credit to meet all the requirements of creditworthy agriculturists all over the country within a short period of time is considered impracticable without a very large degree of assistance and control;

(4) It would be difficult to link the co-operative organisations for non-members.

As a machinery for short-term and medium-term credit, the Gadgil Committee recommended the establishment of an Agricultural Credit Corporation for each province, except where the co-operative agencies are strong and have such wide scope that they could undertake all the works expected from the Agricultural Credit Corporation.

#### COMPOSITION, POWERS AND FUNCTIONS OF A.C.C.

The proposed Agricultural Credit Corporation would be autonomous institutions. Half of their capital is to be provided by the State and the rest by jointstock banks, co-operative institutions, marketing organisations, etc., there being no individual shareholders. As regards their functions, (a) they would establish agencies and branches all over their regions wherever needed, (b) they would supply all types of credit and be managed by executive officers, (c) they would provide finance to co-operative societies where central financing agencies do not exist, and (d) they would supply mortgage credit directly to individual agriculturists. But intermediate and short-term credit based generally on personal security, or statutory first charge on the crop, could only be provided through co-operative societies or other "Borrowers' groups." The activities of the corporations would be co-ordinated with those of co-operatives and other institutions, competition being avoided.

The rates of interest charged by the corporation would not exceed 4 per cent for mortgage and 6½ per cent for other types of credit. The State should have to subsidise the corporation to enable them to supply credit at these rates, and to establish 'un-economic' agencies in certain areas.

It is clear from the above arrangements that agricultural credit corporations do not provide agricultural finance on personal security, which is most needed by the majority of Indian farmers. This task has been left to the co-operative credit societies whose working, in practice, has been found defective by the Committee itself.

It is said that (a) Provincial or Central Co-operative Banks having additional advantage of their being already in the field and having some organisational momentum, would equally achieve the same ends if the financial resources and assistance contemplated for the corporation are also made available to them; that (b) the ways of raising funds by the A.C.C. are not better than those by the co-operative banks and that (c) the co-operative societies still have to operate as primary credit organisational units in dealing with individuals of small means. Thus the scope of the provision of agrarian finance even by the A.C.C. is also very limited as it does not include the most urgent needs of the most needy sections of the agriculturists in India.

In view of these facts, the Saraiya Committee expressed the opinion that

"Not only in some provinces where the co-operative movement has attained a high degree of development, but also in other provinces and States the Provincial Co-operative Bank and the central co-operative financing organisation, can provide the agriculturist with all the facilities which are intended to be given by agricultural credit corporations. The same measure and type of aids as those recommended to be given to the A.C.C. should be given to the provincial co-operative banks and there should then be no need to start a separate organisation for this purpose."

The Bombay Government have moved on the same lines in the organisation of its co-operative movement.

Thus on account of these reasons, there is a greater preference for the reorganisation of existing co-operative banks, where necessary, and their expansion and development, than for the establishment of new agricultural credit corporations. It has come to be accepted as a cardinal principle in a large number of States, viz., Bombay, Bihar, and Assam, in the reorganisation of their co-operative movement. It is none the less recognised that the proposals of the Gadgil Committee deserve serious thinking at least in certain selected areas, for instance, in the former Indian States where co-operative credit system is non-existent or cannot be developed easily. But even in these areas it would be better if an already existing institution like the State-owned bank can be reorganised.

The Rural Banking Enquiry Committee (1950) have made the following suggestions:"

(1) No universally applicable pattern or machinery can be laid down for all regions, and that in each region, an adequate machinery should be developed in conformity with local circumstances, traditions and ideas. The Committee has agreed with the Gadgil Committee in having 'as varied a system of institutional finance as possible, for financing agriculture';

(2) The machinery to be developed should be such that it would be able to raise adequate funds by way of share capital and deposits or debentures from the public, not from the State which does not command unlimited financial resources;

(3) In order to tackle properly the problem of rural credit, the machinery to be established for the purpose must keep in view the necessity for tapping rural savings, to obtain funds necessary for its operations;

(4) In any scheme for the setting up of a sound and efficient system of agricultural finance, sufficient emphasis must be laid on the building up of a sound structure of primary institutions whether co-operative credit societies or multi-purpose societies, on the basis of limited liability or unlimited liability, as the case may be;

(5) Provincial Government should arrange and support the establishment of strong multi-purpose societies for each group of contiguous villages by providing the needed staff for inspection and supervision;

(6) As regards the super-structure, while the establishment of new organisations, such as agricultural credit corporations or banks, may be necessary in some regions, full use should be made, as far as possible, of the existing institutions;

(7) Qualified subsidies should be granted to the co-operative institutions to a limited extent in the initial years, in view of the risky character of rural finance, the low rates of interest they are attempting to establish.

The Planning Commission (in the First Five-Year Plan) have suggested:

(a) The establishment, development and extension of co-operative credit societies, as the most effective agency for providing agrarian finance all over India, even to potentially creditworthy cultivators with facilities in regard to the terms of payment or to the rates of interest which would go a long way to improve their productive capacity;

(b) Compensation to be paid by the State to the co-operative societies for the losses they would incur on account of the additional risk;

(c) Eligibility for loans to be determined by the character of the borrowers also who receive and repay loans from the societies.

The Commission also endorsed the recommendations of the Co-operative Planning Committee (1946) to bring in the ambit of primary societies within ten years 50 per cent of villages and 30 per cent of the rural population. They have also realised the necessity of charting three more regional co-operative colleges immediately for the training of personnel of the co-operative department. They have agreed with the Rural Banking Enquiry Committee on the point that co-operatives will have to initiate a drive for tapping local resources and for inculcating the habit of thrift in the local people. As regards the establishment of Apex State Banks in various Part 'B' and 'C' States, the Commission have suggested that the State Government should be able to provide even larger assistance than what they do.

All these suggestions verge only on one point, i.e., the accumulation of funds by tapping local savings by the co-operative societies, for which these societies will have to attract a sufficient amount of deposits or share capital. In other words, the societies will have to attract the villagers to invest in their shares. Obviously those people who have some surplus or savings may do so. But why will they do so is a pertinent question and deserves our attention. In the first place, in the rural areas there are only a few people who have savings to invest anywhere. In the second place, such people who have savings to invest are not, nor do they feel the necessity of becoming the members of the Co-operative Societies which can mobilise their savings for agricultural or

rural purposes. It is a known fact that the funds of such people are either invested in urban enterprises, trades and commerce, or are lent to farmers on higher rate of interest. So long as there is the prospect of getting higher marginal rate of interest on investment of their funds elsewhere, to my mind, there is not even the least chance for the co-operative societies to attract such funds. Even legislations to regulate money-lending have, to a very great extent, dried up the only fount of rural credit or have sent money-lending business underground mostly to evade the various restrictions these legislations have sought to impose on it. The diversion of rural savings into the shares, deposits and debentures of the co-operative societies is possible in two ways alone, i.e., either private money-lending business should completely be made illegal or co-operative societies must pay higher rates of interest to the depositors or higher dividends to the shareholders. The first measure is neither desirable nor practicable in view of its baneful effects on the source of rural credit and of the difficulties in practice. Payment of higher rates of interest or dividends to the depositors and shareholders, etc., is not possible because it will prevent the motto of the co-operative credit—provision of cheap, elastic and prompt agrarian finance—from realisation. Security of repayment of loans will have to be guaranteed by the Government or by the Central or Provincial Co-operative Banks. Thus the scope for the mobilisation of rural savings for the supply of rural credit through the co-operative credit societies at cheaper rates of interest to the rural people is very much limited in the present socio-economic structure of our rural areas.

#### ALL-INDIA RURAL CREDIT SURVEY

In view of the inadequacy of existing data on rural credit, the Reserve Bank of India appointed in 1951 a small 'Committee of Direction' to plan and organise a Rural Credit Survey for the purpose of examining its role in the sphere of rural finance. The field of enquiry covered 1,27,343 families in 600 villages selected in 75 villages. The report of the Committee has just been published in the month of December, 1954.

#### CHIEF RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE COMMITTEE

The chief recommendations of the Committee are, (a) the major reorganisation of Co-operative Credit, (b) of agricultural marketing, and (c) of a sector of Commercial Banking for the benefit of the rural areas, especially of the smaller cultivators and handicraftsmen.

#### THE MAJOR REORGANISATION OF CO-OPERATIVE CREDIT

While conscious of the shortcomings of the co-operative movement at present and its insignificant role in the provision of rural finance,<sup>3</sup> the Committee believes that there is no alternative to the co-opera-

tive form of association in the village for the proper promotion of agricultural credit and development, and as such, the co-operation must be enabled to succeed. The Committee have, therefore, suggested an integrated scheme of rural credit designed to create the conditions necessary for such success.

One of the features of this integrated scheme is the Major State Partnership in co-operative institutions at different levels of the organisation. Along with such partnership by State Governments is envisaged greater collaboration between those Governments and the Reserve Bank, and very considerable financial assistance from the Reserve Bank. The share capital of State Co-operative Banks and Land-Mortgage Banks would be expanded on the basis of 51 per cent of the shares being held by the State. Similar partnership through the apex institutions is provided for in the central banks and even larger sized primary institutions. Wherever necessary, funds for such participation are to be provided by long-term loans made by the Reserve Bank to State Governments out of a National Agricultural Credit (long-term operations) Fund to which the Bank would make an initial allocation of Rs. 5 crores and further annual allocations of Rs. 5 crores. The fund would be utilised also for making medium-term loans to the State Co-operative Banks and long-term loans to the Land-Mortgage Banks, as also for purchasing 'special development debentures' connected with specific projects of irrigation.

#### REORGANIZATION OF AGRICULTURAL MARKETING

The Committee has also suggested the establishment of a National Co-operative Development and Warehousing Board by the Government of India for the planned development of co-operative marketing, processing, storage and warehousing. To it the Government of India will make an annual allocation of Rs. 5 crores which will be divided into two funds: (a) the National Co-operative Development Fund and (b) the National Warehousing Development Fund. From these funds, long-term loans would be advanced or subsidies given to the State Government and to certain institutions. The State Governments would be concerned with the extension of co-operative marketing, co-operative processing, etc. The development of storage and warehousing will be the special function of a statutory body called the All-India Warehousing Corporation. It will be supplemented by State Warehousing Companies, in all of which the Central and State Governments will have the pre-dominant interest.

3. "Out of a total amount of Rs. 750 crores calculated at the current level of borrowing per annum, the Government supplied as little as 3.3 per cent and co-operatives the equally insignificant proportion of 3.1 per cent, whereas the private creditor—the professional moneylender, the agriculturist moneylender and the trader—supplied 70 per cent or more to the total requirements"—'All India Rural Credit Survey' published in the *Statesman* of December 22, 1954, p. 4.

#### REORGANISATION OF A SECTOR OF COMMERCIAL BANKING

The Committee recommended for the establishment of a State Bank which would have a country-wide network of branches provided by the amalgamation of different 'State associated' banks including the Imperial Bank. As a strong integrated, State-sponsored institution, it would be able to provide vastly extended remittance facilities for co-operative and other banks, and thus stimulate the further development of those banks. Moreover, in its loan operations, in so far as these have a bearing on rural credit, the State Bank of India would follow a policy which, while not deviating from the canons of sound business, would be in effective consonance with national policies. The amalgamating banks are to be: The Imperial Bank, the State Bank of Saurashtra, the Bank of Patiala, the Hyderabad State Bank, the Bank of Bikaner, the Bank of Jaipur, the Bank of Rajasthan, the Bank of Baroda, the Bank of Indore, the Bank of Mysore and the Travancore Bank. The share capital of the new bank would be expanded; the additional shares, which would be non-transferable and eligible only for restricted dividends, would be allotted exclusively to the Reserve Bank and the Government of India. These two together would then hold 52 per cent of the total share capital. The State Banks would be expected to follow a programme of rapid expansion of branches to district headquarters and to even smaller centres, but any losses arising from such expansion are to be met from an 'Integration and Development Fund,' created within the institution out of the dividend payable to the Central Government and Reserve Bank and of further contributions made by both these as and when necessary. There is, therefore, to be no reduction in the scope of earning the profits normally available for distribution among private shareholders.

#### CRITICAL SURVEY OF THESE RECOMMENDATIONS

As I have analysed in my last two articles on 'Agrarian Finance in India,' the chief problems of the co-operatives in India have been those of (a) cheap, prompt and elastic supply of finance, (b) of paucity of funds and narrow base, (c) of attracting the well-to-do farmers, Mahajans, etc., to become the members of these co-operatives and to invest their funds in them, at cheaper rates of interest, (d) of reorienting the definition and concept of 'security' and 'creditworthiness' of the borrowers. The provision of finance to the needy farmers is not only a function of the availability of cheap and sufficient supply of funds, but also and more so, of the willingness and the requisite economic capacity of the borrowers. The All-India Rural Credit Survey Committee has calculated that at the current level of borrowing, which makes little allowance for the planned increase in agricultural production, the All-India figure for the loans obtained by the cultivator from all sources may be broadly placed at Rs. 750 crores per annum, of

which only 3.3 per cent are supplied by the State and 3.1 per cent by the co-operatives. It is doubtful whether the scheme of 'major State-partnered co-operatives' alone would provide so much funds to the rural farmers. The problem will be made much more difficult in view of the 'proposed sterilization' in the field of agricultural finance, of the money-lenders who play so vital a role as to supply 70 per cent or more of the total rural credit requirements. Assuming that concentration of landed property in the hands of a few, particularly of the absentee landlords is prevented by means of state measures of fixing the maximum ceiling of land, if the funds of these moneylenders tend to flow to the chests of the Postal Savings Banks, Commercial Banks, etc., certainly the 'proposed sterilization of the money-lenders' funds for agricultural finance would be beneficial to the society in so far as they increase the amount of investable funds both in the private and public sectors which will be expanded very much in the Second Five-Year Plan of India. The integrated scheme of rural credit will set in motion economic forces which will cause circular flow of funds from the farmers in the rural area via the banking institutions to either the Postal Savings Department or to the major State-partnered Bank which will be effectively controlled by the State in the interest of the nation as a whole. To my mind, the scheme of local investment of large funds in rural areas would be better than this circuitous flow of funds from the well-to-do farmers to the needy ones. The Committee should have suggested positive ways and means instead of negative ones of providing an effective institutional alternative and, therefore, a rival to the private moneylenders. Anyway the success of these State-partnered co-operatives will depend upon the degree in which they will provide facilities to the farmers in enabling them to borrow.

As regards the problem of the concept of security and creditworthiness, it remained unsolved. It is not clear whether loans would be advanced to those farmers who either have no lands at all to give as security or have only a few *kathas* which have already been mortgaged. Nor do we know anything about the solution of the problem of rural indebtedness. On the whole, the Report and the recommendations seem to be most opportune inasmuch as (a) it represents a very important development in the country's banking system, (b) it is a major step in reorganisation of the co-operative movement, and (c) it aims at a progressive organisation on a co-operative basis of as large a section of rural economic activity as possible.

(Concluded)

4. "The primary purpose of mobilising rural savings is to make them available for investment in rural development, either directly by the agriculturists themselves or indirectly through projects undertaken by the Government."—*Rural Banking Enquiry Committee Report, 1950, p. 44.*

# THE ROLE OF COMMERCIAL BANKING

## In the Financing of Industries Abroad: and the Problem Before the Indian Banks

By PROF. J. L. DHOLAKIA, M.A.

THERE is a section of opinion in India which holds that, in view of the absence of a well-developed capital market in the real sense of the term, commercial banks should take an active part in the medium-term and long-term financing of industry, both by providing equity capital and long-term loan capital. In other words what is advocated is a mixed banking system which combines investment banking with the usual business of deposit-banking. The problem of financing industries in an economically under-developed country like India is of vital importance and no startling remedies can be provided without the comparative study of mixed banking system in other countries. The comparative study of the role played by commercial banks in financing the industries abroad is of real significance because loose thinking on this subject of the industrial finance has been responsible for unsound banking policies and unhealthy banking functions. The study of ideal organs of finance abroad will be immensely interesting for India, where overriding requirements of a desirable rate of economic development point to the need for increase in the credit facilities provided by the commercial banks while over-all considerations of solvency and liquidity of the banking system entail a cautious credit policy. It is proposed to study several features of commercial banking and industrial finance abroad with a view to draw valuable lessons therefrom. Then it is attempted to evolve a technique of banks' participation in industrial finance in India.

### INDUSTRIAL FINANCE AND THE BANKING SYSTEM IN ENGLAND

The industrial life of England is decidedly longer and more varied than that of any other country in the world. There is a striking similarity between commercial banking and provision of industrial finance in India and that in England because English models have been more or less copied in India. The first thing that strikes an observer in England is that the relations between the British financial world and British industry, as distinguished from British commerce, have "never been very close."<sup>1</sup> The proprietors of British banks have invested a small proportion of their funds in the British industry and the requirements of the industry have been met more by the "extremely varied facilities and unrivalled financial machinery of the English capital market" than by the direct participations of banks in the industrial venture.<sup>2</sup> The Report of the Committee on Finance and

Industry gives reasons for this peculiarity. Industry, while making full use of banking facilities, retained its independence because the financial organization of England was adapted to the needs of her unique economy.

"The exceptional merits of the city of London lay in facilities given by the short-term money market for the employment of home or foreign funds, in the financing of trade and commerce, also both home and foreign, and in the issue of foreign bonds, as distinguished from the financing of British industry; on the other hand, when the British industry began its great growth in the nineteenth century, there was no particular reason why it should look to the London market for the financial requirements. Industry in those days was, so far as each unit was concerned, on a comparatively small scale; the capital was provided privately and was built up and extended out of profits; in so far as it required assistance from banks it found it from independent banks, often family banks, which in general had their headquarters in the provinces, particularly in the Midlands and the North, where the new industries flourished. Moreover, there had existed for many years a large class of investors with means to invest, and who exercised an independent judgment as to how to invest, and who did not rely, as in some countries, entirely on their bankers. Industry, therefore, though making full use of the banking facilities offered by the jointstock banks, maintained its independence of any financial control."<sup>3</sup>

Generally speaking, industrial investment in England has not been guided by the commercial banking system. The real issuer is the company itself, if it is a strong and good one, or a finance company or a syndicate—a few large, many small, some good, some indifferent, some bad—and sometimes it is a company or a syndicate got together for the sole purpose of making a particular issue.<sup>4</sup>

In a striking contrast to the continental system of mixed banking is the English deposit banking which supplies only the current requirements of the industry. Jointstock banks in England collect lodgements from the public and compound these lodgements with their own capital and reserves. Owing to a continuous redistribution of this capital among the points of highest yield they maximise its earning capacity.<sup>5</sup> The continuous redistribution of available

3. *Report of the Committee on Finance and Industry*, London, 1931, pp. 161-62.

4. *Report of the Committee on Finance and Industry*, London, 1931, p. 137.

5. F. Lavington: *The English Capital Market*, London 1929, p. 178.

1. N. Das: *Industrial Enterprise in India*, Chapt. II, p. 29.

2. S. E. Thomas: *British Banks and the Finance of Industry*, London, 1931, p. 138.

funds is performed in the city of London by the short-term money market which supplies day to day needs of industry with an elasticity that is unknown in any other system of the world. This market does not supply credit ranging from one or two up to five years. Also, the long-dated capital is not adequately supplied by this market, this being 'due in part to the historical organization of British industry and to the fact that industry, having grown up on strongly individualistic lines, has been anxious to steer clear of anything which might savour of banking control or even of interference.'

"Though the connection between the British industry and commercial bank has never been very close, banks were making advances for circulating capital to industry for the production and marketing of goods, and secondly, though more rarely, to provide temporary funds pending the issue of long-term capital. In the second case, the proceeds of the capital issue were used to repay the bank."

A change of some significance had occurred in the banking practices of England during the inter-war period. Some banks had become permanent creditors of certain sections of British industry. In most of the heavy industries which had been more or less continuously depressed since 1920, the banks had larger amounts of "frozen advances." Big banks in England had considerable investments in industrial shares and debentures. Post-First World War slump made the English banks investors by necessity, though not by choice. Although the English banks were unwilling to be drawn into a too intimate relationship with the industry, there was still some connection and the historic isolation of banks was fast disappearing. The Macmillan Committee of Finance and Industry had put forth a powerful plea for closer co-operation between industry and finance and, considered that the most beneficial kind of relationship between finance and industry would be one where bankers are able by their continuous relationship with industrialists not only to supplement the information at the disposal of the industrialists themselves but also give aid of very great value in all financial problems.<sup>6</sup>

Even after the end of the Second World War, there were significant changes in the relation between the banks and the industry. Though the industry emerged from the war in a highly liquid condition, its gilt-edged reserves have rapidly depleted by the finance of reconversion to force production at the price level roughly double that of pre-war. Demands on the banks inevitably increased and in spite of the scrupulous avoidance of loans for speculative and other purposes as requested by the Chancellor, the total ad-

vances in July, 1950, were roughly double the lowest figure touched during the war and about 50 per cent higher than in 1938.<sup>10</sup>

This rather too short an account of the relationship between the English banks and industry makes it clear that the banking mechanism cannot isolate itself for long from the requirements of the industry within a dynamic economy that needs credit and capital for growth and its forward movement. Owing to sheer necessity, even conservative traditions of sticking to deposit banking only have, in the interest of growth and extension, to be scrapped. That the intimate contact and co-operation between the banker and the industry is of immense value to both is being realised in England today. But it should not be overlooked that England has a net-work of other financial institutions and a well-developed commercial banking mechanism capable of withstanding any storm. The industry has also well-established traditions, so there is little difficulty in getting accommodation from any source that the industry deems it worthwhile to tap. The problem before the nascent developing economies like India is altogether different. Under-developed economies have yet to develop sound banking practices and to establish new industries by making use of their vast economic potential. The urgent need for rapid industrialisation in India had led many to believe that the banks in India should adopt a forward policy with regard to requirements of the industry. Opinion in India has long favoured the starting of industrial banks on the lines of the German Gross Banken with a view to providing industry with initial capital apparently in the belief that the great German banks are industrial banks whose main concern is the permanent provision of fixed capital to the industry. The misconception about the German banking system had persisted for too long a period. Even the Industrial Commission and witnesses before the Central Banking Inquiry Committee were not wholly free from the misconceived notion of the nature and functions of German banks. Most of the witnesses who advocated the establishment of industrial banks in India before the Industrial Commission and the Central Banking Inquiry Committee Report had the idea in mind that the banks should permanently hold the shares and securities of industrial concerns, and in addition grant short-term and long-term advances on the security of goods and of the fixed assets of the company. Thus in India, the view has been held that German industry depends upon the banks for a part of its block capital, without realizing the fact that the German banks are only intermediaries between the investing public and industrial companies, and that they do not and cannot furnish to the industrial company what the investing public is not prepared to offer.

German banks do not permanently hold the

6. *Report of the Committee on Finance and Industry*, pp. 169-71.

7. P. S. Lokanathan: *Industrial Organisation in India*. George Allen and Unwin, V-D, p. 248.

8. *Committee on Finance and Industry*, Vol. I, Question 2251.

9. *Committee on Finance and Industry*, Report, p. 165.

10. W. Manning Dacey: *The British Banking Mechanism*, p. 188.

shares of the industrial concerns. The German bankers have never usurped the function of the industrialist. There is no English equivalent for the German Aufsichtsrat, which is not identical with the British Board of Directors. It is a board of supervision, and not of Directors.

The practice of jointstock banks in India in regard to industrial finance is largely based on the British tradition of commercial banking, 'under which banks as a rule provide only the working capital requirements of industries principally on the security of floating assets and eschew long-term advances against fixed assets'.<sup>11</sup> The following table gives an analysis of bank advances as on June 30, 1953 according to the purpose:

	TABLE I (Amount in crores of rupees)			Per cent to total advances
	Scheduled Banks	Non-scheduled Banks	Total	
Industry	188.98	6.52	195.50	33.4
Commerce	262.65	18.08	280.73	47.9
Agriculture	22.99	2.12	25.11	4.3
Personal and Professional	41.00	11.28	52.28	8.9
All others	29.25	2.95	32.20	5.5
	544.87	40.95	585.82	100

(Source: *Report of the Committee on Finance for the Private Sector*, Reserve Bank of India, 1954).

Of the total advances of banks amounting to Rs. 582.82 crores, about one-third or Rs. 195.50 crores have been lent to industries. It is very interesting to observe from the distribution of bank advances over various industries that the largest proportion of advances had been made to the cotton industry, aggregating Rs. 51.79 crores, followed by sugar with Rs. 33.17 crores, and engineering with Rs. 14.99 crores. The Table II gives the distribution of these advances over various types of industries:

Type of industries	TABLE II (Amount in crores of rupees)			Total
	Scheduled Banks	Non-Sch. Banks		
Cotton (ginning, pressing, weaving)	50.76	1.03		51.79
Jute	11.92	0.37		12.29
Other textiles	12.47	0.22		12.69
Iron and steel	6.04	0.28		6.32
Coal, other mining and quarrying	4.44	0.22		4.66
Engineering	14.58	0.41		14.99
Sugar	32.74	0.43		33.17
Cement	1.74	—		1.74
Public Utilities	3.75	0.67		4.42
Vegetable oil crushing and refining	8.65	0.60		9.25
Chemicals, dyes and paints	8.44	0.11		8.55
Others	33.45	2.18		35.63
Total	188.98	6.52		195.50

(Source: *The Report of the Commission on Finance for the Private Sector*, p. 45).

A few banks in India do make advances to industries against fixed assets, "but no details are available regarding the total volume of such advances, in any case, we presume that the aggregate amount of such advances is inconsiderable."<sup>12</sup> Although the advances of commercial banks in India are ostensibly for a short-term, a part of these advances is allowed to be released for long-term expenditure. Though this part of finance rolls over, in actual effect it does serve the financial requirements of the industry for a long period to a certain extent. The commercial banks in India also indirectly participate in long-term industrial finance through (a) purchase of shares and debentures of industrial concerns, (b) making advances against shares and debentures, (c) investments in the shares and bonds of the Industries Finance Corporation and the State Financial Corporation.<sup>13</sup> The following table gives the extent of banks' indirect participation in industrial finance:

TABLE III (Amount in crores of rupees)	
1. Investments of scheduled and non-scheduled banks in shares and debentures of Jointstock Company	Rs. 12.23
2. Advances of scheduled banks and non-scheduled banks against such shares and debentures	Rs. 43.34
3. Investments of scheduled banks in the shares and bonds of industrial finance corporation	Rs. 2.71

From the above study it would appear that the share of the commercial banks in long-term lending in India is relatively small. This is due to the nature of their liabilities, which are repayable on demand. There is also a certain degree of risk inherent in the long-term advances to or investments in industry.

The trend of evidence on the subject of the participation by banks in long-term finance has been of a mixed character. *The Report of the Committee for the Finance of the Private Sector* observes:

"While representatives of industries, in general, have asked that banks should make greater finance available to meet the long-term requirements of industry, the bankers have, as a rule, been more circumspect and emphasised that their primary function is to restrict themselves to short-term financing. Some representatives of banks, however, have expressed their readiness to provide long-term finance against fixed assets, provided such advances can be made eligible for borrowing from the Reserve Bank of India."<sup>14</sup>

Thus, a certain important section of the public opinion in India favours the participation of banks in long-term financing. There has also been a

11. *Report of the Committee on Finance for the Private Sector*, Reserve Bank of India, 1954.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 45.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 46.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 46.

demand that the Reserve Bank of India should grant additional credit facilities to commercial banks making medium-term advances against the security of fixed assets. To illustrate, the Federation of Indian Chamber of Commerce and Industry, in their memorandum presented to the Committee on the Finance for the Private Sector (Shroff Committee), stated as follows:

"The first business of the commercial banks is to maintain a liquid position so as to meet all liabilities in time, and this can be ensured only if it would be possible for the scheduled banks to borrow from the Reserve Bank of India against their medium-term or long-term advances. . . . The Reserve Bank has agreed to grant financial facilities to co-operative banks to the extent of Rs. 5 crores against intermediate finance ranging from 3 to 5 years of the co-operative banks. A procedure along similar lines should be adopted so as to enable the banks to meet the intermediate-term requirements of industry. The Reserve Bank should also consider the possibilities of lending to the banks against shares and debentures and fixed assets of industries which are pledged with them as security for loans."

A somewhat similar view has been expressed by the Indian Banks Association who have observed in their memorandum as follows:

"The Reserve Bank should lend readily against the documents created in connection with medium-term and long-term advances made by banks to industrial concerns against the latter's fixed assets. . . . The R.B. should lend readily against the investments of banks in debentures of industrial concerns."

On the other hand, some banks have expressed themselves strongly against any form of direct participation in long-term industrial finance. There is one reason for this, namely, the experience of banks in the past. Although banks in India have generally confined themselves to the provision of working capital, there have been at least three distinct periods in the history of banking when they seem to have made appreciable amounts of long-term finance to Indian industries. Shroff Committee report on the Finance for the Private Sector notes that the first period was during the Swadeshi movement of 1906-13 when a number of banks, especially in the Punjab, participated to a considerable extent in long-term industrial finance. After the First World War certain industrial banks were floated for the specific purpose of promoting and making long-term industrial advances. More recently, during World War II, the failure of a large number of banks in West Bengal has been attributed among other reasons to their long-advances to industrial concerns.<sup>15</sup>

In general, banks appear to be of the opinion that, with their present resources, they cannot parti-

cipate in long-term industrial financing. There is also the consideration of liquidity and it does not appear to be desirable to encourage a tendency on the part of banks to lean on the Reserve Bank for providing liquidity against these advances which they make on their own judgment and initiative. The trend of opinion in India appears to be that even with their present limited resources banks should endeavour to undertake in an indirect manner to provide finance to industries by:

"(a) Adding to their investments in shares and debentures of first class industrial concerns where they are satisfied regarding their transferability and marketability;

"(b) Making larger advances to approved parties against such shares and debentures;

"(c) Subscribing to a greater extent to the shares and bonds of the Industrial Finance Corporation of India and State financial corporations."<sup>16</sup>

These are sound recommendations but in India there is a great desideratum in the financial mechanism in the sense of an adequately developed market which would increase the marketability and transferability of shares and debentures of first class industrial concerns. This becomes a condition precedent to any form of indirect participation of banks in long-term industrial financing. There is another factor which inhibits the investment in shares and bonds of financial corporations by commercial banks. It has been reported that the Reserve Bank accepts the shares of the financial corporations as security for advances to scheduled banks only when they have no Government securities to offer as cover. This practice needs to be modified in the interest of financing the private sector. Shroff Committee Report on the Finance for the Private Sector recommends that the Reserve Bank should treat these trustee securities carrying a guarantee by the Central and State Governments as on par with Government securities for advance under Section (17)(4)(a) of the Reserve Bank of India Act or such terms regarding margins, etc., as the Reserve Bank deems appropriate.<sup>17</sup> The Committee also feels the statutory restrictions placed on the amount of these shares that could be held by different classes of investors are not calculated to ensure the marketability of these shares. The committee is of the opinion that in order to encourage banks to subscribe to or hold larger amounts of these corporations, it is very essential that the liquidity of these investments should be facilitated by removing such restrictions.<sup>18</sup>

A cautious approach for utilizing the resources of commercial banks for industrial development should be the part and parcel of any policy of long-

16. *Ibid.*, p. 48.

17. *Ibid.*, pp. 49-50.

18. *Op. cit.*, p. 50.

15. *Ibid.*, pp. 47-48.

term industrial financing by banks. The overriding requirement is to provide absolute security for the depositors. If industrial financing by banks should raise doubts as to "the solvency of the banking system, deposits would decline, resulting in smaller volume of savings available for developmental activities."<sup>19</sup> Government can ensure the safety of deposits by providing a guarantee to the medium and long-term loans extended by banks. Government could establish a maximum limit for the proprietor of long-term commitments to the total assets of the banks in order to provide for the safety of deposits. But this would not solve the problem of financing the economic development. It is also suggested by some that when a commercial bank undertook medium- and long-term credit operations, the depositor might be protected by handling these operations, in a separate department of the bank, with separate accounts, management and banking regulations.<sup>20</sup> This is indeed a novel suggestion but it does not go very far towards the main problem of reconciling the conflicting claims of liquidity of the banking mechanism and the pressing needs of industrial finance in an economically undeveloped country. The public is the best judge so far as the safety of deposit is concerned; to them it is a question of evolving healthy deposit banking practices. The confidence of the people in the commercial banking mechanism is the sheet-anchor of a sound banking structure. In India, given the vigorous leadership by the Reserve Bank and a continuous initiative by banks to reform their conduct of business, the ideal of a sound banking structure is not an unrealisable distant goal. The sound banking

practices will increase the flow of available savings of the people to the banks. These savings can be properly utilized in long-term financing of the industries without endangering the liquidity and safety of deposits. The development of a market in shares and debentures of the first class industrial concerns and corporations would increase the scope of investment in such shares and debentures by commercial banks in India. The well-developed market in bonds and debentures of the industrial finance corporations is a *sine qua non* of any participation by banks in industrial finance.

The principle of co-operation can also be applied to this sphere also. If lending banks in India co-operate to form a consortium or syndicate for underwriting or investing in new issue of shares and debentures of industrial companies, they can render valuable assistance. Such a consortium could appropriately function under the leadership of the largest jointstock banks in the country, *viz.*, the Imperial Bank of India. At present, the Imperial Bank is prohibited from investing in the shares and debentures of jointstock companies, though it is authorised to accept fully paid up shares as collateral securities for advances. The Report on the Committee of the Finance for the Private Sector notes:

"It is presumed that the present statutory restrictions are relics of the times when the Imperial Bank functioned as a bank to the Government of India. We recommend that in presentday conditions such restrictions are out of date."<sup>21</sup>

The leadership of the Imperial Bank and co-operation of jointstock banks in India could result in a considerable gain to the private sector. The industries would not languish because of the lack of finance.

19. *Domestic Financing of Economic Development*, United Nations Publications, p. 60.

20. *Ibid.* p. 61.

21. *C. J. Cit.*

## THE AVADI SESSION

By PROF. S. N. AGARWAL

THE Sixtieth Session of the Congress at Avadi was, indeed, a very significant and momentous session. Apart from the simple but highly artistic arrangements in Satyamurtinagar, the Presidential Address as well as the resolutions passed by the Session created a new enthusiasm among Congressmen in particular and the people in general. It was clearly laid down that "planning should take place with a view to the establishment of a socialistic pattern of society." In moving the resolution on the subject in the Open Session, Shri Nehru made it very clear that India did not desire to follow the socialistic pattern of other countries in a doctrinaire fashion. India has to evolve her own pattern of a Socialistic State where there will be fuller employment, more production and equitable distribution of the

national wealth. Resolutions on International Affairs, Economic Policy, Unity and Integration, Purity and Strengthening of Organisation, Constructive and Developmental work, Bhoodan and Sampattidan, Agrarian Reforms and Rural Credit and Basic Education were important from several points of view. These resolutions indicated that the Congress was vitally interested in all the internal as well as international problems of the day and was determined to bring about a new social and economic order with a sense of urgency. The Avadi Session solemnly resolved to liquidate unemployment and to reconstruct the educational system on the basic pattern within a period of ten years. This is not an ordinary pledge or determination. To bring about a socio-economic revolution in the country through

peaceful and democratic means would require hard and honest work with a goodwill and co-operation of the people.

There has been some controversy about the contents of the socialistic pattern envisaged by the Congress. Various resolutions recently passed by the Congress in regard to its economic policy make it abundantly clear that the basic aims of economic reconstruction in India are full employment, greater production and social and economic equality. In order to achieve these objectives, it is necessary to build up basic or key industries under social ownership or control. But so far as consumer goods industries are concerned every attempt has to be made to develop them on decentralised and co-operative basis in order to increase production as well as provide better facilities for unemployment. Shri U. N. Dhebar in his Presidential Address at Avadi observed that India cannot keep a Communist or a socialist pattern of the Western type.

"We would now go ahead and mobilise our strength and our resources to the fullest extent in the channel of development of cottage and small-scale industries."

Shri Dhebar also laid emphasis on the reservation of spheres for small-scale and cottage industries in relation to large-scale industries. This unambiguous stand on the part of the Congress, he hoped, would clear "all misapprehensions in the minds of our colleagues working under the guidance of Shri Vinobaji and other constructive workers." Shri Nehru in the course of his report to the A.I.C.C. at Avadi observed:

"However fast we may develop our big industries, it is inevitable that great emphasis should be laid on the widespread development of small-scale and cottage industries. The Congress has always stood for cottage industries. Today the need for their growth is even more important as in no other way can we absorb the unemployed and add substantially to our production."

While speaking on the resolution on the Socialistic Pattern in the Subjects Committee, Shri Nehru thought that the word Sarvodaya was the best and most expressive term for the kind of society envisaged by the Congress. He did not, however, like to "exploit" the term Sarvodaya for political purposes. Apart from its economic aspect Sarvodaya was a way of life embodying the high ideals

preached by Mahatma Gandhi. It was, therefore, not fair to use this word in a cheap manner. But it is as clear as day-light that in an under-developed country like India, socialism can only mean the Sarvodaya pattern of society where there is ample opportunity for the growth and development of the individual as well as society through widespread decentralisation of political and economic power.

The resolution on basic education also deserved special attention. The Congress has now made it amply clear that the basic system of education is "eminently suitable for the needs and conditions of India." The Congress has also called upon all the State Governments "to further, as early as possible, this policy so as to implement it fully in both rural and urban areas in a systematic and well-planned manner within a period of ten years." Today we have to face the paradox of large-scale unemployment among the educated youngmen on the one hand and the dearth of trained personnel for the execution of our developmental schemes on the other. This paradox can be resolved only by introducing the principles of basic education in our existing educational institutions. It is hoped that all the State Governments would take up this matter in all seriousness so that our educational system may be suitably integrated with the actual requirements of national development. Without such co-ordination and integration it will be difficult to achieve speedy social and economic development of the country.

The Avadi Session of the Congress did not indulge in platitudes and pious hopes. It asked Congressmen to set their own house in order and resolve to work ceaselessly for bringing about a Welfare or a Sarvodaya society as speedily as possible. This solemn resolve throws a great responsibility on all of us. We have to work for the achievement of our ideal in a "do or die" spirit. Shri Nehru gave us a new slogan at the Ajmer Session of the A.I.C.C. "*Aram Haram Hai*"—it is sin to rest. There can be no rest for any one of us so long as the social and economic conditions of India do not register a definite change for the better. All of us, therefore, must move forward towards our goal with courage of conviction and unshakable faith in the nobility of our mission.



# WELFARE EXPENDITURE IN INDIA

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THE idea of a Welfare State is embodied in the Indian Constitution under the directive principles of State policy. Though these principles cannot be enforced by any court of law, the State will always regard them fundamental to the governance of the country. The recent declaration of the Prime Minister of India regarding the achievement of socialistic ideals is a testimony to the fact that practical solutions are being sought to be achieved in the spirit of the directive principles. The main functions of a Welfare State are to ensure a living wage, free and compulsory education, a proper level of nutrition and public health, a proper standard of living, just and humane conditions of work for all citizens, so that each individual should have full opportunities to lead a complete life. In fact, the five great evils, namely, ignorance, squalor, idleness, want and disease should have no place in a State where welfare ideals have been accepted. These five giants cannot be eliminated overnight and to eliminate them the State has to put in constant and continuous efforts. It may be pointed out that in India, for the attainment of free and compulsory education, a period of ten years is laid down.

The chief features of economic and social conditions in India are a low per capita income, unemployment, illiteracy, poor health and backwardness, and to remove these or to curb them down, we require material and human resources. So far as human resources are concerned, India is rich enough and can afford to lend millions to any other country on reasonable terms but with regard to material resources, like other under-developed countries, India suffers a lot. There are financial stringencies and to undertake welfare services a sufficient amount of expenditure is needed. To finance such expenditure, particularly when expenditure on security services, defence services, foreign relations and civil administration is very high, is a difficult task. India's first Five-Year Plan provides expenditure for welfare services amounting to Rs. 599.81 crores out of the total expenditure of Rs. 2244 crores. The welfare expenditure includes expenditure on education, health, housing, labour and labour welfare, amelioration of backward classes and scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, rehabilitation and unemployment and accounts for 26.7 per cent of the total plan outlay. The original Five-Year Plan embodied Rs. 2069 crores as capital outlay for socio-economic development of the country but the magnitude of unemployment necessitated that Rs. 175 crores should be made available to decrease unemployment. The second Five-Year Plan is to start from the next year. As stated by Mr. C. D. Deshmukh it is likely to undertake an expenditure of Rs. 5000 crores, both in the public and private sectors. The main

emphasis in the next Plan period will be to provide suitable employment for the unemployed and under-employed persons. Thus gradually the foundations of a Welfare State are being laid down. Though importance which ought to have been given to welfare services has not been given, the tendency of incurring more and more expenditure on these services may be witnessed. For the development of the rural sector of Indian economy, rural extension service and Community Projects schemes have been set up which are covering one out of every eight villages in India.

We shall make a detailed study of advances made during the last seven years on the problems of education, health, labour, welfare, uplift of the backward classes, rehabilitation of displaced persons, famine relief and protection of the infirm and destitute. During the last few years in the extension and advancement of welfare services our Central and State Governments have taken lead upon other social agencies. Local bodies, which are in direct contact with the public, both in urban and rural areas have also shown keen interest in the problem of social welfare. There are more than 10000 voluntary and private organisations engaged in the social and economic development of the country. These voluntary organisations collect funds from charitable endowments and trusts, contributions, donations and gifts to the tune of Rs. 50 crores every year and more than Rs. 25 crores are spent on welfare services in the same year. We are also receiving foreign aid from various foreign governments, international organisations such as Unesco, WHO, Unicef, FAO and foreign private institutions like Rockefeller Foundation and Ford Foundation, for specific welfare programmes. In the years 1951-53 such kinds of foreign aid amounted to Rs. 155.3 crores. In this article the expenditure of Central and State Governments on welfare services will be studied.

## RURAL WELFARE

The problem of rural welfare has got great importance because 84.6 per cent of India's population are living in villages. The Father of the Nation said, "India's soul lies in villages." Because of these facts the Planning Commission gave priority to the development of the rural sector. It may be mentioned that agriculture and community development and irrigation cover 25.6 per cent of the total plan outlay. To improve agricultural production, Community Projects and National Extension Services (NES) have been introduced. Community Projects schemes were started on October 2, 1952, the birthday of Gandhiji. Inauguration was made with 55 projects, each covering 300 villages. Each project is divided into three blocks and covers a population of 2 lakhs. The expenditure on each project in five years will amount to Rs. 45



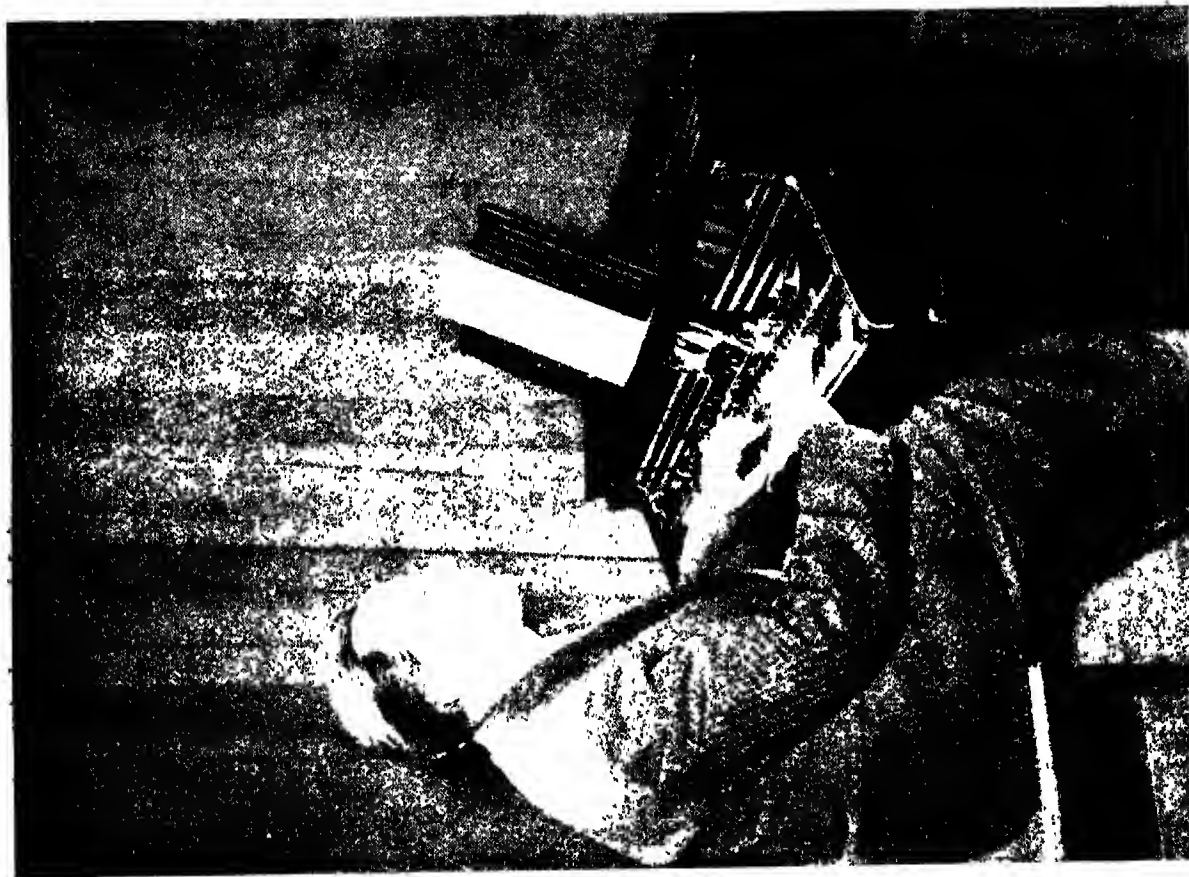
A blind person operating a machine



Dr. Helen Keller and her Secretary Miss Polly Thomson (right)



Tz'u Par-shi, the people's artist of China (*water colour*)  
By Victor Khlamashin  
The USSR Art Exhibition



I View) by playing the new electric musical instrument "V-8"  
P. 207 by Evzenkum

lakhs. Main functions of the Community Projects are to popularise the scientific means of cultivation, to increase agricultural production, to provide supplementary occupations to the surplus labour force and to bring improvements in village structure by voluntary labour and by the application of co-operative principle. Though the State will assist the villagers by organising research, supplies and services and credit, projects should be self-sufficient in other aspects. The Prime Minister of India said that "it is the dynamo providing the motive force behind the Five-Year Plan." The N.E.S. was inaugurated in April, 1953, in order to carry modern methods of agriculture to the doors of the farmers, besides reorienting their outlook in other walks of life. During the Plan period 25 per cent of the total rural population will be covered by the extension service and the entire country in 10 years. Under the Five-Year Plan during the first three years Rs. 107.6 crores have been spent on agriculture and community development out of Rs. 373.7 crores provided in the Plan. It may be pointed out that development of agriculture is a states-subject. Therefore, apart from the expenditure undertaken under the Plan, State Governments have made provisions in their budgets for rural development. Though expenditure made by the State Governments deals with the economic aspect of village life, yet to detach it from a broader social aspect will be a mistake. The expenditure made in the rural sector by the States from 1948-49 is as follows:

TABLE I  
*Rural Services Expenditure\* and Total  
Expenditure (in Crores of Rupees)*

	Part A States		Part B States	
	Rural services expenditure	Total expenditure	Rural services expenditure	Total expenditure
1948-49	17.04	250.52	—	—
1949-50	20.90	287.29	—	—
1950-51	21.74	293.08	5.37	91.93
1951-52	23.47	309.11	4.59	100.53
1952-53	23.72	329.37	6.06	104.88
1953-54	20.74	343.21	6.26	116.21
1954-55	22.89	400.89	6.68	127.64

It may be observed from Table I that expenditure on rural welfare is increasing from the last six years. In Part A States in the year 1948-49, total expenditure made available for rural development amounted to Rs. 17.04 crores whereas in 1953-54 and 1954-55 it amounted to Rs. 20.74 crores and Rs. 22.89 crores respectively. Since the dawn of independence, in the year 1952-53, expenditure for the rural welfare was highest. The increase in expenditure in Assam is approximately fourfold from the year 1948-49 to the current year. As regards Part A States, except for Bombay, Punjab and U.P. all other States showed a

significant increase. In spite of the increase, per capita aggregate expenditure in Part A States in the current year is very low. In terms of percentage it is 5.75 per cent of the total expenditure. In case of Part B States the increase in expenditure is not very great. In the year 1950-51, it was Rs. 5.37 crores and in the current year it is Rs. 6.68 crores. As regards Part B States, except for Mysore all other States provided every year, more and more for rural development. In the year 1954-55, Part B States, budgeted 5 per cent of Rs. 127.64 crores (total expenditure) for rural development. If the expenditure on irrigation be included in the rural welfare expenditure, the percentage for rural welfare will go to approximately 10 per cent in case of Part A States and 9 per cent in case of Part B States. It may be pointed out that the estimate of expenditure for the industrial development during the current year is Rs. 8.59 crores and Rs. 8.16 crores in Part A States and Part B States respectively. The combined expenditure for rural welfare in Part A States amounts to Rs. 48.99 crores in the year 1954-55, which is 12 per cent of the total expenditure. In the same year, 16 per cent of the total expenditure has been set aside for rural development, in case of Part B States. The expenditure being made for rural development is much lower than the necessary outlay. In order to accelerate the work of development in the rural sector the expenditure must be increased. This will decrease the inequality of income prevalent between urban and rural sectors which may attract our educated youth towards the countryside.

#### EDUCATION

Since the dawn of independence the role of education has increased. It is not in the interest of democracy to allow 90 per cent of population to remain illiterate. The Directive Principles of State Policy say that

"The State shall endeavour to provide, within a period of 10 years from the commencement of the Constitution, free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of 14 years."

India is a poor country and the per capita income is just sufficient to maintain a person at a subsistence level. Children from an early age are asked to help parents in the task of making both ends meet. Education not only proves a liability for small pockets but also turns small pockets smaller. Therefore it is one of the duties of the State to see that its citizens are well-equipped to shoulder future responsibilities. Prime Minister Nehru rightly said that

"I do not care what happens to you grown-ups, but I do care what happens to children, for they are the India of tomorrow."

It is roughly estimated that half of the total income of the State Governments might be required to put into practice the Article 45 of the Indian

\* Rural services expenditure includes expenditure on agriculture, rural development, veterinary and co-operation.

Constitution concerning free and compulsory education for all children under 14 years.

Out of the total Plan outlay Rs. 155.66 crores have been provided for education to be spent in the course of 5 years of which Rs. 116.37 crores will be financed by the State Governments and Rs. 39.02 crores by the Central Government. During the first three years of the Plan (1951-54) Rs. 73.00 crores could be spent on education. Apart from the provision provided in the Plan State Governments have budgeted in their budgets, expenditure on education, which during the last few years was as follows:

TABLE II

*Expenditure on Education (in crores of Rs.)*

	1950-51	1951-52	1952-53	1953-54	1954-55
Part A States	43.55	45.46	49.61	48.33	61.54
Part B States	14.36	15.81	17.42	18.74	20.60
Total					
expenditure	57.91	61.27	67.03	67.07	82.14

In Part A States total expenditure on education in 1950-51 amounted to Rs. 43.55 crores and in the current year Rs. 61.54 crores have been budgeted. Practically, all States have shown increase in expenditure on education except Madras. Per capita education expenditure in Bombay is the highest and in Orissa lowest, among the Part A States. Bombay is spending double the aggregate expenditure being spent in other Part A States. Expenditure in the current year in Part A States on education is 15 per cent of the total expenditure, whereas in 1948-49 it was 12.5 per cent of the total expenditure.

In Part B States total expenditure budgeted during the current year is Rs. 20.60 crores, whereas in 1950-51 it was Rs. 14.36 crores. In the years 1951-52 and 1952-53 expenditure on education amounted to Rs. 15.81 crores and Rs. 17.42 crores respectively and in the subsequent year it was Rs. 18.74 crores. There has been a gradual increase in expenditure in all the States from 1950-51. Part B States are spending more than Part A States on education. It may be pointed out that in Part B States per capita education expenditure in 1952-53 was Rs. 2.57 and in Part A States Rs. 1.78. In Mysore and Travancore-Cochin, 57 per cent and 98.8 per cent respectively, of children in age group 6-11 were attending school, and these two States are spending the highest per capita expenditure on education among Part B States whereas Rajasthan is at the bottom. In Part B States the increase in expenditure on education is more than the proportionate increase in total expenditure. (Ref. Table I).

Every year the Central and State Governments and other agencies are spending Rs. 115 crores on education. It has been estimated by the Committee on Ways and Means of Educational Development that India requires Rs. 400 crores every year for education to achieve one of the Directive Principles of

State Policy. When will this huge expenditure be made available, depends on the speed of progress of the Five-Year Plan.

#### HEALTH

Social and economic planning involves improvement in the health programmes. To increase the capacity to work it is necessary that the adjustment of the individual should be brought about to physical and social environments. Not only the diseases which are responsible for high infant and maternal mortality are to be cured but preventive measures are also to be adopted to uproot them. The average expectation of life in India is very low and the death rate is very high. The respiratory diseases and epidemic diseases show a sorry plight. Bhore Committee found in 1946 that the main causes for the poor health of Indians were unhygienic environments, bad housing conditions, inadequate sanitary arrangements, poor nutrition and insufficient medical facilities. The Committee recommended an outlay of Rs. 300 crores per annum in order to raise the standard of public health in India. The actual expenditure undertaken by the State Governments may be seen below:

TABLE III

*Expenditure on Medical and Public Health*

*(in crores of rupees)*

	1950-51	1951-52	1952-53	1953-54	1954-55
Part A States	19.83	22.48	23.38	22.50	27.45
Part B States	6.28	7.22	7.85	8.64	9.24
Total					
expenditure	16.11	29.70	31.23	31.14	36.69

The expenditure on health has increased from Rs. 19.83 crores in 1950-51 to Rs. 27.45 crores in 1954-55, in Part A States. In the years 1951-52 and 1952-53 total expenditure on public health amounted to Rs. 22.48 crores and Rs. 23.38 crores. The expenditure on medical service is curative and the expenditure on health is preventive. In 1952-53, Part A States set aside 7 per cent of their total expenditure for public health but in the current year the percentage is slightly lower. Per capita expenditure on public health in industrially advanced States, Bombay and West Bengal, is higher than the per capita aggregate expenditure in Part A States. In the year 1952-53, West Bengal spent Rs. 1.97 on each individual.

In Part B States total expenditure on public health increased from Rs. 6.28 crores in 1950-51 to Rs. 9.24 crores in 1954-55. Among Part B States, Mysore is spending highest and Hyderabad lowest, on public health. In 1952-53, public health expenditure of Part B States accounted for 7.1 per cent of the total expenditure. In comparison to Part A States, Part B States are spending more, per capita, on public health. The former had Rs. 0.84 and the latter Rs. 1.16 in 1952-53 (per capita).

In addition to the expenditure made available from Revenue Account for public health some States

have undertaken capital outlay and have incurred expenditure on drainage schemes, improvement of water supply, water works, pumping station and pipe lines. Including all such kinds of expenditure, 1.55 annas and 1.12 annas, was a per capita, per month expenditure in Part B States and Part A States, respectively, in 1952-53. The sad plight of medical facilities in rural areas in 1951-52 was that for every 120 villages there was one dispensary. Under the Five-Year Plan steps are being taken to provide medical facilities to the rural population with the help of mobile dispensaries. In order to provide medical facilities within the reach of each individual, Yunani and Ayurvedic forms of medicines are being subsidised. Out of the total expenditure of Rs. 99.55 crores provided in the Five-Year Plan, the Centre's share is Rs. 17.87 crores and the share of States is Rs. 82.24 crores. The expenditure actually made during the first three years of the Plan is Rs. 43.19 crores. The increasing expenditure on health, it is feared, may increase the rate of growth of population and may set aside the targets of the Plan. Therefore, it is suggested that family planning programme should be given extensive propaganda.

#### DISPLACED PERSONS

The problem of rehabilitation of displaced persons, though different from other social problems, has got an equally great importance. The number of displaced persons rehabilitated during the last seven years is 75 lakhs. More are pouring in from East Pakistan. The Government of India took the responsibility of rehabilitation of displaced persons and have spent more than Rs. 200 crores since independence. The main problems of displaced persons were accommodation and gainful employment. The expenditure incurred by the Government of India and State Governments is as follows:

TABLE IV  
*Expenditure on Displaced Persons*  
(in crores of rupees)

	Central Government	Part A States	Part B States	Total expenditure
1947-48	2.72	4.24	—	6.96
1948-49	15.20	4.04	—	19.24
1949-50	12.28	2.65	—	14.93
1950-51	8.73	3.50	.08	12.31
1951-52	13.34	1.06	.53	14.93
1952-53	7.70	.67	.43	8.80
1953-54	12.68	—	—	12.68
1954-55	10.24	—	—	10.24

The expenditure of the Government of India on rehabilitation of displaced persons in the year 1948-49 was Rs. 15.20 crores, and the total expenditure incurred by the Central and State Governments amounted to Rs. 19.24 crores. Due to the decreased influx of refugees from Pakistan, expenditure in the subsequent years also decreased. The first Five-Year Plan has

provided Rs. 85 crores for rehabilitation of displaced persons and the expenditure undertaken during the first three years of the Plan amounted to Rs. 77.74 crores. The scheme of compensation was sanctioned by the Government of India in the end of 1953. The compensation to displaced persons will be a percentage of total loss of immovable properties in West Pakistan. The amount sanctioned in the current year to be paid as compensation is Rs. 4 crores which will be charged to capital account and will ultimately be transferred to Revenue Account. The evacuee property left by Muslim emigrants amount to Rs. 200 crores and the expenditure incurred by the Government of India in the form of construction of houses and loan advances amount to Rs. 85 crores. Both these items will form part of the compensation to be paid to displaced persons in order to make good, losses accrued to them for no fault of their own.

#### LABOUR WELFARE

Article 32 of the Constitution says that "the State shall within the limits of its economic capacity and development, make effective provision for securing the right to work, to education and public assistance in case of unemployment, old age, sickness, disablement and other cases of undeserved want." The Labour Ministries are functioning, both at the Centre and in the States. The problem of labour welfare has been recognised and accepted. The schemes of Employees State Insurance have been started, and are to be financed by the State, the employers and the employees and will provide medical benefit, sickness benefit, maternity benefit, disablement benefit and dependants' benefit. Under the Five-Year Plan a sum of Rs. 6.91 crores has been provided. During the first three years of the Plan Rs. 3.09 crores have been spent on labour welfare.

#### WELFARE OF DEPRESSED CLASSES

In the Five-Year Plan a sum of Rs. 28.87 crores has been provided for the upliftment of backward classes and scheduled castes and tribes. These backward classes are the victim of historical causes. Due to social, economic and political disabilities they have not been able to develop their faculties and have been suppressed to a position of lower class citizens. The total population of these degraded citizens according to the 1951 Census is 7.04 crores which is roughly 20 per cent of the total population. In order to find out measures for the upliftment of backward classes a 'Backward Classes Commission' under the Chairmanship of Sri Kaka Saheb Kalelkar has been appointed. The Commission is to investigate a composite plan for the uplift of depressed classes. At present these backward classes are being provided educational concessions, vocational training schemes and reservation in services. In order to provide the proper representation in the Parliament and Legis-

lative Assemblies, seats for them have been reserved. For the upliftment of Tribal People, under the Government of India a North-East Frontier Agency has been set up. Out of the total Rs. 28.87 crores provided in the Five-Year Plan for the welfare of backward classes, Rs. 14.61 crores were spent in the first three years of the Plan. It is hoped that more emphasis will be given to uplift these down-trodden citizens of India.

#### FOOD SUBSIDY

In order to provide relief to poor classes and middle classes who were hit hard by the increasing prices the Union Government and the State Governments provided food subsidy. From the year 1948-49 the money made available to subsidise food may be seen below:

TABLE V

*Expenditure on Food Subsidy (in crores of Rs)*

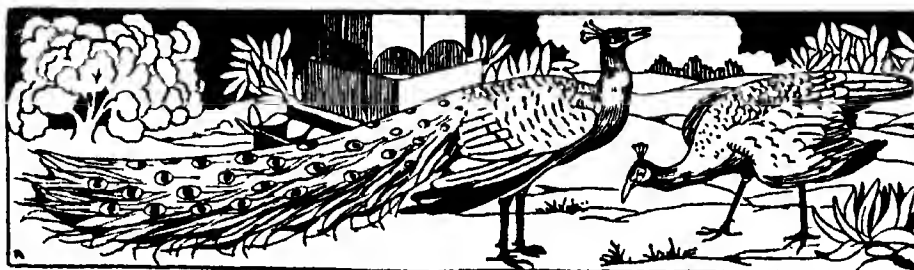
	Union Government	Part A States	Part B States expenditure	Total
1948-49	31.64	0.69	—	32.33
1949-50	27.54	0.76	—	28.30
1950-51	28.61	3.17	2.18	33.96
1951-52	50.78	4.19	2.46	57.43
1952-53	25.54	4.69	2.31	32.54
1953-54	2.61	4.68	2.32	9.61
1954-55	.52	3.41	2.05	5.98

The total expenditure made available by the Union and State Governments as food subsidy in 1948-49 amount to Rs. 32.33 crores. In the year 1951-52, the expenditure was higher and amounted to Rs 57.43 crores. In the subsequent years food subsidy was gradually withdrawn, therefore, expenditure decreased and amounted to Rs. 5.98 crores in 1954-55. India's past history shows that she had been haunted by famines and the measures provided to help the people of famine-stricken areas were inadequate. The inadequacy of measures resulted in a loss of millions of human beings and cattle. In order to provide famine relief in time a consolidated fund by the Union and State Governments has been set up. The fund will provide an emergency social service.

Some start has been made in the fields discussed

above. There are explored but untouched fields where start is yet to be made for social upliftment. The untouched fields may result in lop-sided development of individuals and groups in a Welfare State. For the rehabilitation of vagrants, criminals and delinquents no adequate measures have been taken and to protect the infirm and destitute no legislative code has come forward. Because of the Prime Minister's initiative welfare of children and youth have been undertaken but a lot remains to be done for women's welfare, including immoral traffic in women and removal of prostitution. The housing condition practically remains the same as it was seven years back. The factory workers continue to live in slums where it is injurious for a sane person to live in. The *aashatas* of Kanpur continue to accommodate workers and in certain places a single room is accommodating as many as seven members of a family. No such scheme has been taken up where the non-voluntary unemployed could be provided relief. Though the Prime Minister's Fund has been raised in order to provide relief to victims of natural calamities, no regular steps have been undertaken to eliminate these calamities. There is no guarantee that the State will protect these unfortunate victims next year. The Welfare State should not allow such a state of affairs to continue.

We require huge capital to raise the economic standard of the masses and to remove certain social evils of the society. The expenditure can be financed by tapping new tax resources and by increasing intensively and extensively the existing resources. Mr. Deshmukh said that if any Finance Minister was to say that the limit on assessment of land revenue had been reached in his State he would dismiss that statement as unworthy of consideration. There are untapped fields which are to be brought into the tax structure. Like the State of Uttar Pradesh, every State should also create a ministry of social welfare which should present the welfare budget separately on the lines of other ministries' budgets. Anyway, the aims of a Welfare State must be achieved as early as possible so that social security and social justice may be made available to the citizens as a civic right.



# THE WORLD'S NEWS AGENCIES

## A Comparative Study

(Contributed)

THE Soviet Government's news and information agency, *Tass*, reaches almost 40 per cent of the world's population, according to a study of world and telegraphic news agencies, issued by the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (*Unesco*) in 1954.

The coverage estimated for *Tass*, says *Unesco*, is less than that of the three United States News agencies combined—the Associated Press, United Press, and International News Service—which supply news to approximately 65 per cent of the world's people. The news service range of *Tass* is also less than that of *Reuters* (British), which reaches 55 per cent of the world's people and the French *AFP* which is read by 54 per cent of the world's people.

A further comparative study of regular commercial news agencies, official government information services, and *Tass* (whose organization is unique among the world's news gathering and disseminating agencies) is of interest.

### ASSOCIATED PRESS OF AMERICA

The Associated Press of America is the world's oldest and largest news gathering organization. It is a mutual, non-profit co-operative enterprise maintained and controlled by the newspapers and radio and television stations which share in the collection and dissemination of news. The Associated Press had its beginning in 1848, about the time Samuel F. B. Morse introduced his "electrical telegraph." At that time six New York City newspapers, each struggling to gather its own news at burdensome expense, agreed to co-operate on the project and share the costs.

Because of the diverse editorial viewpoints of the six newspapers, it was agreed that the news gathered by the Associated Press should be impartial, factual, objective—a novelty to news-handling practices of those days. Lawrence A. Gobright, an AP reporter in Washington during Abraham Lincoln's time, was the first to summarize an AP man's creed, which still stands. Gobright said: "My business is to communicate facts. My instructions do not allow me to make any comment upon the facts. My dispatches are sent to papers of all manner of politics. I, therefore, confine myself to what I consider legitimate news, try to be truthful and impartial."

By 1900, the year of incorporation of the present-day AP, the number of participating newspapers had grown from 6 to 612. Because it is owned by its members on a co-operative basis, the AP has no stock, makes no profits and declares no dividends. Its annual news service budget exceeds \$28,000,000. More than 7,000 newspapers and radio and television stations throughout the world share its news. Of this total, 1,744 newspapers and 1,376 radio and television stations are in the United States.

The AP has about 3,000 fulltime employees throughout the world, with about 900 of these in the foreign service. There are nearly 100 bureaus in the United States and 50 more overseas, all manned by AP staffers. In addition, thousands of "string" correspondents funnel into the bureaus news from outlying territories. AP members also contribute their local news to the news report. All told, approximately 100,000 persons are mobilized into the AP news coverage organization.

The communications system includes 350,000 miles of leased teleprinter circuits in the United States, the only leased news wire cable across the Atlantic, a teleprinter circuit connecting the principal European capitals and radiotype circuits to the Latin American countries and the Far East. Approximately 1,000,000 words of news—equal to seven or eight average-length novels—are produced by the Associated Press every 24 hours.

Included in its picture service is AP wirephoto, a system of transmitting news pictures by means of electrical impulses over the wires simultaneously to a farflung network of receiving points. News pictures can be sent on the network from virtually every part of the country by means of portable wirephoto transmitters. This high fidelity network is in addition to the news wire circuits and amounts to 25,000 more wire miles.

The Associated Press inaugurated this picture service on the New Year's eve, 1934. More than 300 newspapers receive spot pictures on the direct wire network, plus hundreds more who subscribe to the service through expedited airmail and train delivery. AP is also the largest distributor of news pictures in Europe.

AP members are also eligible for AP newsfeatures, a department that specializes in featured articles, columns, feature picture displays and comics. AP newsfeatures for the past several years has published 17 highly successful supplements averaging 16 pages each that have been expanded by subscribing newspapers to 64 pages through local advertising.

The Associated Press also provides a picture library service through Wide World Photos, Inc. Its files contain an estimated 60,000,000 news and feature pictures.

### REUTERS NEWS AGENCY

Founded in 1849 as a small news sheet published in Paris under the editorship and management of the German-born Baron Paul Julius de Reuter, Reuters news agency was gradually expanded and finally passed into the ownership of British newspapers in the early thirties. Principal news agencies in many countries are now affiliated with Reuters.

In the mid-forties Reuters decided to support the move in the United States for freedom of international news and for the abolition of the system of government controlled news agencies throughout

the world. A declaration to this effect was eventually written into Reuters' new contracts with other news agencies. Like other international news agencies throughout the free world, Reuters has expanded its scope and services in different countries since World War II as a natural result of the healthy competition that has been evident in the world news coverage in the postwar period.

In addition to its services of imperial and foreign political news, Reuters has increased considerably, especially in Europe and the Far East, its special services of commercial and financial prices. The agency has also built up, since 1944, a very large picture service in the United Kingdom as a subsidiary enterprise.

In 1946, Reuters entered a new phase in its history by extending its ownership to newspapers outside of the United Kingdom and by the end of 1950 it was owned and operated in partnership with the press in Australia, New Zealand and India and had a member from each of these three countries on its Board of Trustees.

#### INDIAN NEWS AGENCIES

##### *Associated Press of India-Press Trust of India :*

The Associated Press of India was founded in Madras in 1910 by the late K. C. Roy who became a trusted confidant of every political party in India because of his burning desire for Indian nationalism. In 1913, Roy accepted an offer for amalgamation with Reuters. At this time the Indian Government also felt the need for a telegraphic news service and Roy started a small two-page news bulletin known as the "Indian News Agency" which was distributed to leading civil and military officers as well as to small newspapers in India. This service was, however, discontinued in 1948.

In 1919, the Associated Press of India became a full-fledged subsidiary of Reuters and K. C. Roy worked for Reuters until his death in 1931. During his lifetime Roy dreamed of making the Associated Press of India a great national news agency of India to be owned by the Indian press. This dream was fulfilled when in 1948 the Indian newspapers joined hands and formed the Press Trust of India with the object of establishing a co-operatively owned internal news agency. The same year PTI signed a three-year contract with Reuters by which it took over the Associated Press of India and joined Reuters as an equal partner in the collection and dissemination of world news. This agreement was, however, terminated in 1952. PTI now purchases Reuters services in bulk and distributes it to its subscribers throughout India.

Like the Associated Press of America, PTI also is a non-profit enterprise. Its daily output of national and international news was estimated by the Indian Press Commission (1954) to be around 46,000 words.

*United Press of India :* Founded in 1933 as a public company, the United Press of India is the second-most important independent news agency with a very large clientele in India. During World War II

the agency had a hard time as it had to compete, through normal telegraphic channels, with the API which had teletype facilities. In spite of these difficulties UPI's service was quite extensive.

In May, 1948, UPI opened its teletype circuits between Delhi, Calcutta and Bombay and now the agency has 25 bureaus throughout India, most of which are linked by teletype.

By an agreement with the Agence France Presse, UPI has also been providing foreign news to the Indian press since April, 1951. According to the Indian Press Commission, its daily service of national and international news is around 17,000 words.

None of these agencies tolerates any pressures from the government of their respective countries, because, as the Indian Press Commission said, "The fact that the Government is our own does not make the slightest difference to the basic objection to any sort of Government control or interference" in the matter of factual reporting of news.

#### ROLE OF GOVERNMENT INFORMATION AGENCIES

In this age of dynamic international relationships official government information agencies also have a distinct role to play. Governments of many of the major countries have, accordingly, launched their own information programs since World War II. Defining the role of his own Government's information program in July, 1953, President Eisenhower said :

"It is not enough for us to have sound policies, dedicated to goals of universal peace, freedom and progress. These policies must be made known to and understood by all peoples throughout the world. That is the responsibility of the new United States Information Agency."

The President's directive also contained the following statement of purpose for the agency :

"The purpose of the United States Information Agency shall be to submit evidence to peoples of other nations by means of communications techniques that the objectives and policies of the United States are in harmony with and will advance their legitimate aspirations for freedom, progress and peace."

The U.S. Information Agency known abroad as the U.S. Information Service is now carrying on this mission in 77 countries through various media of which a daily press service is only one.

Similarly, the British Information Services, as part of the British diplomatic missions, also carry out a considerable press information program throughout the world as does the Government of India which, on a smaller scale and through their diplomatic missions abroad, also maintains a foreign information program.

However, Tass an official agency discharges obligations to the Soviet Government which are not incumbent on a press service operated under private enterprise nor official government information services, such as those maintained by India, the United States, and United Kingdom.

Unlike the other international news agencies, Tass is a "department of the Soviet State," according to a

deposition by the Soviet Ambassador to the United Kingdom, made in 1949. However, unlike the official government information services, such as those supported by the United States, the United Kingdom and India, *Tass* also attempts to maintain the fiction that it is a bona-fide news agency. Its claim to the latter status seems somewhat dubious however.

Called in defence of a libel suit against *Tass* in England, the Soviet Ambassador certified:

"The telegraph agency of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, commonly known as the *Tass* agency, constitutes a department of the Soviet State, i.e., the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, exercising the rights of a legal entity."

By this definition *Tass* enjoys the privileges and immunities conferred on any arm of a sovereign State. So ruled the British Court of Appeals in finding for the defendant.

Under its privileged status, *Tass* serves the Soviet Government in various capacities. In addition to its news function, it provides the opportunity for favoured officials to serve abroad; it supplies observation posts in foreign countries and lends a journalistic cover to special missions.

There has been a frequent interchange of jobs between the Soviet Foreign Office and *Tass*. Likewise, a few of the Soviet personnel attached to the United Nations Secretariat were originally listed as *Tass* correspondents.

"The staff of *Tass* are civil servants," says the UNESCO report. "The director-general and his deputy are appointed direct by the USSR Council of Ministers. They stand very high in the State hierarchy. One of them was ambassador to the United States and another the head of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs before becoming head of the agency."

Y. M. Lomakin, who served in the American division of *Tass* in Moscow and later in the *Tass* office in New York, was appointed Soviet Consul General in New York in 1946. Two years later, he was expelled by the United States for his part in the Kasenkina case. Mrs Oksana Kasenkina, a Soviet Consulate employee, jumped out of a third-floor window of the Consulate rather than submit to enforced return to the U.S.S.R. In demanding Lomakin's recall, the U.S. Government charged him with "abuse of the prerogatives of his position and a gross violation of diplomatic standards."

One indication of the importance attached to the dual operations of *Tass* is the relative density of the agency's offices by major regions.

The North American continent is serviced by *Tass* offices in New York and Ottawa and a sub-office in Washington, D.C. There is only one office for South America, in Montevideo, Uruguay.

By contrast, western Europe, which is contiguous to the USSR and its satellites, has 11 offices: London, Paris, Rome, Brussels, The Hague, Stockholm, Copenhagen, Oslo, Helsinki, Vienna, and Athens.

Although it is known that *Tass* has offices in all the satellite countries and East Germany, there is little

information regarding them. The UNESCO study notes that in 1950 the national agencies of Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, Rumania, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Red China and North Korea "formed under the aegis of *Tass* a co-ordination group which has linked them very closely together in the field of news."

Four *Tass* posts are located in the Near East-African area and another four in the Middle East. Aside from the major stations, however, *Tass* posts are sometimes shifted or discontinued. Since 1952 there has been no office in Japan, the Far East being covered by offices at Peiping, China and Djakarta, Indonesia. There is one office in Sydney, Australia and another in New Delhi.

By joint decrees of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and the Council of Ministers in 1925 and 1935, *Tass* was given exclusive rights as a monopoly to distribute news and information of a national or foreign character to the press of the constituent republics of the USSR. It also gathers news of official importance from these regional sources to be sent abroad.

The administrative control of *Tass* is embedded in a maze of criss-crossing lines of authority. Officially, it is responsible to the Council of Ministers.

A wartime government news agency, *Sovinform*, which still functions in a limited field, broadcasts commentaries six days a week in five languages. Also leading newspapers, such as *Pravda* and *Izvestia* on occasions send correspondents abroad.

From its home radio centre in Moscow *Tass* transmits short-wave broadcasts in code Morse of Hellschreiber, a form of teletype. Seventeen of these transmitters are beamed to foreign receivers and seven to newspapers with the USSR. The agency does not use voice transmission, relying on Radio Moscow for this type of broadcast.

Despite its pre-eminence in the Soviet news field, *Tass* has not escaped criticism from other organs of the Government.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party, through its official publication, *Culture and Life*, in November 1946 upbraided *Tass* for "unsatisfactory domestic and foreign report." The complaint stressed that it was "hard to understand what really took place at the Paris peace conference."

Between 1946 and 1954, four instances involving Soviet intelligence officers masquerading as *Tass* representatives made sensational news. The incidents occurred in Canada, the Netherlands, Sweden, and Australia.

The first case was revealed by Igor Gouzenko, defecting cipher clerk of the Soviet Military Attache's office in Ottawa, Canada. In his statement to the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, Gouzenko named Nikolai Zheveinov, *Tass* correspondent in Canada from 1942 to 1945, as supervisor of a spy ring.

The second instance of this kind occurred in Sweden. In 1951 and again in 1952 cases of espionage by

Swedish citizens on behalf of the Soviet Government were exposed.

The first of these plots involved Ernest Hilding Anderson, a petty officer in the Swedish Navy. On October 30, 1951, after Anderson's arrest it was brought out in the Stockholm Magistrate's Court that the accused had been a Communist since 1929. In 1946 he was approached by members of the Soviet Embassy staff in Stockholm.

Anderson's initial contact was with the Soviet Embassy Secretary, Constantine Vinogradov. Later, *Tass* representative Viktor Anisimov arranged for the Swedish officer to supply information on the Swedish Navy, coastal defence installations, secret water lanes and suitable invasion areas along the coast of northern Sweden.

Anderson was convicted of espionage on November 14, 1951. The Swedish Government took no action against *Tass* itself, but on September 21 it demanded the recall of Orlov.

A second spy case broke in February 1952, with the arrest of Fritj Enbom, a Communist newspaperman. On July 31, 1952, Enbom and six other Swedish citizens were convicted of espionage. During their trial, testimony in court again implicated Anisimov and Orlov. The Soviet assistant military attache, Major Yegorov, likewise figured in the espionage activities, according to the testimony. All three had left the country before the trials took place.

In another instance involving a *Tass* employee, the alertness of Dutch police unmasked a Soviet agent.

Late in 1952, a minor official in the Netherlands Government reported to the police that the *Tass*

representative at The Hague, L.K. Pissarev, had tried to obtain classified papers from him under threat of blackmail. The police advised the official to maintain contact with the Soviet agent. Meanwhile, they prepared a set of bogus documents marked "classified," which were to be delivered to Pissarev.

On December 23, 1952, the police arrested Pissarev in the act of receiving the pseudo secret papers from the Dutch official.

The Soviet Government immediately denounced the whole operation as a trumped-up conspiracy, demanded the release of Pissarev, and called for the punishment of the security officers who had arrested him.

The Soviet demands were rejected by the Netherlands Government, which announced on February 24, 1953, that Pissarev would be deported on the grounds of "illegal activities as an alien." On the following day the Soviet agent was placed aboard a Soviet vessel at Amsterdam.

A more recent case involving *Tass* occurred in Australia, where a defecting Soviet official, Vladimir Mikhailovich Petrov, spelled out in detail the functions and activities of his former associate in the MVD, *Tass* representative Antonov.

Shortly after the dramatic rescue from Soviet Officers of Mrs. Evdokia Petrov, another fugitive from the Embassy, the Soviet Government demanded the return of Petrov and his wife. When this demand was rejected, the Soviet Government on April 23, abruptly suspended diplomatic relations with the Australian Government and withdrew its staff from Canberra, including *Tass* representative Antonov.

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## ROLE OF THE NAGA FIGHTING MONKS IN BENGAL

WIDELY divergent views have been held as to the role of the Naga Sannyasi raiders in Bengal. One school of thought, evidently inspired by Bankimchandra's writings in the *Anandamath*, has taken them to be patterns of selfless patriotism, while the other school has looked down upon them as a body of marauders whose sole object was to make their own gains, by ruthless spoliation of the inoffensive people.

In a paper the early inroads of the Naga Sannyasis in Bengal read at the Indian Historical Records Commission at Mysore, Mr. N. B. Roy, Head of the Department of Islamic History, Visva-Bharati University, refuted the prevalent views. He has shown by an array of facts that the transference of ruling power

into the hands of a foreign company in 1757 and the oppression caused by their commercial agents throughout the country caused great dissatisfaction among the trading classes as well as among the landowning aristocracy. The Sannyasis took advantage of this discontent and made the Company's civil stations and factories, and occasionally the Zamindar's *kutcheries*, the financial prop of the alien ruler, the main target of their attack. The Sannyasis' main object, Mr. Roy opines, was to weaken slowly the bases of the British power in order to sweep it off. The general indictment of them as *freebooter* is unsupported by any evidence attesting systematic pillage of the peasantry and commercial elements of the population.

## THIS HAPPENED IN HISTORY: JALIANWALLAH BAGH

By PROF. SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKHERJI, M.A.

THE place where a martyr sheds his blood for the motherland is sacred. It is a tragedy however that all such spots are not remembered. Some however escape oblivion. Jahanwallah Bagh at Amritsar on India-Pakistan border belongs to the latter category and is a place of national pilgrimage.



Entrance into Jahanwallah Bagh today. It was through this passage that Dyer entered the Bagh. The gate was built after the massacre

The massacre at Jahanwallah Bagh on April 13, 1919 is one of the many never-to-be-forgotten black deeds of England in India. Tagore renounced his Knighthood in protest against the massacre. His letter to Governor-General Lord Chelmsford conveying his decision is one of the great letters of history. He wrote:

"The enormity of the measures taken by the Government in the Punjab in quelling some local disturbances has with a rude shock revealed to our minds the helplessness of our position as British subjects in India . . .

"Considering that such treatment has been meted out to a population disarmed and resourceless by a power which has the most terribly efficient organisation for the destruction of human lives we must strongly assert that it can claim no political expediency, far less moral justification. . .

"Knowing that our appeals have been in vain and that the passion of vengeance is blinding the noble vision of statesmanship in our Government which could so easily afford to be magnanimous as befitting its physical strength and moral tradition, the very least that I can do for my country is to take all consequences upon myself in giving voice to the protest of the millions of my countrymen, surprised into a dumb anguish of terror . . .

"The time has come when badges of honour make our shame glaring in their incongruous context of humiliation, and I, for my part, wish to stand, shorn of all special distinctions by the side of my countrymen who, for their so-called insignificance, are made to suffer degradation not fit for human beings."

Tagore, by the way, was the first to protest openly against the Jahanwallah Bagh tragedy and the excesses of the Martial Law regime which followed.

It was February, 1919. The curtains had been just rung down upon the Great War in November, 1918. India had made no mean contribution to the Allied victory. Even Lord Birkenhead, no friend or admirer of India, admitted:

"Without India the war would have been immensely prolonged, if indeed without her help it could have been brought to a victorious conclusion."

The Secretary of State for India Mr. Montagu's announcement in the Commons was still fresh in the memory of political India. That dignity had observed in course of a statement of policy on August 20, 1917:



Passage in the wall

" . . . the policy of His Majesty's Government, with which the Government of India are in complete accord, is that of the increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration and the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire."

High hopes had been roused.

Immediately after the armistice in November, 1918, Lord Chelmsford's Government in India passed a set of coercive measures. These are known as the Rowlatt Acts from the name of the chairman of the committee on whose report they were based. They

sought to perpetuate the extraordinary powers enjoyed by the Government during the War. The Acts, passed on March 3, 1919, empowered the executive to do away with the ordinary legal procedure and authorised imprisonment without trial.



Passage in the east

Mahatma Gandhi had appeared on the Indian political scene not long ago. He organised a passive resistance movement in protest and a "mighty wave of mass demonstrations, strikes, unrest and rioting spread over many parts" of the Indian sub-continent. The Government, however, rose equal to the occasion and put down the movement with a heavy hand. April 6, 1919 is a Red-letter Day in India's struggle for independence. She registered her protest against the Rowlatt Acts by *hartal*, prayer, fast and mass meetings. Hindus and Muslims joined hands. India from the snow-capped Himalayas to the farthest South felt a new life surging within. The Congress broke the fetters of constitutionalism and took its first steps on the path of revolution. The nationalist movement was converted into a revolutionary movement. Gone were the days of arm-chair politics. Politics had become dangerous.

In common with the other parts of the country, the Punjab too felt the pulsation of the new life. Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Michael O'Dwyer, the Iron Man of the Punjab, was worried. He wanted to keep the Punjab immune from the virus (1) of nationalism.

A mammoth procession of Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs paraded the streets of Amritsar on the Ram Navami day, which, in 1919, fell on the 9th of April. The procession was perfectly peaceful. It betrayed no anti-Government sentiments. On the contrary, the nationalists sang the British national anthem as a mark of loyalty to His Britannic Majesty. The Deputy Commissioner of Amritsar summoned the two

most popular local leaders, Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew and Dr. Satyapal to his house on the 10th. Both were arrested and sent to an unknown destination. A profound gloom enveloped Amritsar. The people were agitated. A large mob set out from the old city to the Deputy Commissioner's residence in the civil lines to ascertain the whereabouts of their beloved leaders. The railway line separates the old city from the new where the Deputy Commissioner lives. There is a wooden bridge over the rail line about a furlong to the east of Amritsar Railway Station. It is locally known as the *paunriwalla pool*, i.e., the bridge with flights of steps. The mob was orderly and non-violent and marched bareheaded as a mark of mourning. It was stopped at the *paunriwalla pool* by military pickets. Brickbats and stones are alleged to have been thrown at the pickets from among the crowd. Some rounds were fired by the military. One or two were killed. A few more were injured. The old, old story—the police or military obstructing the passage of the mob stoned and firing resorted to by the former in self-defence!



Railway Bridge where fire was opened by the military on April 10, 1919

The mob made its way back to the city taking the dead and wounded with it. As it was passing by the National Bank of India in the heart of the old city, the British Manager of the Bank fired on it. The beloved leaders had been spirited away. Comrades had been killed and wounded. Access to the authorities had been denied. The unprovoked attack by the Bank Manager was the proverbial last straw on the camel's back. The mob became violent and set fire to the building of the Bank. The Manager was roasted alive. The infuriated mob killed four more Englishmen, plundered the railway goods shed and set fire to several Government buildings. The local authorities grew panicky and handed over the

town to the military (10th April) in anticipation of the approval of higher authorities.

April 13 was the 1st Vaisakh, the Indian New Year's Day, and the day of the Vaisakhi fair. A public meeting was called at Jalianwallah Bagh on the occasion. Who the conveners were is not clear. The precincts of the Golden Temple were the usual venue for the Vaisakhi fair. Not far from the Golden Temple in the centre of the old city lies Katra Jalianwalla. An open space in this area surrounded by houses is known as Jalianwallah Bagh. None of the houses opens on the Bagh, which is thus in reality a large back yard—12 bighas in area—of the rows of houses around. There were two narrow outlets in the east and in the west. Babu Kanhyalal of the local bar was to preside over the meeting of the 13th April. He however did not. It is not clear who actually guided the deliberations of that fateful meeting. About 20 000 people—mostly men with a sprinkling of women.

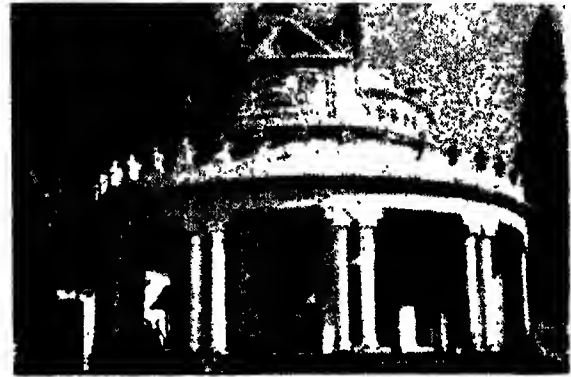


Lewis guns were mounted in a semi-circle in the place marked x x x x. The platform was built after the massacre

It was the afternoon of April 13. The meeting had begun. One Mr. Hansraj was speaking. Brigadier General Dyer, Commander of Amritsar area, entered Jalianwallah Bagh from the north. A wall of planks stood on that side. Dyer's soldiers removed the planks and made a passage through the wall. They were 150 in number—100 Gurkhas and 50 tommies. Lewis guns were mounted in a semi-circle completely barring the passage through the opening noted above. Dyer had also brought machine guns and an armoured car. But these could not be brought in through the narrow entrance to Jalianwallah Bagh.

Dyer ordered the assembly to disperse. Hardly had the order been given when the Lewis guns began to belch fiery death upon the unarmed gathering. The way out to the north was blocked. Jalianwallah Bagh was a veritable rat-trap. The crowd rushed helter-skelter to the two outlets in the east and the west. Many escaped through them. Others crossed the walls of the houses around and made good their

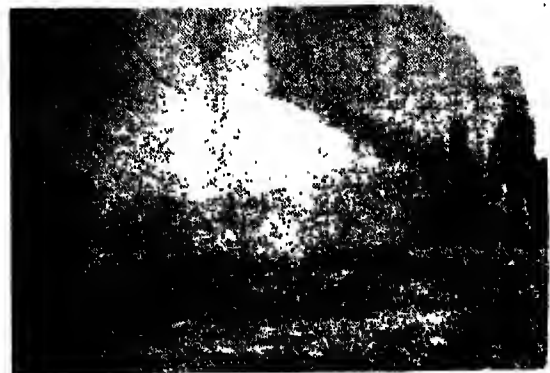
escape. Many again jumped into the well in the eastern part of Jalianwallah Bagh. About 150 dead bodies were later on recovered from the well. It is known today as the Martyrs' Well.



Martyrs' Well

Firing continued for five minutes. Dyer made his way to the Golden Temple from the field of his victory (!). The hero (!) of Jalianwallah Bagh was honoured with *shropha* (robe of honour) by Sardar Arur Singh, the Government-nominated 'Mohunt' of the Temple.

What a gruesome spectacle Jalianwallah Bagh must have presented in the meanwhile! "Dyer's Feast of Blood" had been over. The cries of agony of the wounded—not a few, mortally,—filled the air. Sixteen hundred rounds had been fired. The ammunition having run short, Dyer had to stop in spite of himself. This we have on Dyer's own admission 379 were killed, 1200 were injured. A mother with her baby was standing at the window of one of the houses around the Bagh while the firing was on. A bullet

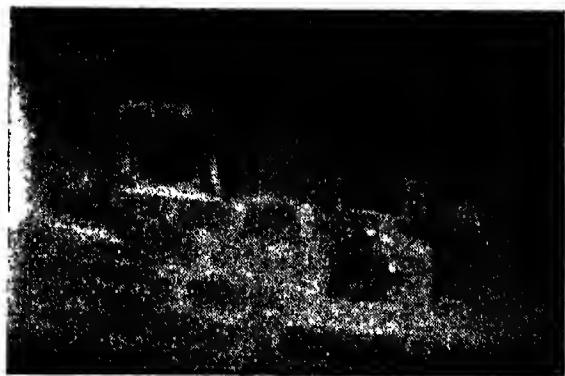


Blood of the mother and the child trickled down this wall. Bullet-marks on the right

killed both. Blood trickled down the wall. The wall stands today as a mute witness of that tragic event. Holes made by bullets in the walls of some of the surrounding houses are still extant.

Dyer went away after the blood-bath. There was none to burn or bury the dead, none to nurse the

injured. A thick pall of gloomy terror had descended on the city of the Golden Temple. Streets were deserted. Few stirred out of doors. Life seemed to have been stilled. Only Ratan Bai the wife of one



Bullet-marks in walls

of the injured, spent the whole night in the shambles that Jalianwallah Bagh had become. She tended her dying husband and others as best as she could. She could not save her husband's life. The Government later on offered Ratan Bai a compensation of one lakh of rupees. The spirited widow scornfully rejected the offer. She demanded that General Dyer should be shot dead and offered to give one lakh of rupees to the man who would shoot down Dyer. Ratan Bai is still alive. She is 60 or thereabouts today. The present Government of India gives her a monthly pension of Rs. 50.



The site of the President's days of the meeting of 13.4.19

Amritsar was placed under Martial Law on April 15. The press was gagged. The issue of third class railway tickets was stopped. Crawling was compulsory for all Indians in a particular lane where an English woman Missionary Doctor had been roughly handled by an infuriated mob. She had been saved, it should be noted, by some residents of the same locality. Shooting, public flogging and long terms of imprisonment became the order of the day. The reign of terror unleashed in Amritsar by the Martial

Law regime in 1919 almost puts to shame the atrocities of Tamerlane, Nadir Shah and the whole gamut of them. That however is a different story.

Lieutenant-Governor Sir Michael O'Dwyer approved General Dyer's action in shooting down the unarmed mob at Jalianwallah Bagh and the following telegram was sent to him on behalf of the former immediately after the massacre:

"Your action correct. The Lieutenant-Governor approves."

A Committee was appointed by the Government to enquire into the happenings. Lord Hunter was the chairman of the Committee. General Dyer, who was examined by the Committee, was not sorry for what he had done. He said in reply to a question by the Hon'ble Justice Rankin of Calcutta High Court, a member of the Committee:



Sri S. C. Mookherji, Hony. Secretary of the Jalianwallah Bagh National Memorial Trust

"It was a horrible duty I had to perform. I think it was a merciful thing. I thought that I should shoot well and shoot strong, so that I or anybody else should not have to shoot again. I think it is quite possible I could have dispersed the crowd without firing, but they would have come back and laughed, and I should have made what I consider a fool of myself."

The Committee's finding was that Dyer was guilty of nothing more serious than an "error of judgment." It reports *inter alia*:

"... the city having passed under the Military, he (Dyer) had tom-tommed in the morning that no gatherings would be permitted and the people openly defied him, he wanted to teach them a lesson so that they might not laugh at him. He would have fired and fired longer, he said, if he had had the required ammunition. He had fired only 1,600 rounds because his ammunition had run short."

The Congress also appointed an enquiry committee after the Jalianwallah Bagh massacre. Its report is not available anywhere today. It could have thrown much new light on the tragedy and on what happened before and after it.

The Jalianwallah Bagh National Memorial Trust formed in 1920 purchased the Bagh for about five and a half lakhs of rupees. Shri Jawaharlal Nehru is the Chairman of the Trust. It has converted the arid, abandoned, backyard into a pleasant park. A Martyrs' Memorial will soon be constructed here.

The first of Vaisakh is observed every year in the Bagh as the Martyrs' Day when wreaths are placed on the Martyrs' Well. It is a pity that many who

assemble on the occasion do not behave in a manner befitting the solemn occasion.

Shri Shasthi Charan Mookherji has been working as the Honorary Secretary of the Jahanwallah Bagh National Memorial Trust since its formation in 1920. Not a little of the Bagh's improvement is due to the selfless labour of Shri Mookherji.\*

\* The photographs in the article are by Sardar Rabinder Singh and Sardar Paranjit Singh.

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## BOMBAY: THE CITY OF TRADITIONS AND ROMANCE

By G. SRINIVAS RAO, M.A.

PERHAPS no other city of India is so charming and is haunted by the tourists and connoisseurs of beauty as Bombay. With its lovable climate and palm-fringed coasts, institutions and industries, palatial structures and ever-green parks, it is a "Dream City" in the strictest sense of the romantic term. Perched in the middle of the Western coast of the country, facing the majestic Arabian Sea, Bombay has been hailed as the "Gateway of India."

A brief survey of the history and growth of the city will be of no little interest to us. Lying obscure for centuries as a fishing hamlet, it was ceded to the Portuguese in 1534 by the Sultan of Gujarat. Charles II got Bombay from the Portuguese king as a part of his dowry when he married Catherine of Braganza in 1661. Charles, who was least interested in this new Indian possession, leased it to the East India Company for a paltry sum of £10 a year. The occupation of Bombay by the British was auspicious since they gradually built factories, flocked here in larger numbers and developed their trade by finding out new land and sea routes. With the advance of time and successive generations, Bombay saw a rise in population and a spectacular growth of industries. By steady reclamation and the enterprise of the inhabitants, it has today become one of the greatest cities of the world.

The city is essentially cosmopolitan and has a population of over four million. The large majority of the people, however, are Maharastrians, Gujaratis and Parsees. A recent economic survey of the city reveals that the people spend more for their luxuries and clothing than those of other cities which is a sign of their fair earnings and general prosperity. Wheat is their staple food but the majority of the inhabitants are non-vegetarians and

depend largely on sea for fish for which they seem to have a special liking. An average citizen is fair-complexioned, educated and intelligent enough to know what he needs and how to achieve his ends. The women of Bombay are fine connoisseurs of dress and ornaments and are susceptible to the ever-changing fashions. Graceful in their simplicity and manners, they have developed fine traits of culture and have a passion for education.



The Taj Mahal Hotel and Gateway of India, Bombay

Rocked for centuries in ever-new cradles of different cultures and civilizations, inspired by everything that is novel and glorious, the people of Bombay have developed altogether different and peculiar customs. As in Paris, the fashions are ever-changing and the younger generation is led by the film stars who themselves mostly copy from the West. The growing urge for recognition and fame is a natural virtue and every individual is conscious of it.

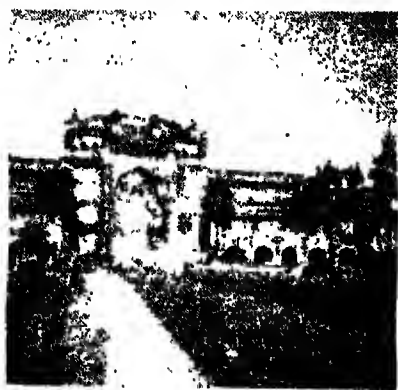
However, life for all is not a bed of roses and there are no longer "fields fresh and pastures new" for every individual who enters this city to make a living. The

enormous growth of competition and hurdles in all walks of life have handicapped the people since World War II. New undertakings by the present-day Government and a variety of nation-building lofty plans have come to the rescue of the common man who has some means of earning his livelihood while working for the country's progress.



Marine Drive, Bombay

The climatic condition and soil of Bombay favour the growth of plenty of wheat, cotton and oil seeds in this region. Bombay has several large cotton textile industries which serve one of the most fundamental needs of the nation. It has many large and small scale factories producing commodities like glass, paper, silk, leather, drugs and electrical goods. A number of cottage industries flourish in the precincts of the city and the deft fingers of the people produce many lovely toys, decorated plates, jewels and embroidered textiles which are proudly purchased by foreign tourists who come here for business transactions, holidaying and fun. Bombay's sea-side is ever-busy and the Indian steamers carry a number of raw materials, oil seeds, hides and skin, and finished products to various countries of the world.



Prince of Wales Museum

Bombay is one of the world's finest and safest harbours and covers about 75 square miles, thus providing ample shelter for ships at all seasons. The affairs and general administration are looked after by the Bombay

Port Trust consisting of a chairman and twenty-one members.

The University of Bombay came into existence in 1857 and has since maintained a fairly good record of the growth of higher education in the state as a whole. There are several standard colleges specializing in various faculties and providing a worthy staff. Bombay has become a great centre of learning and is one of the most cherished spots of the students and scholars. Besides the University and its affiliated colleges, schools and technical institutions, there are several learned societies, libraries and private organizations which contribute to the general cause of education.

Served with a network of roadways, suburban railways and highways, Bombay presents a spectacle of being extremely busy and always in a hurry. The Fort area and the streets running round the Crawford Market are the busiest centres where one can see buyers and sellers from practically all corners of the world. There are separate localities for different kinds of traders like the cloth-merchants, jewellers, chemists and drug-



A grand building in the Fort area at Bombay

gists and dealers in leather goods. The charming many-storeyed buildings, luxurious picture-houses, hotels and restaurants, add glamour to the beautiful highways flooded with trams, cars and buses, and well-dressed men and women moving all the while. Running gracefully parallel to the sea, the Marine Drive is city's loveliest street where men and women elegantly dressed come for evening strolls.

Being the capital of the State, Bombay is the official headquarters of the Chief Minister, who, with the help of his ministers, looks after the general administration of the city. The Chairman of the Corporation of Bombay and its elected members, working in co-operation with the State Government, look after the needs of the masses in regard to sanitation and primary education, etc.

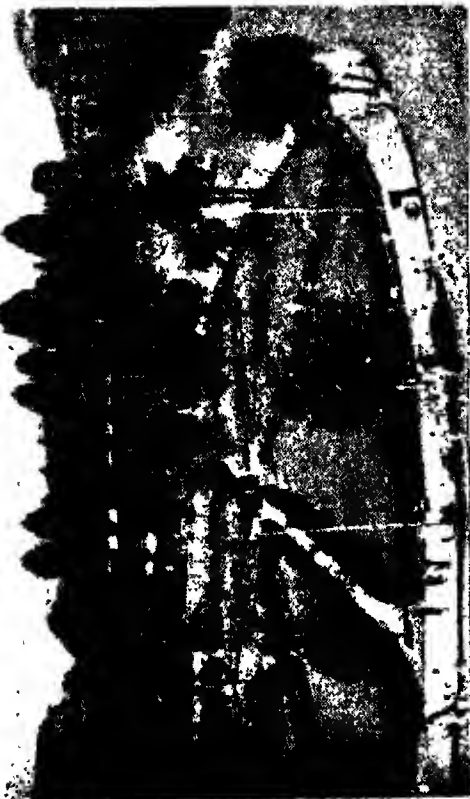
Often referred to as the Hollywood of India, Bombay is the centre of film-industry. There are quite a few well-equipped studios and the city's surroundings favourably suit out-door shootings of the pictures. The leading technicians, musicians, actors and



Juhu, Bombay



The most charming view of Bombay from the Malabar Hill. At a distance are the Chowpaty Beach and the Marine Drive



The General Post Office, Bombay



Play-back singer Lata Mangeshkar with her party on the sets of a studio in Bombay

producers have made Bombay their home, and have several organizations for protecting their rights and privileges. Though the standard of the pictures produced in recent years have gone down, it must be admitted that some efforts are being made to improve the quality of the pictures by the Indian Motion Picture Academy. Bombay is the Headquarters of the Films Division of the Government of India which brings out weekly news-reels and documentaries which are exhibited all over the country and abroad.

The chief attractions of the city, among many others, are the Victoria Gardens and Hanging Garden on the top of the Malabar Hill, hot springs of Vajreshwari, the Prince of Wales Museum and the Parsec Tower of Silence. The Brabourne Stadium, located near the Flora Fountain, is the happy hunting ground of those people who are fond of games and sports. One of the finest stadiums of the east, it can accommodate over 30 thousand people and has a beautiful swimming pool within it.



A view of the palm-fringed coast of Bombay

Bombay's Mahalakshmi Race Course is the finest in the country and attracts the adventure-loving aristocrats from everywhere. The race course is an awful place where one believes either in plundering everything or losing one's all. Many of these sportive gentlemen and ladies are known to have lost their last coins and returned barefooted all the way to their homes!

The Malabar Hill is one of the most lovable spots in the whole of Bombay. It is a feast for eyes for one to see from here the Chowpaty Beach, the distant

Marine Drive and the magnificent roads and structures surrounded by the sea. Even more colourful is the view at moonlit nights when the gentle rays of the moon play with a million pearly drops of the ocean.

The much-busy and exhausted citizens badly need a pleasant change after hard work in the evening hours and a walk by the sea-shore makes them forget their worries and problems. As the day wanes, thousands of men and women, dressed in their multicoloured pleasing clothes, flock at the beaches. At the "Gateway of India" small boat-trips can be arranged at a nominal cost. Similarly the Chowpaty Beach, with its heavenly breeze and romantic surroundings, welcomes the people from different localities.

But the most sought-after sea-side resort of the inhabitants is the Juhu beach. This lovely palm-fringed coast, with its sand softer than powdered wheat, swallowing millions of tiny drops produced by the tides of the sea, delights the holiday crowds with its gentle breeze and lovable sights of Nature. The youngsters gather here for fun and play, lovers meet here late in the nights and a thousand others assemble to feast their eyes with the charming display of the crowds and nature.

The Elephanta Island, lying only 12 miles away from the city, unfolds irresistible charms which none can afford to miss. Special arrangements are made at Bombay's harbour where the people can purchase return-tickets for Elephanta. This small island is studded with rocky mountains and tropical vegetation and is noted for having "Trimurti" in one of the ancient rock-cut temples here. On all Sundays the motor-boats and ships carry the gay and fun-loving people and reach the island in two hours. The people enjoy gazing at the roaring sea which seems to embrace the sky at a great distance. The colourful costumes of the crowds, their merry laughter and the "life" brought about by them produce an atmosphere of fun, enchantment and romance.

In Free India the prospects of the city and its people are brighter as many ambitious schemes are coming to the fore-front every moment. With such a variety of attractions and opportunities, renewed charms and promises, Bombay is a dream city and welcomes the people from all corners of the breathing world.\*

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## KAVADI—A WAY OF WORSHIP

By K. P. PADMANABHAN TAMPY, B.A.

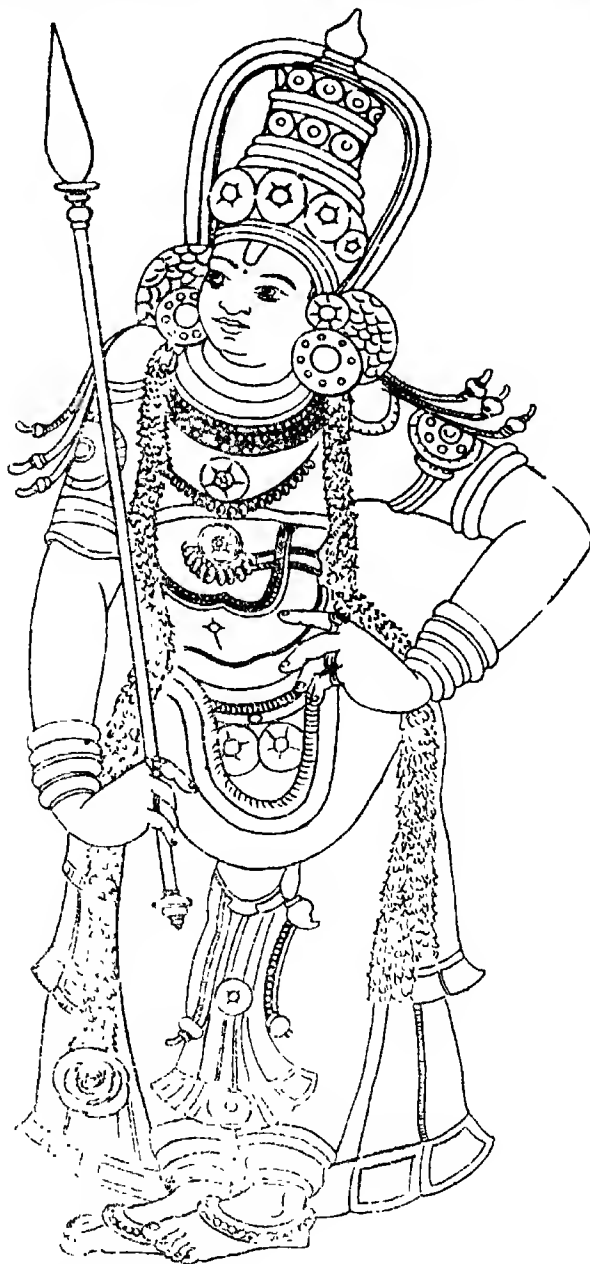
KAVADI, one of the picturesque ways in which the Hindu devotee worships the Deity and invokes His blessings, is a popular form of worship, common in South India where there are a large number of shrines consecrated to God Subramania, one of the many manifestations of the Hindu Deity. It is quite a common sight in South India to come across Pandarams, a section of the Saivites, going about from place to place with *Kavadis* on their shoulders and soliciting alms.

On Fridays, particularly, pilgrims from far and near flock to the shrines dedicated to God Subramania. The devotees worship the Lord by taking *Kavadis* and going in procession round the temple. The devotee who has sworn to take a *Kavadi* has to undergo certain austerities, such as fasting on the day preceding the ceremony. On the morning of the religious function of paying homage to the Lord by offering the *Kavadi*, the devotee bathes at the temple tank, besmears his forehead and body liberally with sacred ash and sandalpaste, clothes himself in saffron-coloured robes, puts on a scarlet conical cap and takes on his shoulder the *Kavadi*, an arch-like wooden structure covered with garlands of flowers, incense and peacock plumes and containing two tiny brass pots full of milk or rose water. The devotee puts on the dress of a Pandaram (mendicant). The *Kavadi* is consecrated by priests before they reverentially raise it and place it on the shoulders of the devotee.

Pandarams, a community among the Saivite Hindus, officiate as priests. They usually wear saffron-coloured robes and always carry with them a long thin cane with silver knobs at either end. They adorn their exposed chest with rows of garlands made of *rudrakshams* (sacred beads), both large and small. Their head-dress is a scarlet cap embellished with symbolic designs. They carry a small brass bell, and a brass plate for receiving alms. Legend avers that in days of yore Lord Siva walked the earth in the guise of a Pandaram. On the basis of this the Pandarams contend that they have a God-given right to solicit alms and officiate as priests when *Kavadis* are offered to God Subramania, whom the Puranas identify as the favourite son of God Siva.

The *Kavadi* is placed on the shoulders of the devotee by the priests amidst stentorian-toned music. Flutes play, trumpets blare, drums beat, conches sound, gongs boom, bells ring, cymbals clank, devotees chant prayers in loud tones and the *bhajanam* (worship to the accompaniment of songs) is in full swing. The air is thick with the fragrant smoke from varieties of incense burnt in honour of the Deity. The Pandarams and others who gather, clap their hands and sing *keertans* (devotional songs) in praise of God Subramania. The vocal and instrumental music of the *bhajanam* is of such a vigorous

and emotional type that the pious devotee becomes inspired by divine agency and in the pitch of religious fervour he dances in ecstasy. It is a thrilling sight to witness



God Subramania. He carries the *vel* (silver spear) in his hand. (After a mural painting in the Sri Padmanabhaswami Temple) *Kavadi* is an offering to God Subramania, son of Lord Siva the devotee dancing with the *Kavadi* precariously perched on his shoulder.

A compact but colourful procession comprising the chief devotee who carries the *Kavadi*, the priests and

other worshippers, ascend the steps leading to *sanctum sanctorum* of the temple. Here the *Kavadi* is lowered after offering prayers and performing special rites to the Lord. The God is then anointed with the contents of the two brass vessels in the *Kavadi*. After this the devotee returns to his residence in procession. The *Kavadi* is placed on the floor that has already been sanctified by the priests for the purpose. Again, special

pain, for they become oblivious to all pain having gained the psychological state of ecstasy. They thrust miniature silver *vels* (sharp tridents believed to be the weapon of God Subramania) right across their cheeks or the lips thus closing the mouth.

Subramania, who is also known as Kumara and Skanda, is a God who instils awe into the hearts of His worshippers. He is held in supreme fear and veneration.



A Pandaram (mendicant) with the *kavadi* on his shoulders. He has pierced his lips with a silver trident and placed a lime fruit in between the lips

and elaborate religious rituals are conducted. During periods of illness or when persons want to achieve some wish they take a vow to offer to the Lord a *Kavadi* in the event of their recovery from disease or the fruition of their desire. The *Kavadi* is considered to be a remarkable offering to God which proves beneficial to the devotee.

Some of the worshippers go to the extent of inflicting upon themselves various kinds of self-torture to please the God and obtain from Him the remission of their sins. These ascetics who carry *Kavadis* move about with long and awe-inspiring hooks embedded in their flesh. Skewers pierce their lips and close their mouths. They take a vow of silence. They do not experience any



The writer

and the keynote of worshipping Him is the undergoing of severe austerities. The devotees take food only once a day and they abstain from non-vegetarian food and intoxicants. They take a vow of strict celibacy. *Kavadi* is, indeed, a great ordeal for these ascetics. With long and unkempt hair, pointed nails, lustrous eyes, lean body and an unearthly halo about their faces, these ascetics evoke fear and veneration. They return to their normal life only after offering the *Kavadi* to the Lord.

The more enthusiastic and daring among devotees worship God Subramania by taking *Agni Kavadis*. This offering is regarded as supremely sacred to the God. It is performed by walking through blazing fire with the *Kavadi* over the shoulders. Religious fervour and overwhelming faith in the Lord enveloped in an element of mystery give the devotees courage to walk through the glowing fire. In a state of pure ecstasy, they do not burn their feet while striding across the red-hot embers with the *Kavadi*. Popular belief supplemented by experience is that if the *Kavadi* is offered to the God in a spirit of true and absolute faith and in strict conformity with the traditional rituals governing such a holy offering, the devotees emerge out of the flames triumphant without burning the feet, and return home with greater faith in the Lord.

# THE STORY OF HELEN KELLER

By MOHAN SINGH SENGAR

SEVENTY-FOUR-YEAR old blind-deaf author, lecturer and social-worker, Dr. (Miss) Helen Keller's visit to this country brings home to our countrymen the invincibility of human spirit, an odyssey of a relentless fight against the cruel triple handicap of being blind, deaf and dumb. Dr. Keller has a dynamic personality measurably strengthened by her striking mastery over her baffling handicaps. She is a living example of the power of human will and spirit triumphing over insuperable physical handicaps. The unusualness of her achievements is no less interesting than any tale of high-hearted adventure or a perilous conquest.

In spite of the fact that she has attained lasting fame and has been honoured by almost every important country, she does not seem to have done so through any conscious effort at superiority but by trying with all her might "to be like everybody else," like any other normal being. The only conscious effort that we see on her part is her intense and indomitable desire to have a life of a normal person. This important fact has always trudded her ahead and helped her immeasurably to overcome her handicaps. Some of those who were very much impressed by her fine bearing, robust intelligence and keen sense of understanding used to call her a "Wonder

Girl" or a "Mental Prodigy," which she always resented for she neither had nor has any wish to be set aside from the rest of mankind. She believes that the blind should live and work like their fellows, unremarked and with full responsibility.

Once she told Madame Maeterlinck in a conversation: "After all, what does it matter what we are? The important thing is what we are able to do." But what Dr. Keller has done is quite uncommon. It is not uncommon to conceive of fine deeds. But how many are large enough to comprehend them and have the courage and perseverance to perform them! What Dr. Keller has achieved was possible only because of her rare courage, perseverance and self-mastery. This is why victory has been no less glorious than that of any other man of might and Mark Twain has rightly said of her: "The two most interesting characters of the nineteenth century are Napoleon and Helen Keller."

## JOURNEY THROUGH DARK SILENCE

Helen Keller was not born blind, deaf or dumb. It was only when she was about eighteen months old that she was stricken with a fever of brain and stomach which left her blind, deaf and dumb. She was born on June 27th, 1880 in a loving and highly intelligent family on a southern plantation near Tusculum, Alabama, and



Helen Keller in her library of Braille-books

## NOT A "WONDER GIRL"!

Though she is the only blind, deaf and dumb person on record to have received the so-called "Higher Education," it amazes one to find her saying:

"Why bless me? Thousands of people receive College Degrees every year. I did only what almost anyone could do."

was a healthy precocious baby, who talked at six months and walked on the day of her first birthday. But the fact that she has been a perfect child in all respects up to this time could not lessen the misery of her first five years. Deprived of the normal means of learning she grew up almost like a savage, making signs for what she



Helen Keller "talking" to a young visitor with the help of her fingers

wanted and flew into a rage if her indulgent parents did not comply with her whims. Besides a hospitable father, a captain in the Confederate Army during the American Civil War (1865-69), who later edited a newspaper, she had human companionship of her older step-brothers and a baby sister, but all of them felt rather helpless to do anything to help her in any way.

It was only on the third day of March 1887, three months before Helen was seven years old, that Miss Anne Mansfield Sullivan, a twenty-year old girl-teacher at the Perkins Institution for the Blind in Boston entered Helen's life sealed in dark silence and remade it. Describing the first meeting with her "Guardian Angel" as the most important event in her life, Helen Keller says :

"On the afternoon of that eventful day, I stood on the porch, dumb, expectant. I guessed vaguely from my mother's signs and from the hurrying to and fro that something unusual was about to happen. So I went to the door and waited on the steps. . . . I felt approaching footsteps. I stretched out my hand as I supposed to my mother. Someone took it and I was caught up and held close in the arms, all things else, to love me . . . 'Light : give me light!' was the wordless cry of my soul and the light of life shone on me in that very hour."

Miss Sullivan was pleasantly surprised to find that ~~he~~ she was no pale, delicate, timid child but "large, strong and ruddy and as unrestrained in her movements as a young colt." She was impressed by the intelligent

and keen sense of understanding of the child; she found her to be a "little short of a miracle." Writing to one of her friends she said :

"The education of this child will be a distinguishing event of my life. She has remarkable powers and I shall be able to develop and mould them."

She took out a doll from her bag and gave it to Helen as a present. After Helen had played with it for a while, Miss Sullivan spelt into her hand the letters d-o-l-l, meaning thereby the object she was playing with. Helen was at once interested in this finger-play and tried to imitate it. Thus began her journey through the impenetrable dark silence. Helen worked so avidly that at times her fingers ached. Within a few months Helen had learnt 800 words and many idioms and was able to count and write in script and Braille. From then on the miraculous became her normal performance and it was impossible to conceal the fact that she had a remarkable mind and a still more remarkable will. From the state of utter helplessness she made increasingly intelligent contact both with the physical world as well as with the world of thought. She found to her amazement that the so-called immobility of her soul had gone.

#### THE MAGIC OF SMELL AND TOUCH

Without trying to minimise the credit due to Helen and her wonderful response to training, it must be admitted that she did not lack powerful aid and the best possible advantage of environment and education.

From time to time she was taken to different places for trips to gain whatever help science could render and to form impressions about objects, peoples and places. On all these expeditions Helen was accompanied by her Teacher Miss Sullivan. The hope and confidence the Kellers had in Sullivan were justified beyond their expectations. Miss Sullivan became a means of liberating Helen's spirit. For years Helen saw through her (Miss Sullivan's) eyes, heard through her ears and spoke through her voice. What this bond meant to Helen, she has expressed thus :

"My Teacher is so near to me that I scarcely think of myself apart from her. How much of my delight in all beautiful things is innate and how much is due to her influence, I can never tell. All the best of me belongs to her. There is not a talent or an aspiration or a joy in me that has not been awakened by her loving touch."

Nothing could so surely give to character poise and inner harmony as close contact with Nature. Realising fully this value of education which Nature offers, Miss Sullivan early opened the mind of her pupil to Nature's influences. In leading Helen to love Nature and understand her laws, Miss Sullivan laid foundations for her pupil's future knowledge. Helen not only spent almost every waking hour with Miss Sullivan in the large busy household of adults, children, guests and servants, but also accompanied her to the farm and orchards. The animals, flowers, streams, woods, etc., provided an abundant teaching material for Helen's awakening mind. At her southern home Helen's spirit was able to absorb the fragrance of fruit, flower and wood and to learn through a touch the wonder of the earth and the sun on all growing things. Some of the early letters written by Helen reflect the delight the child derived from her dumb comrades and surroundings. A bird, a dog, a donkey and a pony (and later an elephant) held special place in her affection. And this love for birds and animals did not pass with her childhood but has continued up to the present times.

Up to the age of ten, most of Helen's knowledge had come through her hands. She learned the texture and beauty of a butterfly by touching its delicate wings. She learned the shape and size of an elephant by walking around it for an hour feeling its immensity and strangeness. She has moulded her mind like a sculptor fashioning a living breathing work of art. It is with her hands that she perceives the personality and quality of her visitors and listens to their speech by placing her fingers lightly over the mouth of the speaker.

Next to this sense of touch is her sense of smell. She can tell about her surroundings by smelling leaves and grass. She can distinguish a known locality from the humbler areas by the odours issuing from the doors as she walks past.

"I AM NOT DUMB !"

Though she had learnt to read and write by manual aid, Helen was not articulate. When she heard that a certain blind, deaf and dumb Norwegian girl had learned

to talk, she became restless and almost cried, "Why shouldn't I be able to talk also? I must speak." She was taken to Miss Sarah Fuller's Horace Mann School for the deaf and dumb in Boston. By working day and night and practising each word for hours at a time she mastered it. One day on her way back home from the school, Helen turned to Miss Sullivan and told in quite clear tones : "I am not dumb now." This startled Miss Sullivan. She cried with joy : She had actually



Miss Helen Keller

Taken from a Bengali book *Mook-Siksha* (1901), by the late Mohini Mohan Majumdar, one of the Founders of the Calcutta Deaf and Dumb School

spoken ! Yes, but not very distinctly and so Helen continued her efforts to gain control of her voice for the succeeding 60 years. During the first few years sometimes she spoke in such undertones that she was audible not even to the few persons around her and at other times it mounted to a falsetto and people around her were rather taken aback. Admitting this she herself wrote :

"I have only partially conquered to hostile silence. My voice is not a pleasant one, I am afraid, but I have clothed its broken wings in the unflinching hues of my dreams and my struggle for it has strengthened every fibre of my being and deepened my understanding of all human strivings and disappointed ambitions."

Her voice continues to be unmanageable up to this day. It was perhaps because of this that when she first appeared in public in 1913, it was rather an ordeal for her. In her embarrassment she remarked : "My mind froze."

#### HIGHER EDUCATION

Before the age of 15, Helen had been to Baltimore

to see a great Oculist Dr. Chisholm; to Washington to consult Dr. Alexander Graham Bell; to Boston, where she attended the Perkins Institution for the Blind and the Horace Mann School for the Dumb; to Hulton (Pennsylvania) where she studied under a tutor; to Chautauqua to attend a Meeting of the American Association to promote the teaching of speech to the deaf; to Cincinnati, for a consultation of physicians and to the Wright Humason School for the Deaf in New York City. Apart from these she was taken for a pleasure trip to the Niagara Falls, the World Fair at Chicago and the sea-coast of New England.



Helen Keller typing replies to her correspondents

In her sixteenth year Helen embarked upon the most ambitious adventure of her life. She entered a school for women at Cambridge (Massachusetts) to prepare herself for Radcliffe College, the Women's Section of Harvard University. It meant eight years of gruelling work for her and for her teacher Miss Sullivan, who attended classes with her, spelling the lectures into her hand, reading the assignments and transmitting them to her. Helen graduated from the Radcliffe College in 1904 winning special honours in English.

At 18 she had learned much of Geometry, Algebra, Physics with Botany, Zoology and Philosophy. She learned French, German, and Latin too. She had a passion for literature and devoured whatever she could find in most of the modern European languages. Later she developed a taste for poetry, fine arts, "seeing" theatrical performances and movies. She even enjoys Mark Twain's best jokes by vibrations and the golden voice of Enrico Caruso by the touch of her fingers. Her fingers on the piano detect tiny quavers, returns of melody and the rush that follows.

#### NOTHING UNKNOWN

As a child Helen, by the nature of her handicaps, was spared certain kinds of ugliness as well as all that is coarse and debasing in literature. But as she grew to womanhood she learned at first hand some of the sordid and pitiful aspects of life. About this Miss Sullivan (then Mrs. Macy) once said to Madame Maeternick:

"There is nothing Helen does not know. I have never hidden anything from her. Besides she is too clear-sighted for it to have been possible."

Helen herself said:

"There is nothing that I do not know of the sufferings of the world."

With her to know of them was only the first step. One of the great shocks of her childhood was learning that everybody did not love everybody else!

Helen's handicaps and limitations are to her means of releasing energies of a different kind. A person who can neither see nor hear is not troubled by the distractions of the world. This opportunity for intensive concentration has been a great help to Helen in her studies. Later it helped her with the human problems she came across. In a very real sense the deaf-blind person may possess her soul. For her there is no separation between objects of sense and immaterial reality. The things of the spirit are neither less nor more distant than the things of sound and sight. So she lives with a detachment that enables her to see more deeply into life and thus to make the best

of both the material and immaterial realms.

Although to live enclosed within one's self must bring seriousness and boredom at times, but such a state of recollectedness does not necessarily mean sadness. What strikes one most while reading Helen's autobiography is not the difference but the likeness between her and the so-called normal people. Those missing faculties, the lack of which would have dwarfed a less valiant life, in her case have been largely compensated. She has more than the usual share of humour, and the whimsical or ridiculous aspect of a situation rarely escaped her. She views tolerantly the failings and foibles of others even as she allows opinions which differ from her own. Her joy is contagious. As a child her wish was to live 1600 years! As a young woman she must have had her moods of sadness, but these were perhaps only shadows of her ambitions. Even as an old lady now her forward-looking courage seems to cry, "Speed, fight on, forever there as ever."

#### A DEDICATED LIFE

Once when Helen Keller was very young, she had said: "Sometimes a sense of isolation enfolds me like a

cold mist as I sit alone and wait at life's shut gate." But she put an end to this waiting long ago. She has not only opened for herself the gate of life and found her object, but has also kindled new hope and inspiration in the dark lives of millions of fellow brethren of the stricken humanity. She has cut in the rock of her own life a channel for a blessing to others. Hers is a dedicated life exemplifying service—service, not as a pious sentiment but as a living practice. By helping others to overcome their difficulties and untiringly advocating for a square deal for the handicapped, she has grown into a figure known and loved the world over. To quote the American philosopher William James, the sum of Helen Keller's life is that *she is a blessing!*

It is quite natural that her sympathies should have been turned especially towards those who, afflicted like herself, looked at the compensations she enjoyed with a source of hope and inspiration. She also felt for them and the seriousness and earnestness which comes from the feeling of responsibility towards those less fortunate than herself, forms the undercurrent of Helen's life and her mission. By using her powers in the service of the stricken fellow-beings she has richly rewarded the many people who helped her.

Her humanitarian impulses spring in part from her naturally loving nature. When twelve years old she planned a tea-party and raised 2000 dollars in aid of a Kindergarten for the Blind. Even earlier, she had interested herself and her friends on behalf of individual cases of need among the deaf and the blind. While still in College she spoke in support of a bill before the Massachusetts Legislature to provide the blind with manual training which will make them wholly or partially self-supporting. Shortly after this, she made a speech on the occasion of the dedication of a new building of the Eye and Ear Infirmary in New York. In her mature years she has been associated almost with every movement in aid of the blind. She is a trustee of the New England Home for the Blind. She has interested herself with the supply of more Braille books to the blind and a universal system of standard braille (which is now being evolved through the good offices of the UNESCO). She has already undertaken the five globe-circling trips and several tours in the United States of America in her efforts to increase public understanding of the problem of the blind. She toured Europe giving lectures to raise 2,000,000 dollars fund for the American Foundation for the Blind. Public recognition of her selfless service to the well-being of the blind is evidenced by the fact that she has been honoured by almost every country in the world. She can count in the ranks of her friends many of the world's great men such as Bernard Shaw, Albert Einstein, Winston Churchill, Rabindranath Tagore, Jawaharlal Nehru, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Sculptor Jo Davidson and all the Presidents of the United States of America since Grover Cleveland (1893-97). She has received many awards and decorations and "achievement prizes" as well.

Some day the story will be told of the miracles she has performed and the transformation she has wrought in the lives of hundreds of thousands of the blind and the deaf all the world over, for whom she has become a symbol of hope and inspiration. In spite of her growing age, the flame of character, purpose and hard work for the fellow-afflicted not only brings her joy and contentment but also fresh wisdom, new strength and additional force to be spent on the stricken humanity. On an average she spends 8 to 10 hours a day at her work. She is at her desk every morning at nine, writing her books (she has written 10), articles for newspapers and magazines (she has written more than 200), composing her speeches and answering correspondence which comes from all over the world. She writes herself on the ordinary or the braille-typewriter. She gets six magazines printed in Braille every month plus a *World Digest* from England and one in French from Paris. Besides, she is always on the look-out for any new writing, book or article in Braille.



Helen Keller going through a book (in Braille)

Friends have described Helen Keller as a "gracious compassionate woman of singular intellectual attainments and compelling personal charm." Her well-known optimism and idealistic outlook on life are best expressed in her own words:

"My life has been happy because I have had wonderful friends and plenty of interesting work to do. I seldom think about my limitations and they never make me sad. Perhaps there is just a touch of yearning at times, but it is vague, like a breeze among flowers. The wind passes and the flowers are content."

And today Helen Keller lives in a graceful rambling house set in the woods of America's eastern state of

Connecticut. A Japanese stone-lantern, eight feet high, this, she often stands before it in pensive mood, and stands symbolically in one corner of the lawn with a perhaps feels its flame in her soul. This will not go constantly burning light. Though Helen Keller can't see out while she lives.

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## NAI TALIM IN THE CRUCIBLE

By DHIRENDRA MAZUMDER

Nai Talim is Basic Education that Gandhiji presented to India. It was hailed here and abroad as a great and timely contribution. That was sixteen years ago. Even seven or eight years back it was in great demand. It looked as though Nai Talim would replace the system of education introduced here by the British. Hope belied. Tide turned about. Even in Bihar where love and faithful devotion was bestowed upon this work by the State Government the masses have not much liking left for it.

And this though the heads of our State, the Rastrapati and the Prime Minister, denounce in no uncertain language, whenever an occasion arises, the present system of education as worthless and stress the need of an overall change. Yet the old system merrily goes on and the new system languishes. Desire for change and yet indifference to the only substitute available make the question intriguing. It is worthwhile to examine the cause or causes. And I would do that as a Nai Talim worker myself.

Nai Talim has two aspects—(1) its social aim and content, (2) its teaching technique. Of these two the second that is the technique of teaching the child has evoked the most widespread appreciation. The reason is that this technique is the latest and so far the best in the field of education. Cramming, books, mock life situations, use of pictures, projects and works have all in turn been tried as media of education and found to have failed in educating the child properly.

Even when people thought of actual work and life situation as medium, they were not prepared to accept and give the actual struggle for existence a place in education. It was left to Gandhiji to explode the fallacy. He pointed out that if reality was meant and desired, it ought to be real. Mock reality would not do. Reality could not be divorced from actual life struggle.

Education except in its highest elevated sense is not an end in itself. It is a means to an end. Fulfilment of a social aim is and should be the end of education. ~~so~~ has the design of society wanted ever determined the character of education imparted.

So too was Nai Talim conceived of by Gandhiji. He wanted it to be the conveyer of a new culture—the

nurse of a non-violent social order he had been working for. You cannot build anew on old foundations. So too a new social order cannot be erected on old values. The society we live in or they in other countries live in, rest on two pillars—(1) the ever-tightening grip of administration and (2) exploitation given rise to by centralization of industries. Violence is inherent in centralization. So the more centralized the administration and industries are the more concentrated violence is. Now violence produces counter-violence. And that is the vicious circle in which the world is caught to-day. Yet they all talk of peace, talk of co-existence. The talk is the talk of peace and the piling is the piling of aims. And that makes talk of peace, talk of co-existence all bunkum. To get rid of violence you must strike at the root of centralization both in the sphere of government and industries. That calls for a change of values. And here Nai Talim comes in. It has to create a new set of values and a new race of men.

Government is another name for coercion as centralized production is implied exploitation. So long as there is exploitation there is violence and so long as there are classes there will be exploitation. It is therefore not for nothing that a classless society has become the cry of the age.

Neutralizing government coercion to the practicable minimum by decentralization of power and authority on the one hand and liquidating the classes by decentralization of production on the other hand, are, therefore the prerequisites of a non-violent social order.

In economic plane this means getting rid of the slavery to capital. You cannot do that without deposing Money and installing Labour, body labour in its place. Bhudan Yajna now called by its initiator Bhumi-Viplav seeks to do that and is preparing the ground for it.

Nai Talim has in it the seed of a new social order. And Bhumi-Viplav (land-revolution) is preparing and can provide a seed-bed for Nai Talim. So Nai Talim and Bhumi-Viplav are the complement and fulfilment of each other. This the protagonists of Nai Talim and others who want to bring about a new social order free from violence have to recognize and align them-

selves with the land-revolution that is taking shape and gaining momentum as days pass on.

It is necessary here to examine the cause or causes that was or were responsible for the loss of interest Nai Talim at first evoked.

(1) Gandhiji expected that the post-revolution Congress would walk his way and give shape to his dream of a new social order based on decentralization of administration and industries. The post-independent Congress walked the other way about. It went whole hog (at least they wanted to) for centralization of industries, and therefore of administration too. If they have given recognition to Nai Talim it is more or less as a sop to Cerberus—here Cerberus being that section of public opinion which regards Nai Talim as a great bequest to them by Gandhiji. So theirs was an effort to unite oil and water. And as happens in such a case Nai Talim has been steadily languishing in spite of government recognition.

The reason is patent enough. The Government is at once placing two philosophies of life before the people, (1) the one of Moghul lavishness promised by centralized economy to a few, and (2) the other of Spartan simplicity promised by decentralized self-sufficient economy. When people find the other education turning out nabobs (no matter how few) how can you then expect them to go in for Nai Talim! No nation can thrive on a set of contradictory values.

An examination of Nai Talim as it is imparted by various State Governments will show where the contradiction lies. Craft is one of the principal media of Nai Talim. Now look at the basis of our national economy. It is not crafts but centralized industries. One fails to see what good it is then to train our children up to the age of fourteen or fifteen in handicrafts. Centralized economy and craft-centred education cannot go together. Nor should they. If the craft-centred education imparted to the child be of no use to him in life, it is idle to expect students, their guardians and teachers to feel enthused over it.

Nai Talim teaches through realities. And therein consists its uniqueness. But look at the tragedy. In our search for reality we have lost sight of the reality itself. We forget that a craft-centred production is not a reality in our country. The nation does not today recognize crafts as the basis of production. In the absence of such recognition our insistence on reality being made the medium of education means that we should make mill production the medium rather than crafts. But can mill production processes be the media at all! Repetitive labour kills initiative, kills joy. Then again can different subjects be co-related to it?

This analysis shows, if anything, that acceptance of Nai Talim as a mere teaching technique, leads us nowhere. Divorced from reality and standing aloof from social revolution as it does, the variety of Nai Talim provided by State Governments is bound to fail. And failed it has. The Avadi resolution on basic education

will not help. Nor would the utterances of the heads of States save this variety of Nai Talim from its inevitable doom—death. And there is nothing to lament. The sooner this unreal show goes the better. For you cannot ever hope to reach Delhi with your face turned to Bombay. We may not forget that Nai Talim cannot exist apart from the life-current, the social revolution of which it is the seed.

Now turn to the non-official counterpart of it. Has it fared any the better? 'Failed as miserably to impress the people'—is again the reading of the barometer of public opinion. Cause the same, and effect the same. Non-official endeavour has been as mechanical as the government one. It has also stood apart from the life-current—the social revolution.

That Nai Talim is but a means to an end—the establishment of a classless society free from exploitation and violence has here too been lost sight of. To expect to achieve a classless social order by perpetuating the functional divisions of the present-day social structure is as absurd as absurd can be. To-day the society presents a sorry spectacle that of the head severed from the trunk. The head arrogates to itself all the thinking, all the managing, relegating to the trunk all the toiling, all the moiling. This is offending against Nature's law. And though long-suffering she be, she has now recoiled sharply. There is class conflict all around. In doing away with this unnatural division lies the way to peace, progress and happiness. And that is just the end and function of Nai Talim. The head must toil as it will think and the trunk must think as it will toil. This happy state is attainable only by uniting the head and the trunk.

Here an objection is raised by some people. They say that if every one has to perform both types of labour, mental as well as manual, ability and efficiency will suffer and the society will be the loser for it. This objection amounts to sacrificing equality at the altar of efficiency. And ironically enough these are the very people who condemn ancient *Varna-Vyabastha* in the name of science. If efficiency is all that matters, will it not be far more scientific to make the fullest use of hereditary qualities which it was the endeavour of *Varna-Vyabastha* ever to develop and perfect? They know not that they do unconsciously vote for the very thing they condemn when they thus put in a plea for efficiency.

Lop-sided development does not make for efficiency. Efficiency comes from the harmonious development of both sides of the man. To-day a vast section of the people are being suppressed in the name of efficiency. And this craze for efficiency has ever given rise, as it is still doing, to new classes and therefore to newer and more complex conflicts.

If, therefore, it is felt that a non-violent classless society is the way to escape from the intolerable situation the world has created for itself, then we have to strive for and create a one-class society, every member

of which will at once be a mental as well as a productive labourer. The ideal will be : earn your living by productive body labour and dedicate your faculties to the service of the society.

If the above be acceptable to a Nai Talim worker the question of class conversion assumes an importance all its own. The way of violent class conflicts is not his. Believer in a one-class society he must begin the experiment with himself, he must convert himself into an actual producer. It is at once his task and privilege to be the pioneer in this class conversion experiment.

And here is a programme that invites him. Here is a revolution that beckons him. Bhoodan Yajna is that programme. And Bhumi-Viplav is that revolution. For Bhumi-Viplav seeks to depose money, the begetter of exploiting classes, and to instal labour the leveller. Land will no longer belong to non-agriculturists and that too not in excess of what a family of tillers can by their own labour cultivate. Here we need remember that India is preponderately a land of agriculture and about 77 per cent of her annual income is derived from agricultural industries. If you have successfully assaulted this major sector of national income, you have successfully done away with inequality.

So to be a pioneer in the field of class transformation and class conversion is the role of a Nai Talim worker. He has to be a limb of the social revolution. His is not a tinker's job. It is not a little sacrifice here and a little sacrifice there. Revolution demands more—a thorough change of outlook, a thorough change of the way of life. So long and so far Nai Talim workers (and I am proud to call myself one) have forgone some of their conveniences for the sake of the society. But sacrifice is not revolution. Lowering the standard of living may be a good enough sacrifice. But we may not forget that lowering or raising the standard of living by itself means nothing or very little. A labourer's standard of living may be higher than that of a Babu. All the same the Babu is an exploiter while the labourer is a producer.

A new social order being the objective Nai Talim cannot ignore social environment as a medium of education. Just as it utilizes processes of production for teaching the children, so too has it to utilize the whole field of social environment, namely, organization and management as one of the principal media of education. Surely, the new social order envisaged will not be a social chaos. Organization and management there must be, only grabbing there should not be. Rights would accrue from duties well preformed and in no other way. And that is the social environment Nai Talim has to bring about.

Nai Talim is a life-long process. Nai Talim begins as the life begins and ends only as the life ends. So it covers the whole field of social activities.

These social activities may roughly be divided into to three categories—(1) production for basic needs, (2) social organization and management; (3) quest of

natural resources. So production, social environment and natural environment—all these form parts of and go to make what Nai Talim is. Nai Talim, therefore, has to integrate all the three into one whole.

In decentralised economy industrial production will comprise of home industries, village industries and national industries. In our educational scheme we may have home industries for the basic stage, village industries for the post-basic and the national industries for the university stage. As for agriculture, it is so wide and comprehensive that it will cover all the three stages.

Wherever I go and whenever I talk about self-sufficient economy, I have always been confronted with questions as to how will the necessary centralized industries be managed when the State itself is decentralized. The question is natural but the doubt arises from an inadequate understanding of Nai Talim. Why should national industries be the responsibility of the capitalists or of the Government? In fact, Nai Talim must come forward to take them over. In the Sarvodaya Samaj of our dreams, Tatanagar, Chittaranjan, Dalmianagar, Burnpur and the rest will no more be industrial centres; they will become educational centres in different subjects for our Uttam Buniady, that is University students. Then there will not be the familiar engineers and *majdoors*, but only teachers and students instead. They will at once be producers and managers of the centre to which they belong. In the same manner Nai Talim centres shall cover the whole field of social life. And just as we have three classes of industries, similarly social organization will have three stages. The basic stage will be 'Gram-raj,' the next higher stage will be the province, and the highest stage the nation. How will Nai Talim cover these is well worth considering.

In the Buniady stage, there are eight classes. Out of fifty-two weeks in a year, we can take forty to be working weeks. Thus three hundred and twenty working weeks constitute Buniady stage. Now the Buniady school pupils shall have to be trained in the art of the village management. They must become the first servants of 'Gram-raj.' That can very well be started with the pupils of the first grade. They may and should be asked to count the members of their family, note their age, their mutual relationship and the size of the house they live in. They can collect a lot of other information too. They will do it with interest. Our curriculum will be so arranged that the pupils come in contact and intimate touch with the village life and its problems. Similarly senior pupils will concern themselves with the village land, its produce and the various problems connected with land and agriculture. They should also undertake specific responsibilities in the scheme of village management. Easily, therefore, Nai Talim can have for its pupils three hundred and twenty home assignments. In the scheme here suggested the village

elders of the panchayat will not be petty rulers of villages but teachers of village management. And such problems as are found to be beyond the capacity of the Buniady school will be left over for the Uttar Buniady and the still higher ones for the Uttam Buniady. Thus will Nai Talim have to tackle all the problems at all the stages of social life, making the problems a medium of education itself.

Item 3 *i.e.*, natural resources, remains to be considered. Natural resources too will become a medium of education. In a decentralized society science will have no scope, and status, a criticism, such as this, is often levelled against Nai Talim by some people. The apprehension is groundless. Exigencies of an industrial civilization—elaborate labour-saving devices called machines and the nemesis of that civilization—A-bomb and H-bomb are not science. Nor do they exhaust the resources of science. To-day science's scope is restricted. It has to experiment and devise for a few grabbing capitalists and power-crazy bellicose militarists, scientists have not today the opportunity to serve the common man. A classless non-violent social order will offer to scientists a field of service as big as the

humanity. When a decentralized self-sufficient social order comes into existence, in which co-operation will take the place of direction and labour the place of capital, science will apply itself to the discovery and quest of resources suitable for decentralized economy and way of life.

Nai Talim is, therefore, all-comprehensive. Production, organization, knowledge or discovery, there is nothing that falls outside the range of Nai Talim. Nai Talim has to so blend education *cum* culture with life activities as not to leave any jar anywhere. And so as to eliminate the need of external coercion Nai Talim has to create a new set of values and a new race of men.

To conclude, Sarvodaya which stands for an enlightened society where the last receives consideration first and the self comes last is an ever-widening and watchful continuation of Nai Talim. Lovers of Nai Talim have to recognize this all-pervading character of Nai Talim. They may not confine their attention and devotion to its outward form—Buniady schools. To realize the great ideal they have to dedicate themselves to the spirit that informs it.

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## THE LINGUISTIC DIVISION OF INDIA

By PROF. T. DHANAKOTY, M.A.

THE movement for linguistic division has provoked a very keen controversy among its protagonists and antagonists. To the former, it is the panacea for all the ills we are suffering from; to the latter, it is tantamount to committing national suicide. One should resist the temptation of being betrayed into frothy emotionalism or cheap cynicism in considering the question. Here, as elsewhere, what is needed is an objective analysis. I shall, therefore, neither *swear at* the movement nor *swear by* it, but shall examine the pros and cons of it and show where the balance of advantage lies.

Before I take up this analysis, I would like to dwell briefly on the history of the movement. It is nearly half a century old. The infamous Partition of Bengal effected by that prancing proconsul, Lord Curzon, at the turn of this century was a deep stab in the body politic of India. That notorious settlement was unsettled in 1911 when Lord Hardinge issued a Despatch, envisaging a redistribution of the provinces on the linguistic basis in order to make the scheme of provincial autonomy effective. This was followed up by the creation of the Provinces of Bengal and Bihar in 1911. Orissa and Sind were constituted as separate provinces in 1936. But it was an irony of fate that the Andhras, the pioneers of this movement, were

treated like Tantalus of the Greek mythology. Many a time and oft the Andhra Province came within their grasp and eluded them, much to their despair and disappointment. It was in the year of grace 1953, after long waiting and much argument, that their dream came true and the Andhra State was born. This historic event has imparted a fresh momentum to the movement of linguistic division. Aikya Kerala, Maharashtra, Maha Gujarat, Samyukta Karnataka and Vishalandhra are its latest phases.

What is the rationale of this movement? Man is a social animal. He realises the best in him in and through society. There are various ties which bind him to his fellow-men. Race and religion are two such ties. Language is another link in the chain of unity. It lends homogeneity to a group and marks it off from other groups. It comes to have an art, a literature, peculiarly its own. Prof. Laski would say that England alone could have produced Shakespeare, France Voltaire and Germany Goethe. Similarly, Tamil alone could have produced Valluvar, Telugu Pothana, Hindi Tulsi Das, Bengali Bankim Chandra, Rabindranath and Urdu Mahomed Iqbal. Opportunities for cultural and intellectual efflorescence are very great indeed in a linguistic State. Each linguistic area would be in a position to make its own distinctive contribution to the common

cultural heritage of India. Unity in diversity has been India's glory right through the ages. Indian culture is "no Procrustes' bed, no straight-jacket; it is a mosaic of many colours, a garland of many flowers."

It might be asked whether such contributions cannot be made if provinces are not formed on the linguistic basis. One of the implications of a linguistic state is that the people of that area are, by and large, the moulders of the destiny of that state. We may say straightway that the glorious cultural epochs of the different regions of our country were at a time when the people concerned wielded political power. The noon-day splendour of the Telugu literature was under the aegis of the Vizianagar kings; the Tamil (Chera, Chola and Pandya) kings presided over the halcyon days of Tamil literature. As long as French remained the court language of England, English was just a dialect of the market-place. On its becoming the court language it produced a glorious literature. The Golden Age of Elizabeth was the consummation of such a process. And when the English people acquired an empire over which the sun never set, English language acquired a world-wide status and is now the lingua franca of the world. Sanskrit, in spite of its hoary antiquity and copious literature, is a language confined to a microscopic minority as it has nothing to do with the political machinery and the popular forces. What I am driving at is this; there is an intimate connection between cultural advancement and political autonomy. Under British domination, our languages languished. They were even called vernaculars, that is, languages of slaves. Our languages will recapture their old vitality and recommence their contribution to our cultural inheritance, only under the stimulating auspices of linguistically autonomous states.

Another merit of linguistic states is this. The full implications of such a State are as follows. The language of the area concerned will be the medium of instruction in schools and colleges. Administration of justice in courts, transaction of business by the executive and the making of laws by the legislature would all be through the medium of that language. In such an atmosphere there will be no gulf between the governors and the governed and real democracy will flourish.

Yet another merit is this. There will be a full and proper utilisation of the resources of the State. I may take the Andhra State to illustrate my point. She has valuable deposits of manganese, mica, asbestos, iron, copper, gold, diamonds, refractories, limestone, sulphur, etc. There are then the two great river systems of Godavari and Krishna, which bid fair to become centres of great irrigation and hydro-electric projects. A systematic geological survey and prompt starting of the projects will make Andhra a land flowing with milk and honey. A very bright future really awaits her. In this connection, I may refer to the complaints made by the

Andhras that before the formation of the Andhra State, developmental projects in that area were not given the attention and priority they deserved. It is not a pleasant pastime to 'rake up the past. I may, however, permit myself one observation. In a composite state the balance is sometimes tilted in favour of the dominant group, human nature being what it is. Such lapses will simply not occur in a mono-lingual State. The wearer knows where the shoe pinches. The people in that area are in a special position to find out the gaps and lacunae in their economy and take appropriate and timely steps to realise the ideal of a Welfare State.

The linguistic movement has had the approval of Mahatma Gandhi and Gurudev Rabindranath Tagore. In the epic fight which Gandhiji waged against the mighty British imperialism, he realised the inherent possibilities of homogeneous linguistic units and reorganised the Congress in 1920 on the linguistic basis. Thanks to this reorganisation the message of the Congress was carried to the remotest villages of this vast sub-continent. Tagore's stirring song, *Jana Gana Mana*, which has now become our national anthem, refers approvingly to the various linguistic units of Bharat Mata. What the Poet approved and the Prophet blessed cannot be wrong.

It is sometimes stated that the division of India on the linguistic basis will create a large number of states. The statement is not correct. At present there are 28 states under Parts A, B and C under the Indian Constitution. If India is reorganised on the linguistic basis, there will be ten regional languages worth the name and 10 units and the present Part B and C States will either be merged in the adjoining Part A States or form additional Part A States. Even if the statement that the number of states will increase were true, it is not a matter to be alarmed at, because the U.S.A. consists of 48 units.

Fear is often expressed that linguistic states will lead to fragmentation or Balkanisation of India. There is confusion of thought in this. When Pakistan was carved out of India, it meant the setting up of a separate state, all links with India being severed. The creation of a linguistic province implies the establishment of one more unit of the Indian Union. If the distinction between State and Government, Union and unit is kept in view, this confusion will not arise. Pakistan is a separate union; Andhra is merely a unit of the Indian Union. Such new units will function within the frame-work of the Indian Constitution. The question of Balkanisation of India is, therefore, a bogey.

In the opinion of some, another drawback is that linguistic provinces may encourage parochialism. There is some force in this contention. Real progress is possible only when the claims of local autonomy and national unity are carefully harmonised. But occasionally people think too much of the parts and too little of the whole, which tends to stultify political and economic progress. That is why our great leader

Prime Minister Nehru has been emphasising time and again that one of the primary talks for us today is the real emotional integration of India. Luckily for us, the Hindu religious traditions fostered during the long vista of centuries will stand us in good stead in counteracting the fissiparous tendencies released by linguistic division. The great Sankaracharya established four *maths*, one at Badrinath in the Himalayas, a second at Dwaraka in the West, a third at Puri in the East and a fourth at Sringeri in the South to symbolise the all-pervasive cultural unity of our people. Moreover, our *sandhya* prayers take in their strides the rivers flowing in different parts of India. Here we have emotional integration *par excellence*. Our cultural traditions are too deep-rooted to be blown away by any political or administrative structural alterations.

It is sometimes pointed out that in our enthusiasm we clamour for the setting up of States which are not economically self-supporting. "Marry in haste and repent at leisure," chime in the critics. When Sind was formed as a separate province in 1936, it suffered from this drawback. Now the new Andhra State faces an annual deficit of four crores. This is but a passing phase. With financial assistance from the Union Government during the transitional period and with the quickening of the pace of irrigation and power projects, this financial drawback may not stare us in the face.

Another set of critics would say that the movement for linguistic division is ordinarily sponsored by politicians who are not sure of the loaves and fishes of office in composite states. This is, to say the least, a travesty of facts. This movement draws its sustenance from deeply cherished popular aspirations. The martyrdom of Amarajeevi Potti Sriramulu Chetti and the passionate demonstrations it provoked in the Andhra area should be an eye-opener to the critics who indulge in such malicious lies. As the American poet Lowell says, we should carefully distinguish between the "revolt of intelligence" and the "insurrection of ignorance."

Another missile hurled at the movement is that it reverses the centripetal process initiated by the British rulers. Common language, common administrative, educational and legal systems, by which they tried to unify India, were introduced by them, *a la* all imperialists, primarily in their interests and secondarily, if at all, in our interests. That unity, say the critics, is now being threatened. Is this criticism correct? Though regional languages will be used for internal purposes, the states will use Hindi in the place of English for inter-statal purposes. The unity of the land will not, therefore, be impaired. Of course, the replacement of English by the regional languages in courts of law bristles with difficulties. But it should not be beyond the wit of legal experts to think of some compromises whereby national interests and regional requirements could be properly dovetailed. Politics, as Lord Morley would have it, is the art of the possible.

I have tried to explain the merits and demerits of the scheme of linguistic division which, I submit, should apply only to those linguistic groups who are heirs to rich cultural traditions and live in territories respectable in size and abounding in material resources. I hope it will be apparent from the above analysis that the balance of advantage lies with the linguistic division of India. It enriches cultural traditions, ensures the functioning of real democracy and facilitates the proper utilisation of mineral resources. On the side of liabilities, it may provoke parochial tendencies and hamper the uniform administration of justice throughout India. Taken all in all, there is a case for the reorganisation of states, mainly if not solely, on the basis of oneness of language. An expert committee is at work. The question is not *whether* but *when* this reorganisation should take place. If the pace is slower, let us wait, keeping in view the troubled times through which we are passing. But our fanatical friends would say: *Now or never*. The situation calls for compromises and adjustments and not for hunger-strikes and self-immolations. The cock has begun to crow and the dawn is not far off.

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## FOUNDATION OF INDIA'S EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM A Hundred Years Ago

By SURESHCHANDRA SHUKLA.

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NINETEENTH of July this year is in a real sense the centenary of India's educational system. For although the first decisive blows in favour of English education were struck by Bentinck and Macaulay in 1835, it was not till Wood's despatch of 19th July, 1854 that the policy was firmly accepted and implemented all over India. And then this was only one, even if the most important, component of the educational policy of the Indian empire. The authorship of the despatch is claimed by many for John Stuart Mill who was at that

time employed in the East India House and by others for the Scottish missionary Duff. However that may be, the document is remarkable for the clarity with which it foresaw the educational needs of Britain's Indian empire for the next fifty years. And even when, in Curzon's time, changes corresponding to the altered political and economic situation were effected, the framework laid down in 1854 was only further elaborated and in some respects modified.

The policy outlined in the despatch consisted

essentially, of three basic elements: English education, elementary vernacular education and some engineering education. The organisation to be set up for implementing these schemes consisted of universities for examining and granting degrees, departments of education for organising and inspecting English and vernacular schools and a scheme of grants-in-aid for non-government institutions.

Almost immediately after acquiring a territory in Bengal, the Company were faced with the problem of finding people to man an administration for collecting revenue and for maintaining law and order. To start with, they relied on such men as were available. Castes of hereditary clerks and civil servants, such as the Kayasthas, etc., were pressed into service. But even the limited Magisterial and other duties that the English had to fulfil required the assistance of those who knew local laws, customs and language. It was to supply such assistants that the first institutions of learning were founded. These were the Calcutta Madrasa (1791), the Benares Sanskrit College (1792) and the Poona Sanskrit College (1821). These institutions served the additional political purpose of conciliating and attaching to the Company's rule Pandits and Munis who had lost the patronage that they used to receive at the hands of Muhammadan and Marhatta rulers. Their adherence to the Company's rule gave it added prestige and power in the eyes of the people. This policy of promoting 'Oriental learning' born out of political and administrative necessity, however, soon became a sacred principle particularly with those of the Company's officials who had cultivated Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian. These were many and influential, centred round the Asiatic Society of Bengal founded by Sir William Jones in 1781. Their influence can be noticed in the Minute on Education by Governor-General Minto in 1811 and in the work of the General Committee of Public Instruction when it was founded in 1823.

Had the Company been just of India's many rulers collecting land revenue and administering law and justice, it is likely that this policy could have continued indefinitely. The Company's rule, however, was the instrument of important social changes in India as well as at home. Aided by the tribute from India, England's great manufacturing industry had its rise in the late eighteenth and the early nineteenth century. This industry required access to cheap raw materials and markets in which to export its produce. The demand, therefore, arose that India be opened to private British trade and that it be ruled more and more in the interests of the entire British capitalist class. This change took almost the entire first half of the nineteenth century to be effected. 1813 saw the abolition of the Company's monopoly of Indian trade. In 1833, the Company ceased to have any commercial interests in India at all. Its economic functions were confined to administering India so as to facilitate to the utmost the sale of British manufactures in India, to encourage the production of cotton, indigo, raw silk etc.,

and to help establish British planters in tea, jute and the like.

The ideological counterpart of this process was the urge for the cultural conquest of India. The first took a religious expression. Following Charles Grant's *Observations on the State of Society in the East Indies* a new wave of enthusiasm for missionary work in India was visible. Grant himself who rose to be the Chairman of the Court of Directors of the Company, Wilberforce in the Parliament and the group which gathered round him, advocated a vigorous policy of education and proselytisation in India. When, therefore, in 1813, the Charter of the Company came up for renewal before the Parliament, a clause was inserted providing for the expenditure of Rs. 1 lakh annually "to be set apart and applied to the revival and improvement of literature and the encouragement of the learned natives of India and for the promotion of a knowledge of the sciences." This clearly was not yet the enunciation of a policy of a bold cultural transformation. It was more a response to administrative needs increasingly keenly felt—expressed by the successive Governors-General Minto and Moira in their Minutes of 1811 and 1815 respectively—than a concession to missionary pressure. But the responsibility for education was formally accepted and the door was now open for far-reaching cultural changes. In consequence of this enactment, the General Committee of Public Instruction was set up, in 1823. It set about spending the greater part of its resources in supporting Oriental instruction, although some institutions teaching English were also managed by it.

Over the next twenty years, the ideology of cultural conquest underwent a refinement and assumed a form more congenial to the empire. It shed its religious trappings and took its stand almost exclusively on the secular knowledge of the West. It sought to nurture a class of Indian intermediaries standing between the government and the people solely on English literature, political economy and ethics. Macaulay is the most outstanding representative of this school of thought though by no means its originator. This trend was strengthened by the emergence, particularly in Bengal, of a class of people who were more than eager to learn the English language and, in the bargain, to accept the cultural fare that it served out. The leisured Zemindars created by the Permanent Settlement could find nothing better to do than cultivate the society and the language of the Sahib. Employment under the Company and the private traders converted yet another lot, including the class of hereditary government servants who had so far cultivated Persian, to the side of English. We see, thus the foundation of numerous venture schools opened by Bengalis as well as Europeans who found nothing better to do. This culminated in the establishment of the Hindu College at Calcutta. The enterprise had the support of the most diverse sections. Sir Hyde East, the Chief Justice, the rationalist English watch-maker,

philanthropist David Hare, private English merchants, India's first modern man Raja Ram Mohun Roy and the great majority of the not-so-modern, conservative Hindus who like Raja Radhakanta Deb had read the signs of the times—all combined to support it. Soon enough others, too, read these same signs and the Bishop's College at Calcutta, the Baptist Missionaries' College at Serampore and Duff's General Assembly's Institution were founded in quick succession—all this while the Company's official educational policy was not yet settled in favour of English.

What clinched the issue, in the immediate sense, was, perhaps, again, administrative necessity. What with continuous wars and a growing administration, the Company's finances were in a very bad state. When Lord William Bentinck succeeded to the office of Governor-General, he came with an express mandate for retrenchment. To this there was only one easy way, more extensive employment of Indians, a need which found expression in the Charter Act 1833 in the rather pompous promise withdrawing all discrimination in employment. The Directors had from 1824 onwards been pressing for devising educational measures so as to prepare Indians for more responsible appointments.

Ground was thus ready for Macaulay's rhetoric to break a rather long-drawn stalemate in the General Committee of Public Instruction. For quite a few years now the General Committee had also been supporting many government institutions teaching English and even with English as medium. But on all major questions of policy it was evenly divided between the supporters of English and Oriental learning. In 1835, it decided to refer the matter to the government. Macaulay now wrote his Minute in high-flown language and imperfect knowledge advocating the policy of forming "a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions we govern—a class of persons Indian in blood and colour but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals and in intellect." Bentinck 'concurring entirely', the Committee set about organising zilla anglo-vernacular schools and developing the Hindu, Hooghly, Dacca and other colleges.

The question was, however, far from completely settled. The policy was assailed, futilely though, by those like Wilkinson of Bhopal who thought it possible to impart modern knowledge through Sanskrit. They succeeded only in persuading Bentinck's successor Auckland to restore stipends to the students of Sanskrit and Persian colleges. B. H. Hodgson, the Company's resident in Nepal, advocated education through the vernaculars. He demolished the main arguments against the vernaculars that there were too many of them, that they were not fit vehicles for higher learning, etc. He showed that in the entire Bengal presidency there were only three languages—Bengali, Hindi and Urdu. He recalled how English itself had developed from a crude lingo into a language of culture because it was used for those purposes. He also showed that 'if learning were

made a monopoly of a limited class by conveying it through English it could not but become an engine of oppression. But Hodgson's arguments were seriously considered.

There was yet another question: Does English education mean an advanced liberal education rearing up an intelligentsia cultivating learning or does it have only the more modest utilitarian objective of supplying the lower rungs of the Company's administration with incumbents? The question turned out to be an unreal one, because it aimed at both. Indians were being utilised more and more in higher situations and so a higher order of education was also necessary. And an intelligentsia is an essential requirement for reproduction in education, i.e., for turning out new generations of the educated. A high liberal education too, was, therefore, necessary. But the confusion existed and was only resolved by the despatch of 1854.

The fact that English administration had been longest established in Bengal, the extensive English trade and other enterprises in the presidency and the existence of the leisured class of zemindars—all contributed to a great quantitative spread of English education and to the development of higher education there. This even led the Council of Education to propose the establishment of a University at Calcutta as early as 1845. The Directors negatived the proposal and warned that "a high degree of scholastic knowledge" did not constitute "an essential qualification for the public service." But in Madras the situation was exactly the reverse. The employment demand for English education was comparatively low and a leisured zemindar class did not exist on the same scale as in Bengal. Besides missionary influence which was pretty strong with the Company in this presidency appears to have been exerted at first against any government in education and later against the development of higher education. Their policy acquiesced in by a large section of the Madras administration appears to have been that purely utilitarian English education of a low standard should be administered, as far as possible, through missionary agency. For a while, certainly, during the Governorship of Elphinstone, the University Board pushed forward a policy of secular higher education in English under Government control but the higher classes of the Madras 'University' did not flourish. This was due both to the unsympathetic policy of the Government and to the fact that the demand for higher education did not exist to the same extent in Bengal. A prolonged dispute between the Government and the University Board was finally resolved only after the despatch of 1854 had laid down the policy of setting up universities and encouraging higher education.

Bombay, too, contributed its share towards controversies in regard to English education. Mont Stuart Elphinstone, Bombay's first Governor, had laid great emphasis on extensive vernacular education but the

residents of Bombay and the princes of the presidency raised him a memorial in the form of Elphinstone Professorships for English literature, political economy and natural philosophy and mathematics. Young Parsis and Maharashtrians studied English, served the Company and wrote addresses and pamphlets with as much facility as the Bengali *bhadralok*. But Bombay was the centre of a considerable merchant middle-class with ambitions and tendencies towards industry. This class had very much more use for its own language than had the Bengali Babu. An expression of this tendency is found in the controversy in the Bombay Board of Education between the supporters of vernacular and of English. Col. Jervis supported by all the Indian members of the Board was in favour of high education through the vernaculars and their view was, for a while, even upheld by the Government. But with English as the language of the administration of the country, its premier position was not very seriously challenged.

As noticed earlier, the despatch set all these questions at rest. It pronounced in favour of higher education as well as for a lower order of Anglo-vernacular schools. In this it only clarified and confirmed the fateful decision of 1835.

The need for elementary and vernacular education had been perceived later but was nonetheless urgent. For a while the Company's rule had spelt nothing but ruin for India's widespread system of village education which had been supported by the landowning and trading classes. But soon the Company itself felt the necessity of village education. Its own village functionaries should have learnt their three R's and should be able to perform their duties with at least reasonable efficiency and honesty. Also, both in order to support the State's demand for revenue and the demand of English industry for raw materials, agriculture had to be, in some measure, productive. While in the initial stages, a starving peasantry had endangered its savings as well as its small farming capital to pay land revenue, this was no longer possible. And in any case an unproductive agriculture could not yield cotton and indigo, etc. Thus administrative and economic necessity called for literacy of at least a part of the peasantry so that it could take care of and improve its agriculture. Vernacular education thus comes into its own only about the late thirties and the forties of the nineteenth century although early administrators Moira (1815), Elphinstone (1821) and Munro (1826) had all pointed to its necessity. James Thomason, Lt.-Governor of the North-Western Provinces, discovered that his recent land revenue settlements could not be maintained except on the basis of the literacy of at least a section of the peasantry. His scheme of gradually bringing the existing indigenous village schools under Government control and supervision at a very low cost and of setting up Government tahsildari schools to serve as models laid the foundation of a system of rural education which was

held up by the despatch as a model for the whole country. It would be interesting to note that a scheme of vernacular rural schools tried out in Bengal from 1844 onwards did not succeed mainly because the urge to read English and enter the ranks of Calcutta Babus had percolated down to the Bengal countryside.

One of two other features of the system of vernacular education are worth notice. It was predominantly rural and was separated from predominantly urban English education which produced the elite of Indian society by the language barrier. Thus a divided system of education was established in which the society's elite was selected from a very restricted periphery. Within the system of vernacular education itself, of the two objectives, educating the peasantry remained subsidiary and the aim of Government employment either directly or after securing English education became predominant. An interesting light on this situation is thrown by the discussions among Bengal civilians on the subject during 1870's. The Governor, Sir John Campbell, had in 1870 launched a scheme of supporting indigenous schools of a very inferior kind frequented by the 'masses'. Those upholding Sir John's scheme criticised the earlier schemes of vernacular education as not fulfilling the real intentions of the 1854 despatch. They said these schools had been captured by the 'service classes' and so the poorest quality of primary education should be organised in order that it may reach those who will stick to their rural vocations. Critics of Sir John Campbell's scheme saw no objection to the fact that elementary education became only the lowest rung of a system which through many obstacles led to English education and to State employment.

The despatch of 1854 also emphasised the development of engineering education. An earlier plan of technical education submitted by Julius Jeffreys in 1835 had never been taken serious note of. Even after the opening of the Godavary anicut in the South, the Directors negatived a proposal of the Madras University Board for engineering classes. They insisted that engineers trained in England should be used. It is only after the opening of extensive canal works on the Ganga and the Jumna that the Roorkee Civil Engineering College was opened at the modest cost of a few hundred rupees a month. James Thomason had convincingly showed both the important share of land revenues in the total revenues and the low cost at which an engineering college could supply the personnel required for the canal works which would enhance this revenue. That his advice fell on ready ears is attributable to the fact already noted that the Company was set upon a policy of encouraging production of agricultural raw produce in India.

Wood's despatch was thus the first clear and comprehensive enunciation of the educational policy suited to foreign rule retaining India as an agricultural colony of industrial England.



# Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

## ENGLISH

**HOLY ABU** (A tourist's guide to Mount Abu and its Jaina Shrines): *By the late Muni Shri Jayanta Vijayaji Translated from Gujarati by Dr. Umakant Premchand Shah. First edition, 1954. Shri Yashovijaya Jaina Granthamala, Bhavnagar (India). Pp. 215. Price Rs. 10 or 15sh.*

As a great centre of Jaina pilgrimage and as a seat of some of the finest architectural monuments of the last phase of the Ancient Period of our history, Mount Abu has always occupied a distinguished place on the religious and cultural map of our country. The present work is a fine English version (the third of its kind) of the Gujarati publication (third edition) called *Tirthanaja Abu* by the late Muni Shri Jayanta Vijayaji, which is the first of a series of five works on Mount Abu and its environs (1933-49) from the pen of the same indefatigable worker in the field of Jaina literature and antiquities. The original work, as the translator observes (Introduction, p. xxvii), is "primarily a guide-book for pilgrims and tourists and not a scientific textbook on the art and architecture of the shrines, etc., on Mount Abu," although the translator gives the author full credit for collecting in his five volumes almost all possible information upon his subject and for his attempted interpretation of the numerous relief sculptures in the temples and his exploitation of all known inscriptional evidence. The present work goes a long way to fill the lacunae noticed above by the translator. For not only is it introduced to us with a learned Foreword from the pen of Dr. V. S. Agrawala (with a description of the two most famous temples of Vimala Vasahi and Lunga Vasahi illustrated by ground plans) and a stimulating Introduction by the translator (with numerous and valuable suggestions for a scientific study of the sites of Mount Abu and its monuments), but it concludes with four Appendices (including an important glossary of technical terms and iconographical notes), a select Bibliography and lastly and above all a complete series of seventy-two well-executed plates. Other interesting additions are an obituary notice of the original author by Dr. Helen M. Johnson (Research scholar of the Oslo University, U.S.A.) and a full list of his works (twenty-five in all), a programme for visitors to Mount Abu and a list of select opinions on the art of its monuments. The translator has shown good sense by adding a chapter on the geology and early history of Mount Abu and a chapter on general information and while leaving intact most of the original descriptive matter, he has supplemented or corrected it in his footnotes.

Altogether this work is bound to be very useful

alike to tourists and students of Indian religion as well as art and architecture.

U. N. GHOSHAL

**THE FIRST TWO NAWABS OF AWADH:** *By Dr. Ashirvadi Lal Srivastava, Ph.D., D.Litt. Second edition. Published by Shivalal Agarwal and Co. Ltd., Hospital Road, Agia Pp. xiv+307. Price Rs. 12-8.*

The wide country comprised within the valley of the Ganges and the Jamuna has been the crucible in which the various races and peoples that streamed into India across the ages were melted and later on fused to form a common cultural pattern. This is also the region which has been at the van of the fight against foreign domination. Oudh bounded within the Ganges and the Ghogra is only a segment of this wide zone; but ever since the establishment of the Gahadwals and the immigration of other Rajput tribes by the pressure of Turkish invasions, it has been the home of sturdy fighters, whose manly vigour sustained by the wonderful fertility of the country and mythology, flashes casually in the pages of the Persian chronicles. Take for instance, the rising under Dauli and Malki, described by Minhaj, the insurrection of the Bahgoti tribe at the end of the 15th century and the stand made by a number of Rajput chiefs for feudal independence which were for the first time revealed by the researches of Dr. Ashirvadi Lal in 1933.

I drew pointed attention to this aspect of what I would call *Oudh Baron's War* in course of a review of this book in the *Oriental Library Digest*, Poona. This new edition published after the lapse of twenty years sustains the author's reputation as an indefatigable worker in the field of Indian history, for he has taken note of the new material that have come to light during the interval, such as a few *farmans* and *sanads*, a rare Persian MS. *Yalgar-i-Bahaduri*, and records in Marathi, such as the *Pwandare Daftar Holkar Sahib-chya Itihasanchi Sadhanena*, above all, the last fifteen volumes of *Selections from the Peshwas' Daftar* and a Hindi work, *Baghwant Singh Ka Rasa* by Sadanand. These new materials have verified his old findings based on the secondary sources, enabled him to check others, e.g., Saadat Khan's age at the time of his death and his policy towards the Oudh chiefs and incorporate fresh matter, e.g., on the life and career of Nawal Rai.

Dr. Ashirvadi Lal has done meritorious work on the history of Oudh and I would press into his notice the immediate need of printing at least in lithograph the Persian manuscripts of *Insha-i-Safdar Jang* and *Insha-i-Roshan Kalam*, which, I am afraid, would otherwise perish. I say this from my own experience of the way in which the Persian MS., e.g., *Tarikh-i-Alfi*, have been kept in the Aminuddaulah Public Library, Lucknow.

N. B. Roy

**THE QUEST AND THE GOAL:** By Nolini Kanta Gupta. Published by Sri Aurobindo Ashrama, Pondicherry. Pp. 208. Price—Paper: Rs. 3-8, Cloth: Rs. 4-8.

Sri Nolini Kanta is a distinguished colleague and an immortal apostle of the great Rishi Aurobindo. He is a forceful writer and an original thinker and the reputed author of a good many books in English and Bengali. Seated in the spiritual atmosphere of Aurobindo Ashrama at Pondicherry on the south-east coast of India he has been devoted to study, meditation, thinking and writing ever since 1910 for about four decades and a half. Such devout and dedicated souls are indeed very few in religious institutions of modern India.

The present volume is a collection of 28 contributions written between 1944 and 1950. Of these articles the first seven are papers and the rest are notes and comments. The former were published in various journals, such as *Hinklostan Quarterly*, *Proceedings of the Indian Philosophical Congress* and other magazines whereas the latter are selected from the editorials contributed to the *Advent Quarterly*. All these articles are clearly thought out and carefully written for those who aspire for a higher life. Thoughtfulness and originality are marked in each of them. These compositions may very well be regarded as elucidations and amplifications of Sri Aurobindo's Philosophy and their style too is somewhat similar to that of Sri Aurobindo.

The last but one article is entitled the New World Ideal. It is asserted that the New Faith upheld by the Christian Berdeyaev and Neo-Brahmin Gerald Heard and the French Bio-physicist Lecomte du Nouy is fulfilled in the world ideal as envisaged by Sri Aurobindo. The author makes bold to say that the great secret discovered by the Sage of Pondicherry is the spiritualisation and divinisation of matter and material life. If that be the goal of the new world ideal then we must admit our inability to realise its newness, and to sound its significance. Do not the Gita and the Upanishads often declare unanimously that the Spirit is seen through all beings, even the grossest in the light of super-consciousness? It is nothing more or less than the Vedic ideal enunciated and experienced by the Rishis centuries ago. Sri Aurobindo is certainly a lineal descendant of our Rishis as well as a continuator and confirmer of the ancient ideal. It may be said that innovation is almost an impossibility in Indian Thought. We lag behind none to appreciate the uniqueness and profundity of his Philosophy which seems to be still unsurpassed in this century. But when he tells of divinising and spiritualising matter we are afraid it smacks of Hegelianism which is different from the Vedanta, the crest jewel of Indian Thought.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA.

**SOCIAL CONTACTS OF FRENCH WOMEN IN CALCUTTA.** By Miss Indira Sarkar, M.A. Published by Messrs. Chakraverty Chatterjee & Co. Ltd., Calcutta. Pp. 68. Price Rs. 3.

During World War II the author, the only daughter of the late Prof. Benoy Sarkar, was engaged in social work and in that connection she came into contact with French women social workers who visited Calcutta. This brochure is a record of her happy experience of those abnormal days. It is pleasant reading.

**SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY:** By C. S. Srin-

ivasachari. Published by The National Information & Publications Ltd., Bombay. Pp. 47. Price Re. 1.

This booklet traces the intellectual and religious movements in India which were the fruits of the contact between the East and the West. There were reform movements in Hinduism, Islam and also among the Zoroastrians. Raja Ram Mohun Roy stands supreme as the pioneer. The missionaries of Serampore played a great part in Bengal by introducing the printing press, newspapers and modern education. The author gives proper place to the Brahmo Samaj and its leaders in his narrations. The Prarthana Samaj, of Bombay played its part less vigorously in Southern India. Parsis and Muslims were also not idle. Various attempts were made for popularising the study and publication of the Avesta. The Parsis abandoned the *purdah* and attempted to raise their standard to the level of Europeans. Reform movements among Muslims took the form of the spread of English education, and the founding of a college at Aligarh marks a great beginning. Arya Samaj, Gaurakshini Sabha, Ramakrishna Mission, Radha Swami Sastang, Deva Samaj and Theosophical Society, all played their part and contributed towards reforms and progress. Various laws were enacted as a result of these movements. The brochure deserves wide circulation.

**FOR DEMOCRACY:** By Amlan Dutta. Published by Prachi Prakashan, Calcutta. Pp. 140. Price Re. 1-8.

This is the second edition of the book which we reviewed in June, 1954. Two new essays, viz., 'An Essay on Soviet Economic Development' and 'Industrialisation and Integral Humanism' have been added. The essay 'On Gandhism' has been replaced by 'Ends and Means.' The additions have enhanced the quality of the book, the printing and get-up have been improved and the number of pages increased from 116 to 140 but the price has not been increased.

**AN ESSAY ON SOVIET ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT:** By Amlan Dutta. Published by Prachi Prakashan, 12 Chawringhee Square, Calcutta-1. Pp. 38. Price Re. 1.

The writer of this essay has critically examined the industrial statistics published by USSR from time to time to prove the economic progress of the country and also the rise in the standard of living of the people and has shown that "the Soviet people have paid for industrialisation not only in the form of consumption foregone but also freedom sacrificed." Mr. Dutta has further shown that the so-called 'marketable surplus' in agriculture was really 'forced surplus,' and "the difference between the pay of qualified and unqualified labour is of such classical magnitude as does not exist in Western Europe." An essay of this nature ably written based on data published by authorities of USSR, will be an eye-opener to all students who find nothing wrong and everything good in Soviet totalitarian planning.

A. B. DUTTA

**PURBACHAL RECONSIDERED:** The Cachar States Reorganisation Committee, Silchar (Cachar). Price Rs. 2.

A movement for the formation of a separate Congress Province called the Purbachal Pradesh, comprising the Districts of Cachar, Manipur, Tripura and the Lushai Hills was started by the Cachar Dis-

trict Congress Committee in 1948 and a booklet named *A Plan for Purbachal* written by Sri J. K. Choudhury was published in the same year. The booklet was an eye-opener to those persons who were quite in the dark about the miserable plight of the non-Assamese population in the State of Assam. After the attainment of independence the Governmental machinery of Assam has left no stone unturned to impose Assamese culture and language on the tribal peoples and the Bengali-speaking population inhabiting this frontier province of India which was aptly called "A Museum of Nationalities" by Sir Bamfylde Fuller a few decades ago in his Preface to the *Garos* by A. Playfair. This aggressive policy of the Government of Assam created great discontent amongst the non-Assamese population whose instinct of self-preservation and the necessity of self-expression induced them to put up this legitimate claim for the creation of a new State. Owing to unavoidable circumstances the proposal for Purbachal was abandoned for the time being and things were worsening day by day. The movement led by the Cachar District Congress Committee did not, however, subside. It was rather gradually gaining ground and gathered momentum in April, 1954, when a Memorandum based on Sri Choudhury's original work was submitted to the States Re-organisation Commission at New Delhi. The book under review is "really a reprint of the original Memorandum shorn of the formal statements exclusively meant for the Commission." All the aspects of the Purbachal plan have more convincingly and elaborately been dealt with in the present work which is the outcome of painstaking studies on past events and current political and economic affairs of Assam.

The book contains a revised proposal for the formation of new States and it is divided into two parts. The first part will convince the reader why in spite of living together for eighty years there is no other alternative left to the non-Assamese population today than to get away from Assam. The pitiable condition of Cachar, the only Bengali-speaking District of Assam has been presented with ample documentary evidence. It is really shocking to learn that all non-Assamese inhabitants in the State of Assam are called "non-indigenous" and all the avenues of employment are closed to those "non-indigenous" inhabitants who cannot produce domicile certificates. Is their condition anyway better than those of our countrymen who have settled in South Africa?

Part II of the present book contains a constructive scheme for the creation of a composite State, which is conceived to be a centrally administered one. The main item of the revised proposal is the constitution of a Purbachal State by the merger of the District of Cachar with Tripura State.

The re-organisation of Indian States is the problem of problems of Free India and it is the duty of the States Re-organisation Commission, appointed by the Central Government to give special attention to the condition of the District of Cachar which wants to be separated from Assam for its security and prosperity. *Purbachal Reconsidered*, which is a timely publication proves beyond doubt that the creation of a new State in the North-Eastern part of India is essentially necessary not only for the integrity of our national life but also for the political, cultural and economic uplift of the country as a whole.

NALINI KUMAR BHADRA

## BENGALI

**BHARATIYA ARTHANITI:** By Prof. Himanshu Roy. Published by Messrs. H. Chatterjee & Co. Ltd., 19 Shyama Charan De St., Calcutta-12. Pages 269+11+v. Price Rs. 3-8.

This is a book on Indian economics in fourteen chapters. The subjects dealt with are Natural Environment, Population, Social Conditions and Economic Environment, Agriculture and Agricultural Credit, Co-operation, Revenue and Treasury, Industries—cottage and large-scale, Labour Laws and Trade Unions, and Communications. This is Part I of the book and the author contemplates to bring out Part II containing other subjects of Indian economy. Books in Bengali on Indian economics are not many and the book under review is a welcome addition to a subject to which the Indian public is showing an increasing interest. The book although written primarily for students of the University will be a good guide to a man of average education to understand economic problems of his country which confront him in everyday life. The subjects dealt with are presented to the reader in clear language based on facts chronologically arranged supported by current and authentic statistical figures and conclusions arrived at by commonsense logic, will not tire the patience as an ordinary text-book on economics is likely to do. The author's arguments and even his conclusion are stimulating and thought-provoking.

**RUSSIA KI SAMAJTANTRI DESH:** Translated by Amalendu Das Gupta. Pp. 72. Price As. 4.

This is another publication of Prachi Prakashan of Calcutta who are playing books in the Calcutta market at a very cheap price. The present booklet is a translation of speeches delivered by a Communist and an anti-Communist for and against Communism, as it is found in the Russia of Stalin. Although the reader is expected to draw his own conclusions, the booklet is published as a propaganda against Communism as is evident from the statement in the Preface.

A. B. DUTTA

**MEGH-O-CHAND** By Ajit Kumar Bandyopadhyaya. Published by Santi Devi Bandyopadhyaya at 10-B, College Row, Calcutta-9. Santi Library, 81, Hewitt Road, Allahabad-3. Price 12 annas.

This small volume contains one single juvenile story picked up from the very common life of rural Bengal. A plaintive note permeated by literary flavour runs through the whole book. The story is interesting reading and will be very much entertaining to those for whom it is meant. The author has spared no pains to write in a simple and lucid style. The book will be appreciated by the young readers.

KRISHNAMAY BHATTACHARYA

## HINDI

**ACHAR AUR DHARMA:** By Prof. Dewan Chand Sharma. Published by Rajpal and Sons, Nai Sarak, Delhi. Pp. 56. Price twelve annas.

This booklet is made up of Gandhiji's teaching on Satyagraha, the spinning-wheel, celibacy, punctuality, vows, conquest of anger and other constituents of human conduct, but co-related to incidents and situations in his own life. Hence its appeal to every reader, young or old.

G. M.

## GUJARATI

**KELAVANIVADE KRANTI:** By Vithaldas Maganlal Kothari. Published by the Gujarat Vidyapitha, Ahmedabad. 1950. Paper cover. Pp. 304. Price Rs.3.

The Gujarat Vidyapitha was founded by Gandhiji in 1920; since then it has developed and progressed. Credit is due for it, not only to the staff and workers but also to the presiding geniuses like the late Vallabhbhai Patel, and also Morarjibhai Desai. The basic principle of imparting education to youths of both sexes was that of making them good citizens and patriotic nationals. The history of the institution for the last thirty years is told in this book, which has been called "Change through Education" and indeed Gujarat has changed and the Vidyapitha has contributed largely to it. It has procured and spent 14 lakhs of rupees for its maintenance and survival, and today the Rappamukh Dr. Rajendra Prasad is its Chancellor. The writer has utilised every piece of available material in the composition of the book, with a very useful index and has been able to publish one which will ensure to the lasting credit of his labours, his pen and the Pitha.

**PREM SAURABH:** By Mrs. Sarojini Mehta, M.A. Published by N. M. Tripathi & Co., Bombay-2. 1951. Illustrated jacket. Thick card-board. Pp. 352. Price Rs. 3.

Mrs. Prem-Lila Mehta, wife of Shri Kanti Chandra Manubhai Mehta, Director of Posts and Telegraphs, Shillong, Assam, the son of the late Sr. Manubhai N. Mehta, Diwan of Baroda, died a short time ago, when she was contemplating a tour of America, to get acquainted with Social Welfare Work there. Connected on her mother's side with a well-known Social Reform family of Ahmedabad, she claimed as her maternal aunt, Lady Vidya Gayin Nilkanth, B.A., M.B.E., who along with her sister, Sharda, i.e., Mrs. Premila's mother, were the first lady graduates of Gujarat. It is lady Vidya Gayin's talented daughter who has arranged and ended the reminiscences and welfare activities of her aunt's—Sharda Behen's—daughter. All her life Shrimati Premila was active and the interesting incidents and letters written by her, illustrating her work and which have found a due place in this composition, are sure to make the reader rate high both her and Mrs. Sarojini's work as her biographer.

K.M.J.

## Books Received

We have received a well-got-up and profusely illustrated magazine, entitled *Pictorial Japan*. It contains informative articles on and about Japan. The journal will be very useful for the would-be tourists of Japan and also those interested in Japanese affairs. It is published by Japan Overseas Pubhcity Association and issued from Kazuo Bldg. No. 3, 1-Chome, Kyobashi, Chuo Ku, Tokyo, Japan.

## TO THE YOUTH OF INDIA

By

SWAMI VIVEKANANDA

The object of this publication is to bring within the easy reach of our student population a small, cheaply-priced yet representative selection of the Swami Vivekananda's message to the sons and daughters of India.

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Price Re. 1/12/-

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# INDIAN PERIODICALS

## The Fisherman Koboyana

George Godwin writes with burning concern in *The Aryan Path* about the fate of defenceless humanity in the hands of the half-asleep architects of new methods of mass destruction:

From his fishing boat Koboyana cast his net into the Pacific, into an empty ocean under the vault of a clear, blue sky. Koboyana was done with war, and was once more pursuing the calling traditional to his people, that of a deep-sea fisherman.

Koboyana, then, had done with war; but had war done with Koboyana?

In a sense it had. He no longer wore a uniform or responded unquestioningly to the iron discipline of the national military machine. He was free to fish, and there beneath the keel of his craft was the whole, vast Pacific for a fishing ground.

Koboyana, no doubt, heard talk in port of new experiments to advance that western science, which had manifested itself in the wiping out of the city of Hiroshima, with most of its men, women, children and unborn babes.

But all that, no doubt, did not disturb the fisher of the deep: for Bikini lay beyond his horizon, and what was being done there had no greater significance for the Japanese sea peasant than it may have for you who read these lines.

When Koboyana began to feel sick he reported to the doctor. A Geiger counter was brought to bear. "You have been contaminated by radio-active air," he was told. "You have breathed death from the vapours of Bikini."

But the American experiments at Bikini had taken place six months before that. Was it possible that those poisonous emanations were blowing about the vast Pacific still?

What did science say about it?

It was quite clear: once set free, the products of a great thermonuclear explosion remained as lifedestroying agents not for months, years or decades, but probably for a thousand years!

I do not know whether Koboyana, who died a painful and horrible death from radio-active contamination contracted while fishing in a great ocean in a world "at peace," had children. But a child begot of one thus doomed is also doomed; for this is the fundamental difference between the atom bomb and the hydrogen bomb, and the now old fashioned high explosive bomb or shell: *the explosion is not the end of the destruction wrought, but only its beginning.*

Rain is falling in Birmingham, England. The Geiger counter chatters. It is radio-active rain. Where is it from? The far Pacific? Or from beyond the Urals, where the Russians are exploding atom and hydrogen bombs?

Nobody knows for certain. All that is known is that while the peoples of the world live with terror in their hearts, and a deep and passionate hatred of these scientific horrors, their governments pour out their treasure in unending stream to achieve bigger and more ghastly scientific instruments of mass destruction.

So it is that to-day this obscure Japanese fisherman, the ill-fated Koboyana, becomes for millions a symbol of a figure, representing the simple people of the earth who may become immolated on this bloody altar of science, served, as it is, by the blind priests of political systems, or crazy nationalism.

How can the Koboyanas of the world, that is, all inarticulate, peace-loving people, implement their will to halt the work of the scientists who now labour to bring about the destruction of all human life on earth?

In the Dictator countries, they have no voice. Have they a voice in the great Democracies?

During the parliamentary election in England in 1950, twelve professors in Birmingham University issued a manifesto. They appealed to the electors to put party politics aside and to vote for those candidates who would give unqualified support to world government.

Here is their case in part:—Civilized mankind has an all too brief breathing space in which to undertake the supreme moral and intellectual task of creating a new social institution, capable of controlling the limitless powers of destruction now at our disposal. If we fail to make this effort we may well follow the dinosaur and the dodo to extinction.

This was a magnificent gesture. But no more, for, whatever a parliamentary candidate might pledge himself to perform in the House of Commons, if elected, once in he is little better than a small boy in a big school. He must accept the Party Whip. He must do no political thinking of his own.

When the free electors send a candidate to represent them in Parliament, they surrender all political power: it passes at once to the elected Member, and he, in turn, becomes the creature of the Party caucus.

There is only one political device whereby the will of the people can be established beyond all conjecture: it is the Referendum. And, surely, a Referendum of the common people of all nations would be unanimous for the cessation of all atomic activity not directed to the service of man, but to his destruction.

It is being spread abroad that atomic energy will redeem man from much of the curse of toil, and make him master of such power that he will live on earth as a god. Who can believe that? It is one of the first mathematical brains of our time who repudiates that claim: Hoyle, of Cambridge, who states it as the fact that nuclear energy for industrial ends is far less economical than several alternatives, for example, hydro-electric power.

As I write the evening newspaper is brought to me. And I read this:

Mr. Noel-Baker added, "I think the Government, like lots of other people, regard disarmament as Utopian. They have come to think that immense armaments, long-term conscription, constant development of weapons, immense expenditure on military research, are part of the Almighty's ordering of the world—only to be ended when. He works new and universal miracles in the hearts and minds of men. We are now spending £160 millions a year on military research and development . . . Some people suggested that if we kept piling up these bombs no one would ever dare to use them. But the whole of history is against that view."

But this, it has to be borne in mind, is as a voice crying in the wilderness. It is overborne by other voices of military leaders, such as Field-Marshal Montgomery, who declared with apparent zest that Britain will most certainly use atomic weapons in any future war. It is overborne by the acts and utterance of scientists, some now on their defence, others sublimely unaware of the evil they are about.

Professor A. V. Hill, a past-president of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, in a newspaper article, repudiates on behalf of the scientists, any guilt for the development of atomic energy. He does that with sound sense. But what may be said of the scientists when they turn their new and terrible knowledge, at the behest of the politicians, to the creation of thunderbolts more terrible than any thrown by Jove?

For here is the point. Only the physicists who possess the technical knowledge for the production of nuclear energy can make an atom or hydrogen bomb. Their guilt begins when, at that point, they do not revolt. True, here and there, there have been those who refused to lend their brains to such evil ends. They have been more often denounced than hailed.

In our day-to-day affairs we judge others by their actions, and to do that when judging of the intentions of governments is as sensible and sound.

We would hold it suspicious of a neighbour if he had a fixed rifle aiming at our door, or threw up around his lot a barbed wire fence over which he grimaced at us.

Yet, while we pour out our treasure on armaments, and while we hurl our defiance at those whom we fear, and who, in their turn, fear us, we pay lip-service to peace, and declare our peaceable intentions.

If we mean peace, should we not prepare for it and not for war?

In his book *Armaments and History*, Major-General J.F.C. Fuller has this to say:

"It is possible to have all manner of societies—theocratic, atheistic, plutocratic, communistic, democratic, etc., but, so far it has not been found possible to have a warless society."

Implicit in that unpleasant statement of fact is the counsel of despair which the writer leaves unuttered. It would seem to be this: There will always be wars, for there always have been.

Here, I think, the military mind overlooks what is fundamental, i.e., what is meant by the word "WAR."

Writers like General Fuller do not appear to have paused to consider that the last war has been fought. There can never be a war again. For wars are fought by armies against armies, and upon fields of battle or upon the high seas by naval ships. The last war was fought between 1914 and 1918. That ordeal from which we have so recently emerged was the first conflict

of nations under arms, of organized mass destruction of civilian populations. Under the debris of the cities of Europe lie buried forever, what were once more or less honoured, the Rules of War.

Let us never for one moment forget that. For any future conflict between the nations some new word is necessary, for the word "war" will not do. Perhaps mass massacre, then? No, not that either. For a massacre ends when the last body is cast into the communal grave. And any future conflict between nations will be as a vast and irremediable suicide pact, a tremendous *hara-kiri*, in the process of which the combatants will disembowel one another. And worse: will poison for ever the germ plasm of all future generations.

The speed with which the world moves along this dark path to self-destruction has already rendered obsolete the terrible agent that destroyed Hiroshima. We have this on the authority of Lord Boyd Orr, F.R.S., and of Professor E. S. Shute, Reader in Nuclear Physics at Cambridge University.

When it comes to turning his skills to the service of death the ingenuity of man knows no limit.

Atom bombs? Obsolete, my dear fellow. Hydrogen bombs, then? Those, too! Then what, please, in their place to defend us against our enemies?

Many most excellent devices. Dust, charged with radio-active particles to be loosed in the air. Then radio-active dust spread on the ground.

But here the bacteriologist protests. Should his science play Cinderella? Certainly not. And what could serve the end in view better than the scientific dissemination of death-dealing diseases among one's enemies?

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Not long since, Dr. Wansborough Jones told, in a lecture on "Present Science and Future Strategy," how science now knew of a substance seven ounces of which could wipe all life from the face of the earth.

It is a little difficult for the simple folk of the world to square that sort of thing with scientific freedom from moral guilt. Yet it is by such activities that men win honours and rewards.

In his book, *Power*, Bertrand Russell wrote :

"If I had to select four men who have had more power than any others, I should mention Buddha and Christ, Pythagoras and Galileo."

How curious is the thought that none of these had other than such power as flows from the fount of spiritual truth ?

The religion of the West, at least, pays lip-service to the power of the spirit, but by the mouths of its high priests blesses the architects of a scientific hell.

The meanest, most cowardly and corrupt of arguments are advanced to justify the so-called defensive measures of atomic invention.

And, undisciplined by higher authority, perhaps even with its tacit approval, military commanders shout their defiance at their potential foes. . . . Yes, certainly, we shall use atomic bombs in the next war ! Nor is that all, for these warlike ones are very free with the name of God.

We, who are the common people, the Koboyanas of the world, can do but little to brake the Juggernaut that now rumbles upon the way which leads over the rim of hell.

But one thing we can do. We can voice our feelings and repudiate by word of mouth at least, those who now lead the world from the light and drag humanity towards the final catastrophe.

### Woman's Place of Honour in Hindu Society

*Prabuddha Bharata* writes editorially :

Contrary to what modern criticism may aver or present-day social conditions may warrant, women in the India of the past enjoyed considerable freedom and privileges in the spheres of activity specially suited to them. The idea of perfect equality existed, without the least trace of rivalry or dissatisfaction so very characteristic of our times. The ancient Hindus gave practical expression to the idea of perfect womanhood by associating it with perfect and legitimate independence. To them such freedom on the part of woman was not meant to be construed as unrestricted liberty to act in any manner detrimental to the well-established traditions of the community. Freedom and equality, as between man and woman, have their delicately poised norms and etiquette, circumscribed by the ideals and values for which the nation stands. For the sake of one man's or woman's exclusive pleasure, where such pleasure clashes with the larger interest of the community, no time-honoured principle of universal well-being can be sacrificed. In accordance with this wisdom of the ages, the ancient lawgivers of India laid down rules for the guidance of both men and women (and not woman alone, to their disadvantage). The inequalities and disqualifications to which women were seen to have been subjected at a later period of India's history, whatever the justification in their behalf, have temporarily reversed the process of original Indian tradition. Yet,

one cannot say without reservation that in all these later centuries, when the progressive emancipation of the Hindu woman became retarded, there was any deliberate desire on the part of the Hindu man to disrespect her or deprive her of her pristine place of honour in society.

The ideal woman in India is the mother. To the Hindu, within the family or without, the word 'woman' calls up to the mind motherhood first and foremost. This Hindu conception of woman as mother reaches its highest peak in the worship of God as Mother. From the hoary past to the modern times, the individual's religious consciousness, developing and deepening round this concept of the worship of the Divine Mother as the Goddess Almighty, has ingrained in the mind of every cultured (not necessarily literate) Indian a belief, stronger than reasoned conviction, that the woman as mother—either his own or another's or of his children—should be honoured. This tendency towards deification of any person or thing considered sacred or extraordinarily unique is conspicuous in the Indian nation. What greater veneration can characterize man's attitude to woman than to address her, young or old, as 'mother' and to look upon her as a human representation of the Mother Divine ? The great lawgiver Manu, some of whose utterances regarding women are taken exception to by moderners, has extolled motherhood by saying, 'A spiritual preceptor is ten times superior (in glory) to a teacher. A father is a hundred times superior to the spiritual preceptor. But a mother is a hundred times superior (in glory) even to the father.'



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It is but natural that where motherhood is held supreme, the ideal of monogamous marriage is insisted upon as the highest and best. By contrast, the life of a woman who remained unmarried or was childless was considered incomplete. So, non-marriage or marriage without motherhood were held emotionally and socially undesirable and thus were not encouraged. The high ideal of married life, for which Hindu society is proverbially famous, has been nobly expressed in the marriage hymn of the *Rig-Veda*, as also in several *Smritis* and *Tantras* of later periods. Lifelong faith, devotion, and love between husband and wife were undoubtedly aimed at. The status of a wife is pictured clearly as one of dignity and importance, whereby she was assured of peace, joy, and prosperity. She is the mistress of the household and from that follows tremendous responsibility. Says Mann: 'Women are the light of their home and it is their glory that they are the mothers of the human race. Therefore they deserve worship from all. There is no difference between women and the Goddess of Fortune.' The woman, as wife, shares fully in all the joys and sorrows of her husband and becomes a real partner in all his activities. Her presence and active participation are obligatory in many religious sacrifices. The *Satapatha Brahmana* declares, 'One who is without a wife is not capable of worshipping God properly.'

From time immemorial life in India has centred round the family ideal, and the family is regarded as the proper and characteristic place for the full play of womanly virtues. Perverse thinking has interpreted this as an injustice to woman because she is encouraged to stay at home in preference to the rough and tumble of outdoor activity not befitting the physical and mental make-up natural to womanhood. Many specious untruths and half-truths about the so-called inferiority of the Hindu woman in society have been sedulously given currency by Western writers and some of their Indian apologists. In support of their views, these critics point out the status of woman during the period of foreign conquest when society grew rigid and reactionary and the stringency of man-made protective measures placed woman at a disadvantage. Social and political unrest during centuries of national struggle against invasions and insecurity of life and honour had compelled many changes, desirable and undesirable, resulting in a gradual decline in the position and status of women in our society. Women's freedom of speech, movement and public appearance was curtailed, education and Vedic studies were somewhat restricted, proprietary right was lessened, and in many other ways they felt helpless and dependent on men. But such an unsatisfactory state

of affairs, whatever the causes of it, can never be justified, especially when we know for certain that ancient Hindu society had evolved and maintained highly satisfactory standards about the treatment of women. Though from the beginnings of the *Smriti* and *Manu* period women were deprived of their rights to *Upanayana*, performance of Vedic sacrifices jointly with their husbands, and even advanced secular knowledge, no actual hardship in practical life was ever placed on them. However, compared with the Vedic period, there has been a general deterioration in the status of woman. Modern Hindu society has had to contend with the remote consequences of this process of decline and also with the confusion in ideals and practices engendered by the unfamiliar but alluring influences exerted by Semitic and Christian civilizations.

It is surprising that not many Indians, not to speak of foreigners, are aware of the fact that the Hindu scriptures give as high a place of honour to woman as to man. Both men and women are permitted equal right to the highest spiritual realization. No other scripture of the world has given to the woman such equality with man as the *Vedas* of the Hindus. The Old Testament depicts woman as an instrument in the hands of Satan for the tempting and causing the fall of man. The Biblical account of woman far from giving her a high place of honour, expresses, on the whole, the view that she is created for man's pleasure and because of her frailty has brought sin, suffering, and death into the world. The Semitic religions have generally assigned to woman a place in the background, completely subordinate to that of man. With the spread of the ascetic and monastic views of life, overemphasized by Buddhism and the attitude of society towards woman was further adversely affected in Hindu society. It was no better in the countries of the West, if not worse even at a time when Indian civilization was at its height. According to Socrates, 'Woman is the source of all evil.' Says Tertullian, 'Woman is the gate of hell and mother of all evils.' To a great extent Hindu society of medieval and post-medieval periods came under the stern laws of religious-social leaders who moulded public opinion through their authoritative writings and injunctions. Naturally, without any deliberation and imperceptibly during a long period of chequered existence, the gradual decline in the honour and freedom due to woman became an unfortunate reality.

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# Scientific and Industrial Research in India

V. R. Natarajan writes in *The Mysore Economic Review*:

In the planned economy of a country science must necessarily play a specially important role. Improvements in techniques evolved as a result of scientific research bring about the greatest increases in production in the different sectors of the economy. National resources are augmented by the substitution of cheap and abundant materials for those in scarce supply and by finding uses for materials which have remained unutilised. A balanced programme of research covering every sector of the economy is essential for the development of the country. This aspect is considered under different heads in the Plan.

Since Independence, programmes of scientific research and survey have been greatly expanded. In the sphere of research proper, the most important development in recent years has been the establishment of a chain of laboratories and research institutions in different parts of the country. These institutions are 1. National Physical Laboratory, New Delhi; 2. National Chemical Laboratory, Poona; 3. National Metallurgical Laboratory, Jamshedpur; 4. Fuel Research Institute, Jealgora; 5. Central Food Technological Research Institute, Mysore; 6. Central Drug Research Institute, Lucknow; 7. Central Glass and Ceramic Research Institute, Calcutta; 8. Central Road Research Institute, Delhi; 9. Central Building Research Institute, Roorkee; 10. Central Leather Research Institute, Madras; 11. Central Electro-chemical Research Institute, Karaikudi.

Although in most of these institutions, the process of establishment is complete, in some, like the Leather Research and Buildings Research Institute, for instance, only nucleus units have been functioned so far. The Electro-Chemical Research Institute has not yet begun to function.

The Plan provides for completion of buildings, installation of necessary equipment and completing the other arrangements to the extent that these remain to be done in the case of each Laboratory and Institute. In addition, the following three research institutes are proposed to be established during the period of the Plan:

1. Radio and Electronics Research Institute,
2. Mechanical Engineering Research Institute, with special emphasis on study of problems cottage and small-scale industries; and
3. The Central Salt Research Station.

Besides these laboratories and research institutes, the Government has made substantial contributions towards the establishment of the following three research institutions:

1. The Ahmedabad Textile Industry Research Association;
2. The South India Art Silk Mills Research

Association, and 3. The South India Textile Industry Research Association.

Fundamental and applied research at a number of institutions and universities is being aided by the Government. Surveys of particular resources, preparation of a dictionary of the economic products of India, arranging symposia and conferences and advice to industry on specific problems are other important items in the programme of scientific and industrial research.

The importance of research for the development of Indian industries can hardly be exaggerated. We have made some belated attempts in this direction. Each major industry has its separate research organisation. Research departments and laboratories have also been set up by the Departments of Industries in all States. As a result of the deliberations of the fifth Industries Conference a central organization, the Industrial Research Board, was created in 1935 with an advisory body called the Industrial Research Council. It supplies industrial information, co-operates with the industries in research work and publishes a bulletin giving information useful to the industries.

In order to meet the requirements of the last war, a speedy development of all potential industrial resources of India was felt to be necessary. This led to the appointment of a new body, the Board of Scientific and Industrial Research, with which were associated the representatives of the major Indian industries. It has already done much useful work and suggested several new lines of manufacture—chemical oils, etc. But our expenditure on industrial research is too little to meet adequately the requirements of industry. In the U.S.A., private industries alone spend 300,000,000 dollars on research. The total cost of research in the U.S.A. is said to amount to one-sixth of the total national income.

Our Government, on the other hand, is on a different path. It is no more the Police State. Education—necessary as they are—do not fit the whole picture of governmental functions. The Government today starts on a different path, and it will require social scientists in an increasing degree to act as field workers, statisticians, advisers and so on. The Universities alone can provide the training ground for a scientific temper, with a real constructive philosophy. Teachers and students of Economics have a real responsibility in shaping the new India.

The students are the real contributors to the making of a successful Welfare State, and the preparation is long and the road is wearisome—but the future is full of promise. To the true seeker the promised land cannot be far off, and to the narrow path of discipline and work every seeker of the real truth in human affairs is welcome at the University to unravel the mystery of human life and misery, and to provide opportunity, courage and faith.



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# FOREIGN PERIODICALS

## President Tito Returns to Yugoslavia

President Tito and his associates landed at Rijeka on February 11 after their successful visit to India and Burma. They were away from Yugoslavia for two and half months. At Rijeka, Zagreb and Beograd, hundreds of thousands of people gathered to give him a tumultuous welcome. He delivered several speeches at these places about his trip and the general position of Yugoslav foreign policy.

Speaking to 300,000 people outside Beograd station, President Tito said: "We are not in favour of a division of the world into two blocs. According to our ideas the world is an indivisible whole. Ideological differences cannot be a reason for countries to shed each other's blood, unless someone has imperialistic motives, which is a different matter. But ideological differences themselves cannot be a reason for dividing the world into blocs which will sharpen their knives, forge their guns and stockpile of hydrogen and atomic bombs for their self-destruction."

It is obvious, President Tito said from the declaration which he had signed with Prime Minister Nehru the kind of talks they had conducted. No pact was signed nor bloc created. What was considered was how all peaceful nations could work steadfastly towards preserving peace and saving mankind from new disaster. They were unanimous in their agreement about this, and would continue to be tireless in its pursuit.

"If perhaps someone wanted to ask in a tone of reproach why exactly we should engage so ardently in this matter," he went on, "I have to say that it is up to us, the small nations, to show ourselves as builders of peace and as consolidators of peaceful co-existence and co-operation. With the world today divided into two blocs, it is lucky that outside them there are vast numbers of people and whole states which believe that it is not right to follow the path of division, and to do nothing about the unification of the world. It is necessary to get together and to solve in a peaceful way problems which do not merit mankind wading into new bloodshed over them, because today the world is an indivisible whole and any major conflict would drag the whole world into a vortex in which the small nations would fare worst. For this reason, the small nations and all progressive people must be united in their aspirations, and must prevail over those ominous forces which preach the solution of problems by the sword if they cannot be solved by peaceful means. Today nothing can be solved by the sword, nor by the hydrogen or atom bomb. Mankind would indeed be mad if it believed that either bloc could defeat someone with the hydrogen or atom bomb without itself being defeated in the conflict and without all humanity becoming a victim of a terrible disaster."

"Now the question is whether this is a change of policy on our part? Is Yugoslavia, now that she had begun to normalise her relations with the Soviet Union, thinking of betraying the principles which she has expounded in her foreign policy? No. We are doing everything possible just because of our principles for preserving peaceful co-existence to normalise our relations with every country so desiring and to make these relations the best possible. This was what guided us to normalise our relations with the Soviet Union and other Eastern countries. There is no need to fear that we shall drop our good relations with the Western countries, if relations with the Soviet Union and her friends improve daily. We want good relations with the Western countries. Nothing has changed in our policy. It remains principled and consistent."

"The world situation is changing and tension is again mounting. We must not try in our efforts to abate that tension; we must intensify them. This urges us more strongly not to join any of the existing blocs, because as long as there are blocs and as long as new methods of solving international problems are not sought danger will always be lurking. This does not mean that Yugoslavia is neutral. We say as openly as possible: 'Do not hurry into new danger.' Unfortunately our voice is not always heeded where it should be. However I think that with every day that passes the number of those who think as we do grows not only in the countries which agree on the whole with our foreign policy, but also in countries belonging to the existing blocs."

President Tito added that no unsolved international problem was worth the bloodshed of the nations today, not even a local war.

"With regard to recent development," he went on, "I do not think we should make that worst forecasts about the results of certain changes in a country without realising that in so doing we are ourselves contributing to the worsening of the situation. This applies to both sides. If both sides are doing everything they can to sharpen relations, then, of course, they do become worse. It is wrong—but it is the rule in the foreign policy of many countries today—to regard peaceful moves by a country as an indication of weakness, and then, as a consequence to strain relations still more. When reaction sets in to such a policy, the observation is usually, 'There you see we were right when we said that nothing could be done about them.' This is the wrong course. What is needed is to welcome any voice raised in favour of relaxation to reckon with it and appreciate it, and not to regard everything as a manoeuvre. Of course, many things are done with an ulterior motive, but when that motive is the preservation of peace nothing is nobler."

President Tito then emphasised that Yugoslavia stood by her foreign policy. We shall," he said, "consolidate our relation with the Western countries. But this does not depend only on us. We are an independent country and any attempt at interference in our internal affairs, any pressure on us to change our course, is absolutely superfluous. Our people have proved that they are old enough to govern themselves, and old enough also to take part in events in the international arena."

Referring to his long absence from home President Tito made some ironical remarks about those who were wont to refer to a dictatorship in Yugoslavia. Thus he said, had been rather a long period of absence for people with responsible positions, especially for the "dictator." It is true, and also alarming for those who kept on in the dictatorship, he said, that their "dictator" should leave the country and yet everything remained as firm as a rock. But our people realise the role that Yugoslavia plays today, and the role

she must play. They understand our policy and are with us. I am talking, of course about the stories which are always being circulated with the idea of denying the democratic achievements of our country, and her steadfast, gradual but continual development towards real socialist democracy. It is just because our country is what it is that her internal system is what it is that we were wholeheartedly received in those distant countries of Asia which we visited both by the leaders and by the people. *News from Yugoslavia*

### The Limits of Coexistence

In the *New Leader* December 6, 1951 Michael Karpovich, author of *Imperial Russia 1801-1901*, and Professor of History Harvard University, writes as follows:

In the current discussions of coexistence the first question that arises is whether coexistence is really something new. Is it the term essentially a statement of a self-evident and incontestable fact? For almost four decades Soviet Communism and Western democracy have been forced to exist side by side for the simple reason that neither has been able to put an end to the existence of its antagonist.

Because of this some people go on to say that now we must have "not passive but active coexistence"—a concept signifying trade, cultural relations, conferences, and compromise. But again the question arises: Is there anything new here either? In the first years after the Bolshevik Revolution it is true there was no active coexistence. There could hardly have been at a time when Soviet foreign policy was based on the expectation of immediate social revolution in the West and the Western Allies were organizing their half-hearted (hence unsuccessful) military intervention. But didn't a new more active phase begin in the early 1920's? There were conferences and compromises and trade as well as cultural relations to the extent permitted by the Soviet regime. The Western world was unquestionably more active in this coexistence than was the USSR. It might be said that the West eagerly sought coexistence, clutching at every opportunity in that direction and sometimes even imagining opportunities which were not really there. Recall the unjustified optimism aroused by so many temporary phases of Soviet policy: the NEP, "socialism in one country," the United Front against Fascism, the Stalin Constitution, even the purges of the 1930's (and later "Soviet nationalism," the "recognition" of the Church, and the dissolution of the Comintern.) It

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is hard to forget all this; it is even harder to forget what followed. Not conscious desire but force of circumstances brought about the wartime alliance between the Western democracies and the Soviet Union. Whereas in the West—and especially in America—this alliance stimulated faith in the possibility of postwar co-operation with Moscow, the Soviet regime saw in World War II an opportunity for revolutionary expansion which automatically precluded any sort of peaceful coexistence with the "capitalist countries." While the Western coalition partners were waging solely an armed struggle against the common foe, Stalin was also fighting another war: a political war against his own allies. Now, in historical perspective, it is perfectly clear that during the war the Soviet regime was already drawing up plans for subverting Eastern Europe and the Far East to Communist dictatorship. And it is also clear that the Western Allies not only had little real awareness of this but failed to co-ordinate their military strategy with any sort of definite political goals for postwar world organization. This is amply clear in the last volume of Winston Churchill's war memoirs. Churchill who himself only recognized what was happening after many positions had already been lost—describes with some irritation how American political and military leaders resisted the injection of "politics" into military strategy especially his advice to "meet the Russians" as far to the east as possible.

The postwar policy of the West was also based on belief in the possibility of coexistence, as was the entire concept of the United Nations. "Active" coexistence was in full swing; conference followed conference, and there were compromises in abundance. It was not the fault of the West that this coexistence became progressively less peaceful and gradually gave way to a state of cold war. Even the cold-war policy of "containing" Soviet aggression was based on the idea of coexistence: it was not a question of destroying Soviet Communism but of holding it within its present bounds in the hope that it would one day lose its aggressive character either through evolutionary change or through revolutionary overthrow. From this point of view, neither the Korean nor the Indo-Chinese war conflicted with the concept of "containment," since both resulted from acts of Communist aggression. And, for all the differences in phraseology and tactics, I see nothing essentially new in American foreign policy under the present Republican administration.

Since I am convinced that no Western nation will take the initiative in launching a war with the Soviet Union, the contention that we face one clear choice, "coexistence or war" seems to me meaningless. I believe the question is, rather: What kind of coexistence?

Needless to say, the form of coexistence we are now experiencing—coexistence accompanied by constant tension—is profoundly abnormal and difficult to bear. In present circumstances, however, normal peaceful coexistence is impossible. It is excluded not only by specific Soviet actions but by the very nature of the totalitarian Communist regime.

If in the nineteenth or early twentieth century, someone had raised the question of whether countries with different political and socio-economic systems and different ideologies could coexist, people would simply not have understood what he was talking about. Wars were then waged for the attainment of concrete goals and did not aim at annihilating the enemy or transforming him in one's own image. In peacetime, diplomacy dealt with the same concrete problems, not with ideology or the political and socio-economic reconstruction of other countries. Nations with the most divergent systems and

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ideologies (insofar as the nations of those days had ideologies) coexisted in the same world and consorted with one another without thereby posing any problems. This enabled diplomacy to remain ideologically and even morally neutral. Lloyd George was accused of cynicism for his remark that one could trade even with cannibals. In fact, however, he was well within the bounds of time-honored diplomatic tradition. I would go farther and say that one can even have diplomatic relations with cannibals—provided one takes all precautions against being eaten by them.

This is the essence of the matter. The problem of co-existence could not have arisen until a new and terrible force had appeared in the world—that of the totalitarian state, which received its most perfect and most dynamic expression in the Soviet Communist dictatorship. It was this regime which introduced "ideology" into politics and the spirit and methods of civil war into international relations. It also made the free nations of the world fear for the foundations not only of their material but of their spiritual existence, and forced them to adopt methods of international conflict which were completely alien to their nature. If this situation is to change, if coexistence is to cease being a problem and become once more simply a matter of course—in other words, if the present tension is to disappear from the world—then the pressure exerted by this totalitarian force must end. Until then, the task of the Western world must be to resist it as successfully as possible.

While categorically rejecting war as a way out of the present world situation and, in that sense, accepting the idea of coexistence, I want to stress that this does not mean the end of the struggle between democracy and Communism. The aims and even the principal methods of this struggle remain the same for the Western world. Coexistence is nothing but a continuation of the cold war. The only change required is one in the spirit and content of Western (particularly American) propaganda. The Communist bloc, which is aggressive by its very nature, must not be allowed to present itself as an exponent of peace. The initiative in the fight for peace must be torn from its hands by the democratic countries, for whom world peace is not a propaganda ploy but the condition and goal of their existence.

I have no doubt that the Russian people like all other peoples, yearns for lasting peace. I am even prepared to believe that, at the present moment, the Soviet Government does not want war, whether because it is not sure of victory and cannot risk defeat or because it must reckon with popular fear of war, or because it can gain substantial successes without war for the time being. But inasmuch as an aggressive policy stems from the very nature of the Soviet regime irrespective of whether that policy is inspired by the idea of world revolution by "Soviet nationalism" or simply by the inner logic of totalitarianism, its peace-loving professions are worth very little. So long as Soviet Russia, with its armed

forces and its international apparatus for the incitement of worldwide civil war, can seize new positions in Europe and Asia, the only possible policy for the free world is one of vigilance and strength.

There is nothing to support the contention that Stalin's successors are following a "new course" in foreign policy. Western skepticism in this regard is fully justified. Indeed, it is astonishing to see the tragicomic intensity—dictated by the same yearning for peaceful coexistence—with which the Western press has reported such "events" as the appearance of Soviet officials and their wives at a party in the U.S. Embassy in Moscow, the more courteous tone of Vishinsky at the UN and Molotov at the Geneva Conference, or the unwonted smiles on the faces of Soviet generals. But political calculations cannot be based on polite gestures and smiles alone; can anyone point to a single important political concession made by Soviet diplomacy since Stalin's death?

Any diplomatic agreement whose aim is to settle a conflict must be based on compromise. Compromise means mutual concessions; otherwise, what results is not compromise but capitulation by one side to the other. For a genuine and fruitful compromise, what is required, in addition to goodwill on the part of the participants, is a certain balance of power. Since the war, the Western countries have made a whole series of political concessions to the Soviet Union without receiving anything equivalent in return. This was the case, of course, because the correlation of forces in the world was favourable to the Soviet Union and unfavourable to the Western Allies; in such a situation the politically "realistic" Soviet regime has no incentive to compromise.

But there is nothing fatal in this state of affairs. It can and must be altered by efforts of will and intelligence on the part of the free world. As a counterpoise to the Communist bloc set up and administered by dictatorial means, not only the moral and political but also the organizational unity of the free nations must be expanded and strengthened. So long as the Communist bloc remains armed to the teeth, the free world will have to maintain adequate defenses. In the present worldwide struggle, the Communists make extensive and frequently successful use of propaganda; the free world must still master fully this essential weapon in the battle for the minds and hearts of men. From time to time, we hear it said that this course would provoke the Soviet Union to resort to arms. Past experience, as well as everything we know about the psychology of the Soviet rulers, indicates the direct opposite. What actually provokes aggression is Western disunity, defensive weakness, and ineffective propaganda. Not strength but weakness may involve the free world in war. And, conversely, only on the basis of a restored balance of power can a genuine compromise be achieved—a compromise which will clear the tense international atmosphere without requiring the free countries to sacrifice their vital interests or their



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spiritual values. This is the only possible road to peaceful co-existence.

I am not oblivious to the many weaknesses of the free world in its present state or to the difficulty of the domestic and foreign-policy tasks which confront it. And yet, its position does not seem so lamentable to me. We know all about its "unstable equilibrium," because it is constantly discussed in the Western press. We can also conclude from the incomplete and often unverified information reaching us from behind the Iron Curtain, that there is a state of "unstable equilibrium" within the Communist bloc. There is no reason to suppose, however, that a totalitarian government is capable of creating a healthier and more durable social order than is a democratic government. The Kirovlin unquestionably enjoys the advantage of more ruthless exploitation of the human resources at its disposal as well as the foreign-policy advantage of the enforced unity of action of all its satellites and allies. But these advantages, at times very telling, may well prove more than doubtful in the final analysis. It is much more difficult for the free world to mobilize its material and spiritual resources. But when they are fully mobilized, and I am firmly convinced that they can be, there will be no doubt of the final outcome of the struggle.

### Our Cottage Industries

Our cottage industries have developed, unlike those in many countries, out of urban occupations. They were started about forty years ago by members of the Yemenite community, some of whom attempted toeke out a livelihood by selling the intricate jewelry, the colorful embroidery and the woven mats and baskets which they had been making for generations.

The distinctive character and beauty of these articles and the importance of ensuring their continued production was realized only some years later, and in the middle twenties the Association of Hebrew Women established the Shani Store in Jerusalem, the first retail outlet in Palestine for Yemenite arts and crafts. The store aimed at affording constructive assistance to as many as possible of Yemenites who were then entering the country, at a time of acute unemployment. They were encouraged to work at home on articles which were likely to find buyers, and were carefully guided in adapting these to modern tastes while preserving their unique designs and technique.

For at least ten years Palestine's home industries continued to be based almost exclusively on Yemenite work. Then, towards the end of the thirties, a change took place. It was not Yemenites who were now pouring into the country, but refugees from Nazi-dominated Europe, men and women who overnight had to change their way of life and find a means of livelihood in a new and difficult land. In 1940, in an effort to help some of them secure an economic foothold, the Jewish Agency opened a Home Industries Section within its Economic Department. The section functioned until the establishment of the State, but in actual fact it achieved only limited success.

The organization which has probably done most to promote cottage industries in Israel is WIZO, (Women's International Zionist Organization). This is largely due to its gift stores, established in Tel Aviv, Haifa and Jerusalem, which offer a ready market for the finished products. As they developed into the highly successful organizations they are today, these stores could increasingly afford to take the risks that were necessary if their object—the economic absorption of an ever-

increasing number of immigrants and the fostering of high-quality arts and crafts—was to be achieved.

At the beginning, WIZO concentrated mainly on Yemenite work but it was not long before it was compelled to expand its activities. Its offices were besieged daily by women from Nazi Europe seeking work advice and assistance, and it soon began to develop a substantial home industries branch.

For many of these women, particularly the older ones, the WIZO shops proved a blessing. Questioned as to what they could do they exhibited samples of the knitting, sewing, embroidery and other work they had formerly done either as a hobby or to meet the family's needs. Much of it was clearly the work of amateurs who required a certain amount of training before their products could be put on the market. WIZO, therefore, opened courses in various branches of home industries, and within a short time an appreciable number of women were turning out a wide range of goods which afforded them an adequate, if modest, livelihood. Not all of them, however, were amateurs and there were articles which bore the unmistakable stamp of the professional. They had, in fact, been made by women who were specialists in a particular sphere and who had in some cases even run workshops of their own in Europe. For them, the WIZO shops naturally provided an immediate market.

Steadily an increasing variety of goods made its way into WIZO shops as well as into the other arts and crafts shops which had in the meantime come into existence. The oriental Yemenite pieces still occupied a prominent place in these establishments, but now there were also charming leather toy animals, cosy woollen gloves, knitted berets, *petit point* bags, embroidered cloth, hand-painted scarves, steam-lined patchwork, dolls of finished workmanship representing the various ethnic groups in the country, ceramic bowls and vases, modern Hanukkah lamps, ritual appurtenances such as tephillin bags, matzah covers, skull caps, etc., and many other items in which the European note predominated. Although these articles included the products of several small workshops established by immigrant craftsmen, the majority of them represented work done at home by individuals and families. WIZO encouraged the making of every type of article for which labor and material were available, and was tireless in experimenting with new suggestions and designs. When the need arose it opened additional training courses, with teachers who in many cases had themselves participated in earlier courses.

The establishment of the State and the mass immigration led to further efforts to develop home industries, particularly among the new arrivals. The weaving of rugs out of sheep's wool by Yemenites in several ma'abarot (transition camps) was initiated by the Settlement Department of the Jewish Agency but has now been taken over by private concerns. Yemenites of long standing in the country, who have learned how to adapt their work to modern requirements, have been sent by WIZO into ma'abarot inhabited by their fellow countrymen to teach the new-comers. In the ma'abara of Tirah, thirty Yugoslav women are making canvas shoes with rope soles, which are proving extremely popular. At Zuriel, in Northern Galilee, which has experienced great difficulties in maintaining itself owing to its isolated position, a group of settlers is now finding a new source of income in embroidery.

Cottage industries, in short, are giving men and women all over the country valuable economic assistance.

But the number of those benefiting from them is still far from what it should be. The main drawback is the low rate of pay available for handiwork, which today seldom exceeds 450 prutot an hour. The demand for arts and crafts is not such as to have inflated the cost of labour nor to have made it possible for private enterprise based on home industries to afford a higher scale of wages. In its eagerness to encourage workers, WIZO has from time to time offered higher rates of pay for certain articles, in such cases reconciling itself to foregoing any profit. But it obviously cannot afford to do so very often without affecting the revenue which the shops yield for the vocational training of women or its efforts to earn dollars by building up foreign markets.

This reference to foreign markets calls for amplification. In 1950 WIZO was instrumental in setting up a New York Company (Israeli Arts and Crafts (WIZO) Home Industries)—with a capital of over IL 50,000, invested by two Israelis and a U.S. resident. Since then all WIZO's exports to America have been handled by this company, which is now in contact with 1700 gift shops in the U.S. In the first year of operations the turnover was \$60,000, and this year it reached about \$300,000. Obviously these results would have been impossible had the goods not been offered at competitive prices, and the prices could not have been maintained at a competitive level had the cost of labour been any higher.

Despite the difficulties, efforts to further cottage industries in Israel are continuing.

If the practical achievements to date are not all they might be, these industries are at any rate serving as an effective information medium for the country. The Israel arts and crafts exhibitions held abroad have given many people the opportunity of seeing for the first time what Israel can accomplish in the field of artistic endeavour.

Feb 1, 1955.

### "Leaves of Grass" Centennial reaffirms Whitman's National Poet of America

This is the centennial of one of the most important and influential pieces of American literature—*Leaves of Grass* by the "good, gray poet," Walt Whitman.

The book itself, a collection of poems in a thin volume bound in green and gold, created barely a critical ripple when it first appeared in 1855. But well before it had reached its eleventh edition—each succeeding one re-edited by the poet and containing more and more of his work—Whitman's stature as America's leading poet was secure in the minds of many.

Many others, however, were intense in their condemnation. For nothing quite like Whitman's *Leaves of Grass* had ever been seen before. Only a handful of perceptive critics, particularly the great writer-philosopher Ralph Waldo Emerson, were able to see any merit at all in these unconventionally formed verses with their flagrant celebration of sensual pleasures. And others, though unperturbed by such criticism, still objected to the book because they could not fathom Whitman's symbolism or some of his metaphysical themes.

But Whitman bothered little about these critical shafts. "My volume is a candidate for the future," he told a friend some time after the "Leaves" was printed. And this year's centennial commemoration is, in itself, a fulfilment of the poet's confidence in his own capacity to endure.

"Chanter of personality, outlining what is yet to be,

I project the history of the future." So, prophetically, reads one of these moving verses.

Whitman's projection into the future is clearly traceable in the influence he has had on 20th-century American writing. Such exponents of the real, or naturalist, if you prefer—school as Sherwood Anderson, William Faulkner, Theodore Dreiser, Thomas Wolfe and Ernest Hemingway stem directly from the Whitman heritage.

These modern Americans also have been tarr'd with the same critical brush for their "crudity" and "tastelessness," for their preoccupation with sex, for their unorthodoxy. Certainly Whitman's energy and action have been mirrored by Dreiser, Wolfe and Hemingway, to name just three.

Whitman's impact on his time was more than that of a controversial poet. He was deeply immersed in the politics of his day, and he delighted in the flamboyant oratory of the period. He was a great believer in individuality and personal freedom and became personally involved, for one example, in the struggle against slavery. Yet as editor of the *Brooklyn Eagle*, an outspokenly partisan Democratic Party organ, he could be viciously critical of any Democratic politician who deviated from party loyalties, no matter how high-principled his motives.

Every student of Whitman recognises these paradoxes in his personality. He was, for instance, essentially a solitary person (a new biography by Prof. G. W. Allen is called *The Solitary Singer*) but he honestly loved crowds and masses of people, and his poetry often glorified them. He was a pacifist, but he could rebel angrily to the point of force against injustice.

Whitman was a notorious egoist; not only did he publish *Leaves of Grass* at his own expense, but he had no qualms in writing anonymous reviews of it in which he acclaimed himself as "an American bard at last!" Yet he was also the completely selfless man who threw everything aside to devote many months to caring for the wounded in the Civil War of the 1860's. Further, he was little more than a hack as a journalist, but as a poet—as time has proved—he was a man of genius.

There are many other contradictions that could be cited in Whitman's life and personality, but the fact remains that his non-conformism and iconoclasm prodded him to write verses that charted new paths in world literature. His techniques have been widely imitated, but probably his greatest contribution has been his adulation of the common man and of individual liberty—the essence of real democracy.

There is hardly a student of American letters who will not accord *Leaves of Grass* the accolade of being the single most important contribution to American writing. Not only is this work so regarded by Whitman's compatriots: from the pens of Tennyson, Ruskin, Swinburne, Rossetti and other literary greats came letters of praise for the "Leaves."

The focus of the centennial celebration is, fittingly enough, at the U.S. Library of Congress, one of the world's great repositories of printed works. And universities, literary groups and other libraries throughout the land are devoting these weeks to a new study and evaluation of Whitman and his achievements.

On display at the Library of Congress are all the *Leaves of Grass* editions published during Whitman's lifetime—including the once-suppressed Boston printing and the famous "death-bed edition" he completed just before he died in 1892. There is a case full of Whitman's poetry manuscripts, trial lines, titles and notes that illustrate how he composed. A number of translations are also shown.—USIS.



A fisherman

Photo: Ramkinkar Sinha



A village beauty

Photo: Ramkinkar Sinha

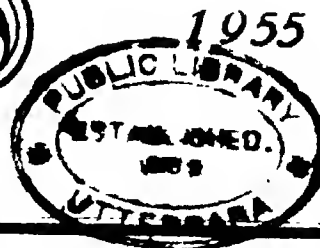


*Illustration by* **Chitra**

**A SEA-FARING COUPLE**  
By **Abanindranath Sen Gupta**

# THE MODERN REVIEW

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## NOTES

### *Democracy and the Authoritarian*

The Asian-African Conference at Bandung is over. A summary of the Conference and some other details are given elsewhere in these editorials. But in effect the achievements as we judge them, might be summarised thus:

Firstly, the voiceless world has become vocal after a hiatus of some three centuries. Of course those of them as are enlisted members of the U.N. debating society could open their mouths, or even voice their opinions, in that august assemblage. But nothing can be heard over the scream of the eagle and the roar of the bear. Besides, there is the question of persuasion by the mighty, gentle and otherwise.

Secondly, for the first time in the history of mankind, the citizens of the voiceless half of the world have emerged out of the shadows and have seen, through the eyes of their Chief Executives, the face and form of their brothers, and have exchanged speech likewise through their own mouthpieces. Previous to this occasion they knew of each other only through the (mis) representations of the predatory powers of the West.

And lastly, to each has been given a fairly accurate estimate of the weight of the others. It would have been an infinitely greater boon if likewise to each there had been given self-realisation of their own measurements. But then this is not an age of miracles.

Beyond the above there is very little to put on the credit side. But even so, the achievement is far in excess of what Africa and Asia has obtained in the United Nations assemblies.

Will this Conference affect in any way the future of the world, will it in any form exert any influence on the two embattled camps that threaten the ruin of the entire civilized world? Frankly we do not know. Indeed, we do not know where and how we stand. So much is being decided above the heads of the people, that it would tax the powers of a prophet

to predict our future. And we have no prophets in India, only loud-speakers.

On April 22, at the Bandung Conference, Pandit Nehru made some points during an intervention in the debate on World Peace, in the course of which he stated that "India was neither Communist nor anti-Communist." He should have completed the statement by adding that the Creator only knew what the Indians were and which way lay their future path of life and existence as a nation.

We are told that India is being shaped for a Welfare State. If brick and mortar, cement and steel constitutes Welfare then there is justification for that pronouncement. We have seen Welfare States of that pattern, in the old days, in the deserts beyond Cairo in the desolation of Babylon in Iraq, and likewise in the bleak uplands of Iran where stands Persepolis. And we have seen the misery, the despair and the abject poverty of the human denizens of those wastes of brick and stone and mortar.

We are told that ours would be a government built on the "Socialistic" pattern. A similar statement was made by a bricklayer's son by the name of Adolf Hitler, whose government had a socialistic name, spelt with a "Z." He lifted the crushed and down-trodden peoples of Germany and Austria out of the miseries of defeat and destruction to a height of material progress, power and vigour undreamt of by any man before him. He was also intolerant of criticism, and, being likewise a torrential speaker, was too busy to think. And consider what happened to the Germany of his dreams.

He was a war-monger? Well, what happened to the China of the Great Wall, and what has happened to Tibet, with its Potala and other abodes of peace, with their Shangri-la atmosphere of isolation?

Those were Authoritarian States? Well, which way are we going with our lightly considered amendments, to the Constitution, Criminal Procedure Code, etc.? Between the democratic way of life and the authoritarian, there is only a shadowy line of demarcation.

### *Asian-African Conference*

The Asian-African Conference, in which representatives from twenty-nine Asian and African countries participated, met in Bandung in Indonesia from April 18 to April 21. The proposal for such a conference of Asian and African countries was first put forward at the time of the first meeting of the "Colombo Powers" (India, Indonesia, Burma, Pakistan and Ceylon) during April-May, 1954. Subsequently at a meeting of the above five countries at Bogor in Indonesia about the end of 1954, the details regarding the time, place and the list of invited countries were settled. Altogether twenty-five countries were invited to attend the conference besides the convening "Colombo Powers." Of these one—the Central African Federation—did not accept the invitation. Israel was excluded from the list of invitees as was the Union of South Africa.

The significance of the Bandung Conference would be evident as one recalled that this was the first time in history that the independent countries of Asia and Africa met together for a discussion of their common interests and if possible, to evolve a common policy based on those common interests. That the event was accorded so much prominence both here and abroad could be easily explained by the fact that the Conference nations represented more than half the people of the world and about one-fifth of the earth's area.

The Conference was inaugurated by President Soekarno of Indonesia. The Indonesian Premier, Dr. Ali Sastroamidjojo was unanimously elected Chairman of the week-long conference.

A preliminary meeting of the heads of the delegations was held in camera on April 17 and decided on a seven-point agenda. But on the following day the items on the agenda were brought down to five by dropping two specific items, one on nuclear weapons and atoms for peace, and the other on peaceful co-existence. The discussions of these items were facilitated by broadening of the scope of discussion on the remaining five points of the agenda which were as follows:

- (a) Economic co-operation
- (b) Cultural co-operation
- (c) Human rights and self-determination
- (d) Problem of dependent peoples and
- (e) Promotion of world peace.

By agreement there was no voting on any topic and an agreed communique was issued at the conclusion of the talks recording the results thereof.

The Conference went off apparently in a smooth way except for a split over the issue of colonialism. The alignment of the countries on that issue, broadly speaking, indicated the two trends of political opinion to the Conference. While discussions were going on about the issue of colonialism the Ceylon Prime

Minister, Sir John Kotelawala insisted upon the inclusion of the "Soviet satellites" among the cases of colonial exploitation. This started a dispute and Ceylon was supported in her stand by the Western bloc countries—Pakistan, Turkey, Iran and Iraq. The Ceylonese proposal was opposed by India, Burma, China, Syria and others. Later on the Ceylon Premier expressed his desire not to press his point, but others took up his lead with even a greater zeal. This controversy was ultimately resolved by a skilful drafting of the resolution opposing colonialism in all its manifestations.

President Soekarno, opening the Conference on April 18 urged upon the Conference of the necessity of the unity of the Asian and African countries "for the sake of the highest purposes of man—liberation of men from the physical, spiritual and intellectual bonds which have far too long stunted the development of humanity's majority."

He warned the delegates against any sense of complacency about the danger of colonialism. "I say to you, colonialism is not yet dead. Vast areas of Asia and Africa are unfree. Colonialism is a skilful and determined enemy and appears in many guises. It must be eradicated from the earth."

If the Asian and African peoples could succeed in applying the "live-and-let-live principle to themselves, in harmony and peace," Dr. Soekarno continued, they would make a great impact on the world at large.

He paid a special tribute to India for her contribution to the attainment of Indonesian freedom.

The Chairman of the Conference, Dr. Sastroamidjojo, said that the foremost reason for calling the conference was the "agonizing tension" in the world. The participating countries could play a significant role in easing that tension. He said that peoples of Asia and Africa did not want to be dominated by any ideology "from whatever quarter it may come."

Referring to the peoples of the Asian and African countries who were still under foreign rule Dr. Sastroamidjojo said: "We, the independent countries of Asia and Africa have to do our utmost in supporting them in every peaceful effort, which may achieve their freedom."

Many colonial Powers had expressed good intentions of ending colonialism, he went on adding, "I regret to say that good intentions alone are not sufficient to abolish colonialism altogether from the world. More important for us are their deeds and policies which may give proof to the world of the sincerity of their good intentions."

Dr. Sastroamidjojo regretted the absence of the representatives of the peoples who were still under colonial rule but added that it could not help in view of the acceptance of the principle that only independent countries would be invited to participate in the conference.

The Indian Prime Minister played a very important role in the successful conclusion of the conference. In almost all the discussions his voice was heard with great respect and greatly helped in reconciling conflicting viewpoints.

Speaking on the issues of world peace and colonialism, Pandit Nehru declared that India did not belong to any power bloc and she would not allow any country to enter her territory. India was neither Communist nor anti-Communist and would not join any war. He said that the Soviet and American leaders had great responsibility to see that the world was not plunged into an atomic war. The Asian and African countries should consider who was to protect them and where was security in atomic war. But the Asian and African countries could tilt the balance in favour of peace, declared Sri Nehru.

He opposed the Pakistan proposal that countries should have the right to self-defence, singly or collectively, and said that such a principle was merely a cover of words to make military pacts acceptable.

It was intolerable humiliation for any Asian and African country to degrade itself as a camp-follower of one side or the other among the power blocs, said Sri Nehru.

Speaking about the Turkish phrase of the NATO, he said that there was another very real side of the matter. The NATO was, he said, one of the most powerful protectors of colonialism. It was gross impertinence on the part of NATO Powers to speak to India about Goa. North Africa would be free today but for NATO. He criticized the stand taken by Turkey and said that the so-called realistic positions of the present day like that of Turkey had brought the world to the brink of war and destruction.

Sri Prem Bhatia reports in the *Statesman* that opposing the Ceylon motion on colonialism Pandit Nehru stated that colonialism as commonly understood, did not apply to countries like Czechoslovakia and Poland which were self-governing members of the UN. Subversion might be said to exist in other forms than Communism. For instance, how would they categorize the influence which forced certain Asian countries to tilt the balance against Indonesia during the voting on Western New Guinea in the UN?

Pandit Nehru put the Cominform in the same category as the SEATO and said that "both are dangerous" and were incompatible with the pattern of peace.

The Chinese Prime Minister, Mr. Chou En-lai created a favourable impression by his amiable manners and conciliatory attitude. Even his avowed opponents said that. He declared China's willingness to enter into negotiations with the USA "to discuss the question of relaxing tension in the Far East and especially the question of relaxing tension in the

Taiwan area." He repeatedly said that the Chinese delegation had come to the conference to seek unity and not to create divergence. He expressed his conviction that there was a good basis for seeking common ground among the Asian and African countries. He complained of the unfair treatment meted out to China by the UN.

He indicated China's willingness to discuss the question of dual nationality of the Chinese living in other Asian countries with any of the Governments concerned. Accordingly, a treaty was signed on April 22 between China and Indonesia which would end in two years' time the dual nationality of two and a half million Chinese living in Indonesia).

"China," Mr. Chou said "has no intention of subverting neighbouring countries but, on the contrary is suffering from subversive activities carried out by the USA." Refuting the allegation that there was any 'bamboo curtain' around China, he invited all delegates to visit China at any time.

Mr. Chou invited the representatives of Thailand, Laos and Burma, China's southern neighbours to come and inspect the Chinese frontiers.

He referred to Ceylon's attacks on Communism and said that the subject was not on the agenda. "There are a number of great international organizations such as the Vatican and the U. S. Intelligence Service. We have suffered at their hands and have every reason to be against them, but we will not discuss them here."

He presented a seven-point peace plan to the conference.

### *Bandung Conference Results*

The following communique was issued on April 24 at the conclusion of the Conference of 29 Asian and African countries at Bandung:

"The Asian-African Conference convened by the Government of Burma, Ceylon, India, Indonesia and Pakistan met in Bandung from the 18th to 24th of April, 1955

"In addition to the sponsoring countries the following 21 countries participated in the conference:

"Afghanistan, Cambodia, People's Republic of China, Egypt, Ethiopia, Gold Coast, Iran, Iraq, Japan, Jordan, Laos, The Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Nepal, The Philippines, Saudi Arabia, The Sudan, Syria, Thailand, Turkey, Democratic Republic of (North) Vietnam, States of Vietnam and The Yemen.

#### **ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION**

"The Asian-African Conference considered the position of Asia and Africa and discussed ways and means by which their peoples could achieve the fullest economic cultural and political co-operation.

(a) Economic co-operation:

(1) The Asian-African conference recognised the urgency of promoting economic development in the Asian-

African region. There was general desire for economic co-operation among the participating countries on the basis of mutual interest and respect for national sovereignty.

"The proposals with regard to economic co-operation within the participating countries do not preclude either the desirability or the need for co-operation with countries outside the region including the investment of foreign capital.

"It was further recognised that assistance being received by certain participating countries from outside the region through international or under bilateral arrangements had made a valuable contribution to the implementation of their development programmes.

(2) The participating countries agree to provide technical assistance to one another to the maximum extent.

(3) The Asian-African Conference recommended:

"The early establishment of a special United Nations fund for economic development;

"The allocation by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development a greater part of its resources to Asian-African countries.

#### TRADE RELATIONS

(4) The Asian-African Conference recognised the vital need for stabilising commodity trade in the region. The principle of enlarging the scope of multilateral trade and payments was accepted. However it was recognised that some countries would have to take recourse to bilateral trade agreements in view of their prevailing economic conditions.

(5) The Asian-African Conference recommended that collective action be taken by participating countries for stabilising international prices of and demand for primary commodities through bilateral and multilateral arrangements and that as far as practicable and desirable they should adopt a unified approach on the subject in the United Nations Permanent Advisory Commission on international commodity trade and other international forums.

(6) The Asian-African Conference further recommended:

"Asian-African countries should diversify their export trade by processing their raw materials whenever economically feasible before export: intra-regional trade fairs should be promoted and encouragement be given to the exchange of trade delegations and groups of businessmen: exchange of information and of samples should be encouraged with a view to promoting intra-regional trade; and normal facilities should be provided for the transit trade of landlocked countries.

#### SHIPPING LINES

(7) The Asian-African Conference attached considerable importance to shipping and expressed concern that shipping lines reviewed from time to time their freight rates often to the detriment of participating countries.

(8) The Asian-African Conference felt that encouragement should be given to the establishment of

national and regional banks and insurance companies.

(9) The Asian-African Conference felt that exchange of information on matters relating to oil, such as remittance of profits and taxation, might finally lead to the formulation of a common policy.

(10) The Asian-African Conference emphasised the particular significance of the development of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes for Asian-African countries.

(11) The Asian-African Conference agreed to the appointment of liaison officers in participating countries to be nominated by their respective national Governments for the exchange of information and matters of mutual interest.

(12) The Asian-African Conference recommended that there should be prior consultation of participating countries in international forums with a view as far as possible to furthering their mutual economic interest. It is however not intended to form a regional bloc.

#### CULTURAL CO-OPERATION

(1) The Asian-African Conference was convinced that among the most powerful means of promoting understanding among nations is the development of cultural co-operation. Asia and Africa have been the cradle of great religions and civilizations which have enriched other cultures and civilizations while themselves being enriched in the process.

#### COLONIALISM

"The Asian-African Conference took note of the existence of colonialism in many parts of Asia and Africa.

"Some colonial powers have denied their dependent peoples basic rights in the sphere of education and culture which hampers the development of their personality and also prevents cultural intercourse with other Asian and African peoples.

"This is particularly true in the case of Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco where the basic right of the people to study their own language and culture has been suppressed.

"Similar discrimination has been practised against African and coloured people in some parts of the continent of Africa.

"The conference felt that these policies amount to a denial of the fundamental rights of man, impede cultural advancement in this region and also hamper cultural co-operation on the wider international plane.

"The conference condemned such a denial of fundamental rights in the sphere of education and culture in some parts of Asia and Africa by this and other forms of cultural suppression.

"In particular the conference condemned racialism as means of cultural suppression.

(3) It was not from any sense of exclusiveness or rivalry with other groups of nations and other civilisations and cultures that the conference viewed the development of cultural co-operation among Asia and African countries.

"True to the age-old tradition of tolerance and universality the conference believed that Asian and

African cultural co-operation should be developed in the large context of world co-operation.

(4) There are many countries in Asia and Africa which have not yet been able to develop their educational, scientific and technical institution.

"The conference recommended that countries in Asia and Africa which are more fortunately placed in this respect should give facilities for the admission of students and trainees from such countries to their institutions.

(5) The Asian-African Conference felt that the promotion of cultural co-operation among countries of Asia and Africa should be directed towards:

A. The acquisition of knowledge of each other country;

B. Mutual cultural exchange, and

C. Exchange of information.

(6) The Asian-African Conference was of the opinion that at this stage the best results in cultural co-operation would be achieved by pursuing bilateral arrangements to implement its recommendations and by each country taking action on its own wherever possible and feasible.

#### HUMAN RIGHTS

"Human rights and self-determination:

"A. The Asian-African Conference declared its full support of the fundamental principles of human rights as set forth in the charter of the United Nations and took note of the universal declaration of human rights as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations.

"The conference declared its full support of the principle of self-determination of peoples and nations as set forth in the charter of the United Nations and took note of the United Nations resolutions on the rights of peoples and nations to self-determination which is prerequisite of the full enjoyment of all fundamental human rights."

#### *World Peace and India*

On April 22, Pandit Nehru made some statements at Bandung, of which a summary is given below, which are of some significance in relation to the objects of the Conference.

In an important intervention during the Committee's debate on world peace and co-operation Sri Nehru made these points:

If Burma's proposal on peace was not accepted as the minimum the only alternative was solution of problems by war.

The situation in Formosa is grave and the threat of war ever present.

Sri Nehru spoke after Burma, Japan, Pakistan and Egypt had introduced draft resolutions on world peace and co-operation.

Earlier Turkey had explained why it had entered into a pact with the United States and declared that but for that pact she would not have been at the Asian-African Conference.

Sri Nehru said the Turkish delegate had described N.A.T.O. as a bulwark of peace. He had given one side of the case. If the other side were present to put forward its case that case would probably be just as good. The so-called realistic positions of the present day like that of Turkey had brought the world to the brink of war and destruction.

Sri Nehru said that he spoke with faith in the people of India and not in the big bombs. Whatever the great powers did he was convinced that India would rely on herself.

If India had to accept an ideology, then she would choose the Gandhian ideal. Gandhiji had taught India to rely on herself.

India was neither Communist nor anti-Communist, Sri Nehru declared.

Armaments were mounting up and any mistake committed by armed powers was fraught with the danger of war.

Greatness as understood today had brought about false standards and values. As a result of this an overwhelmingly powerful country might fully conquer the world. Today the position was that two mighty colossi could not defeat each other. They could only ruin each other. Of course, aggression must be resisted but war must be avoided at any cost. Whatever happened India would not join war. If India joined any bloc she would lose her independence.

Referring to the Pakistan proposal that countries should have the right of self-defence, singly or collectively, Sri Nehru said he did not accept this as one of the principles to be adopted. Such a proposal was merely a cover of words to make military pacts acceptable.

As regards Nato Sri Nehru said that it was one of the most powerful protectors of colonialism. It was gross impertinence on the part of Nato Powers to speak to India about Goa. North Africa would be free today but for Nato.

Speaking of atomic war Sri Nehru said a position had been reached where it did not matter whether one side or the other had more atomic or hydrogen bombs. World leaders such as President Eisenhower and the Soviet leaders bore tremendous burdens of responsibility. Asians and Africans must ask themselves who was to protect them and where was security in an atomic war.

Sri Nehru said he did not see what there was in the word "co-existence" to make it so unacceptable. He said Burma's proposal contained no reference to co-existence and if this minimum was not accepted the only alternative was solution of problems by war.

Sir John replied that he was one of the conveners of the meeting and nothing was further from his mind than to disrupt it. He said he merely wanted to bring certain facts to the notice of the conference and did not want to discuss political ideologies or disrupt unanimity.

The Chinese Premier, Mr. Chou En-lai said that if

any of the delegates desired to discuss ideologies with him, he would be glad to do so outside the conference.

Mr. Chou said that so far the conference had agreed on the interpretation of the word Colonialism. Ceylon's was a new interpretation of the word.

The Eastern European countries—Sir John had yesterday referred to Czechoslovakia and others as forms of Soviet Colonialism—had selected their State systems according to their own will, Mr. Chou said. To argue about them would do no good to the conference, he said.

Mr. Chou then read out to the conference a proposal he would have introduced but which he had now decided not to place before the Committee. The proposal was to call on all Colonial Powers to grant freedom to Asian and African subject peoples within a stated (ten or fifteen years) period.

The Pakistan Prime Minister, Mr. Mohammed Ali said China was not an Imperialistic country and had no satellite States. Therefore, there should be no difficulty in discussing the subject of other types of dependent peoples.

The Syrian Foreign Minister, Mr. Khaled Elazm said that they should not discuss ideologies. If "Soviet Imperialism" came up for discussion they might have to discuss American and British Imperialisms.

There were all sorts of curtains "iron, steel, silk and atomic." It might also involve discussion of military pacts, economic pressures and so on, the Syrian delegate said.

Prime Minister Nehru said that technically speaking it was not proper to call countries of Eastern Europe colonies. They had not discussed all colonial territories—thus Goa had not been referred to and it was not India's intention to raise it. They were all meeting as Governments and they should function within the limitations of Governments.

#### NEHRU'S SPEECH

Sri Nehru said the East European countries like Czechoslovakia were represented at the United Nations. Poland was a member of the International Supervisory Commissions for Indo-China. Many of the Western and Asian-African countries had not only recognised these East European countries as sovereign States but also had entered into treaties with them. They were dealing with these nations as equal nations in the United Nations and other bodies.

Sri Nehru said that it would, therefore, be extraordinary to challenge the very basis of these States.

The Indian Prime Minister said if everything was discussed then all forms of pressures, coercions and subversions in the world would have to be discussed. Some might raise the question of Guatemala. They would also have to discuss various forms of coercions and pressures in African and Asian countries which, owing to their poverty and weakness were amenable to such pressures.

Sri Nehru said they should not also refer to Soviet Asian Republics as they had no facts to go upon. Even

subjects such as Tunisia were discussed not on their merits but in relation to power politics.

As examples of pressures, Sri Nehru said that in the Political Committee of the General Assembly, certain countries supported Indonesia's case in respect of West Irian but in the General Assembly later they changed their vote. Some of these countries had admitted that pressure had been exercised on them.

Sri Nehru said the world faced a dangerous situation and they must consider whether they were assisting the approach to peace or coming in its way.

He appealed to Ceylon, Turkey and other countries to consider the problem from this broader view point.

Sri Nehru said that he was glad that the question of colonialism was being discussed, he was happy that Ceylon had said that it had no desire to discuss ideologies and would not put a resolution.

He said that discussions at the conference had hitherto not mentioned many colonial territories like those of Britain and Portugal.

India had the "small problem" of Goa but India had no desire to raise it at the conference.

Speaking of Eastern Europe, Sri Nehru said that many countries of that area were members of the United Nations as Sovereign States and recognised as such by several nations at the Asian-African Conference.

These European countries had signed formal treaties with other nations with which they were dealing on a basis of equality.

Sri Nehru said that speaking in a technical sense there was no colonialism in Eastern Europe though what was there might be objectionable.

Sri Nehru said that there was a tendency to consider problems of North Africa not on their merits but for reasons related to power politics.

#### *The Chou En-lai Proposal*

The following is the condensed text of the statement issued by Mr. Chou En-lai, the Chinese Premier, regarding the Formosa tangle and allied subjects:

Bandung, April 23. Mr. Chou En-lai, Chinese Prime Minister, announced in a statement here today that he is willing to negotiate with the United States on Formosa.

Mr. Chou issued the statement after lunching with delegates from Ceylon, India, Indonesia, Pakistan, the Philippines and Thailand.

He told the Asian-African Conference today that China would not transgress against the territorial integrity of any country—not by one inch.

He said he had invited representatives of Thailand, Laos and Burma—China's southern neighbours—to come and inspect the Chinese frontiers.

He said in the statement, "The Chinese people do not want to have war with the United States."

"The Chinese Government is willing to sit down and enter into negotiations with the United States Govern-

ment to discuss the question of relaxing tension in the Far East and especially the question of relaxing tension in the Formosa area."

Mr. Chou said that China was led by the Communist Party. It was against all forms of military alliances like the Atlantic Pact and the South-East Asia Treaty Organisation.

The Conference sources said Mr. Chou's statement evidently had the support of the seven other Ministers at the luncheon.

Conference sources said Mr. Chou added that if "by mistake" Chinese people crossed the frontiers of China's neighbours his Government would bring them back.

He said that China was willing to have friendly relations with the United States, Japan and all other countries.

He was willing to accept the efforts of any party which might try to bring about such relations.

Mr. Chou addressing delegation leaders in the Political Committee said Sir Anthony Eden, the British Prime Minister, himself had agreed to the "five principles of co-existence."

He was willing to take a stand with the British Prime Minister on these principles and would be prepared to issue a declaration on them.

The Conference sources said Mr. Chou criticised the Western military alliances and warned that if these continued to be created China might be compelled to think about having such alliance with nations friendly to her.

Mr. Chou En-lai made a 7-point declaration of his own.

The preamble to the declaration said: "Taking cognisance of the fact that present world tension is impairing international co-operation and harmony;

"Recognising the desire of the peoples of the world for a solid and lasting peace and for the development of friendly relations between nations;

"With a view to achieving and maintaining the independence and freedom of Asian and African countries, and

"With a view to safeguarding and strengthening world peace, it declared:

1. "We Asian and African countries are determined to promote mutual and common interests and live together in peace and friendly co-operation with one another on the basis of respect for each other's sovereignty and territorial integrity:

2. "Abstention from committing aggression and directing threats against each other;

3. "Abstention from interference or intervention in the internal affairs of one another;

4. "Recognition of equality of races.

5. "Recognition of the equality of all nations large and small.

6. "Respect for the right of the people of all

countries to choose freely their way of life as well as their political and economic system.

7. "Abstention from doing damage to one another."

Mr. Chou's proposed declaration advocated settlement of international disputes by peaceful means and said the Conference should support all measures "being taken or that may be taken to eliminate international tension and promote world peace."

It called for "an immediate armaments truce among all nations and first of all an agreement among the big Powers on the reduction of armed forces and armaments."

The proposed declaration maintained that atomic energy should be used only for peaceful purposes, demanded prohibition of the production, storage and use of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction and called for an end by mutual agreement to all tests of atomic weapons.

### *Sino-Indonesian Treaty*

This treaty between the People's Republic of China and Indonesia was an outstanding event of the Conference. The news-report was as follows:

Bandung, April 22.—Mr. Chou En-lai, China's Prime Minister and Dr. Sunario, Indonesia's Foreign Affairs Minister, today signed a treaty which will end the dual nationality of two and half million Chinese living in Indonesia.

The treaty calls on the Chinese population to increase their sense of responsibility to whichever nation they chose as their motherland.

This is the first treaty with a non-Communist country that Mr. Chou En-lai has signed personally.

Under the treaty, citizens of Chinese origin in Indonesia will have to decide within two years whether they want Chinese or Indonesian nationality. It becomes effective when ratification instruments are exchanged at Peking.

At the signing ceremony Mr. Chou said: "It is of great significance that this question is solved during the Asian-African Conference. This is another good example of solving difficult questions between Asian and African countries in a spirit of friendly negotiations."

Diplomatic observers attached great importance to the signature of the treaty because of the fundamental principles involved. The treaty will now become the basis of any negotiations with other Asian countries on their Chinese population believed to total several millions.—Reuter.

### *Goa*

Goa continued to be a testing stone in the body of India. It is evident that the Government of India is in a difficult position in so far a solution is concerned. Mere words are of no use in the face of what is happening. The Lok Sabha may have an occasion to discuss Goa soon, as the following news-item shows:

New Delhi, April 25.—The Speaker, Mr. G. V.

Mavlankar, today held over his decision on the admissibility of an adjournment motion tabled by some members in the Lok Sabha seeking to raise a discussion on the "deportation by Portuguese Authorities of 32 Goan satyagrahis, including Indian nationals arrested in August 1954 and sentenced to terms of imprisonment upto 28 years."

Mr. Mavlankar said the subject-matter of the adjournment motion appeared to be "pretty serious," and the sentence if true, was "shocking." He would keep the matter open till the return of the Prime Minister.

He would like to know from members who had tabled the motion as to whether they had further information about the sentences.

Mr. Ashoka Mehta said all the satyagrahis were arrested on August 15, 1954, when satyagraha was launched and had been convicted and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment. The highest being 28 years and the minimum being four years. Thirty-two persons had been deported from Goa and had been sent to some place in Africa. The deportation took place about two or three days back according to information received by him.

The Speaker said, he would keep the matter open till the return of the Prime Minister, and information, if available, might be given by Government earlier. "It is a matter which really cause tension throughout the country," he added.

### *Amendment of the Constitution*

After prolonged discussions, the Indian Parliament has now passed the Constitution (Fourth Amendment) Bill. The amendment is remarkable in many respects. According to one school of thought it has removed the contradictions between fundamental rights and directive principles of State policy and has made the fundamental rights subservient to the directive principles. The amendment has thus, according to them, remedied a lacuna in the Constitution. Fundamental rights are rights of the people and they are justiciable; the directive principles are directions to the State in framing the laws of the land and in the administration of the country. The directive principles as such are non-justiciable, they hold, and cannot be invoked by the people for the enforcement of their rights. The directive principles aim at establishing a "Welfare State" and ultimately a "Socialistic State." Socialism therefore implies curtailment of the rights of the people or the individual's liberty. The doctrine of the rule of law or individual liberty as was expounded by Professor Dicey should not obtain now, they say, as it did in the days of Victorian liberalism. It is said that political democracy was boosted at the cost of economic democracy, under that principle, which gave people the right to cry hoarse in the Parliament without the corresponding right to live, to get employment.

Recent decisions of the Supreme Court have given a very wide meaning to clauses (1) and (2) of Article 31 of the Constitution. Despite the difference in the wording of the two clauses, they are regarded as dealing with the same subject. The deprivation of property referred to in clause (1) is to be construed in the widest sense as including any curtailment of a right to property. Even where it is caused by a purely regulatory provision of law and is not accompanied by an acquisition or taking possession of that or any other property right by the State, the law, in order to be valid according to these decisions, has to provide for compensation under clause (2) of the Article. It is considered necessary therefore to re-state more precisely the State's power of compulsory acquisition and requisitioning of private property and distinguish it from cases where the operation of regulatory or prohibitory laws of the State results in "deprivation of property." This is sought to be done in new amendment to the Constitution.

In the case of the Solapur Spinning and Weaving Co., Ltd., the Supreme Court held that the Article 31 is a self-contained provision delimiting the field of eminent domain and clauses (1) and (2) of Article 31 deal with the same topic of compulsory acquisition of property. Article 31 gives complete protection to private property as against executive action, no matter by what process a person is deprived of possession of it. The Supreme Court held that acquisition necessarily means acquisition of title in whole or part of the property and cannot be accepted. The word acquisition has quite a wide concept, meaning the procuring of property or the taking of it permanently or temporarily. It does not necessarily imply acquisition of legal title by the State in the property taken possession of.

As a result of the Supreme Court's decision the Government of India had to return the Solapur Weaving Mill to the shareholders. It was taken over by the Government in pursuance of the Industries Development and Regulation Act temporarily for coactive purposes and the Supreme Court held that this taking over by the State although on a temporary basis amounted to acquisition without compensation and as such this was illegal. The fourth amendment to the Constitution seeks to do away with such legal quibbles by distinguishing acquisition proper from taking over temporarily for regulatory purposes. In the opinion of the Government of India it is often necessary to take over under State management for a temporary period a commercial or industrial undertaking or other property in the public interest or in order to secure the better management of the undertaking or property. Laws providing for such temporary transference to State management should be permissible under the Constitution.

The amendment includes within its scope acquisition of agricultural holdings, surplus land and vacant

land for redistribution, slum property and property intended for rehabilitation of displaced persons. Certain rights in industrial and commercial undertakings, which might amount to substantial right of property, managing agency rights and rights of other such persons in undertakings, shareholders' rights, etc., were also covered to the extent of deprivation of their rights, not by acquisition, but by the regulatory laws of the land. But in the main, while agricultural and such allied properties were denied the protection not only of the compensation clause but also of the provision dealing with the non-discriminatory and rights of property enjoyment, industrial and other properties are said to have been given full protection against any type of infringement. The distinction between agricultural and industrial property in the matter of acquisition has been done away with by the amendment and these have been placed on an equal footing. Although compensation cannot now be questioned on the ground of its inadequacy, any acquisition can still be questioned if the compensation provided for is illusory or amounts to a fraud on the Constitution. We are unable as yet to understand as to how that is to be established. The main result of the amendment is that the State can now take over certain types of property under the regulatory laws of the land and as this does not amount to acquisition, no compensation will be paid.

As we consider that the other side of the question has not been fully publicized, we append the following extracts from the *Statesman* of April 1, and April 12, which gives a summary by its special representative:

New Delhi, March 31.—A far-reaching change in the Constitution (4th Amendment) Bill made by the Joint Select Committee seeks to ensure that the quantum of compensation paid for acquisition or requisition of all types of property shall not be open to question in a court of law. As Chairman of the Joint Committee, Mr. Nehru presented its report to the Lok Sabha this evening.

The change has been effected by adding the proviso "and no such law shall be called in question in any court on the ground that the compensation provided by that law is not adequate" to clause 2 of Article 31, which provides for payment of compensation for compulsory acquisition or requisition.

The changes made by the Joint Committee also remove the distinction between agricultural and non-agricultural property implicit in Article 31A of the original Bill. They empower the legislature to fix the quantum of compensation for acquisition of both agricultural and non-agricultural property, but make payment of compensation obligatory in both cases.

This has been done by deleting several sub-clauses pertaining to acquisition from Article 31A. The changes ensure that compensation is paid for land which might have been originally acquired under the

provisions of Article 31A without paying any compensation.

Similar protection has been given to immovable property acquired for purposes of relief and rehabilitation, slum property and waste land by deleting the clauses dealing with them from the scope of Article 31A. Laws providing for the transfer of any undertaking wholly or in part, from one company to another have also been removed from the scope of the Article.

The overall intention of the Joint Committee seems to be to treat all cases of acquisition equally under the newly-framed Article 31(2) and include only specific regulatory laws under Article 31A.

#### NEW CLAUSE

P.T.I. adds: In the opinion of the Committee, the clause (2A) sufficiently brings out the distinction between compulsory acquisition and requisitioning of property for public purposes and the deprivation of property or property rights by operation of regulatory or other laws. The Committee, however, considers that the clause should be expanded to cover transfer of ownership or right to possession of property to corporations owned or controlled by the State. Such corporations stand on the same footing as the Government, but are not covered by the definition of "State" in Article 12. The clause has been amended accordingly.

Another drafting change suggested by the Joint Committee is for the deletion of the words "by the State" in the clauses, as all cases of acquisition or requisitioning of property could only be by the State and the omitted words were unnecessary.

Mr. N. C. Chatterjee (Hindu Mahasabha), in his minute of dissent, says that the amendments were far too drastic and would have a deleterious effect on small property holders who would be completely at the mercy not merely of the State legislatures but also of the executive who would work this kind of legislation in practice.

Bereft of the control of High Courts and of the Supreme Court, these extraordinary powers of expropriation and deprivation of property might act as "engines of oppression and tyranny on poor people."

The amendment, he says, might lead to arbitrary expropriation of property without payment of just or fair or any compensation and thus destroy the sanctity of private property and might pave the way for a totalitarian regime.

Mr. Chatterjee is strongly opposed to protection sought to be given for certain types of acquisition, against Articles 14 and 19.

He considers that the protection of the President's assent, for extraordinary legislation under the powers conferred by the new Clause 3, was almost illusory. Such extraordinary legislation, when enacted by any State legislature, should be placed before both the Houses of Parliament and their considered opinion in the form of resolutions should be forwarded to the President before he gave his assent to such laws.

Pandit Nehru termed this amendment as a democratic measure when he supported it on April 11.

He welcomed the changes made by the Joint Committee because they embodied the original intention of the Constitution-makers. The Bill was shorter and simpler and made it clear that compensation would be paid, but the amount would be determined by the legislature.

In general, he expressed the view that if democratic government was to flourish, the legislature had to be a trustee with wide powers. The present Bill he reminded the House, gave powers to the legislature and not to the executive.

Pandit Pant followed up Pandit Nehru's advocacy of the Fourth Amendment on April 12. Considering the intellectual level of the majority of the Government's supporters, the passage of the bill was a foregone conclusion, but all the same we consider the evil potentialities of this amendment remain unaltered in the main. We are not impressed by Pandit Pant's pleas, in view of what we see happening in the shape of executive action all over the country. We append the following extract from the *Statesman* of April 13, which gives a summary of Pandit Pant's speech:

Pandit Pant had earlier dealt with the demand for explicit safeguards for small property owners in saying that this could be left to good sense of legislators who were elected mainly by this class of people.

After Pandit Pant's clear and unhurried analysis of the changes made by the Joint Committee, it was clear that the chances of the Bill being radically amended or failing to get the required two-third majority were remote.

Instead of being more radical than the original Bill, he said, the changes had further limited the scope of expropriation by reducing the number of excepted categories and insisting that compensation be paid in all other cases of acquisition.

For instance, it would no longer be possible to acquire agricultural holdings in excess of fixed ceiling or transfer undertakings without paying compensation as was possible in the original Bill.

The powers of acquisition provided in the Bill, he said, did not apply to small bits of land required for individual purposes, but only to such large-scale acquisition as would come within the scope of the term "social engineering."

Courts could still be approached if the compensation provided was regarded as illusory, but he felt that only the legislature would assess the importance of all the factors relevant in deciding the amount of compensation to be paid in cases of social reform.

It would be unfair to limit the powers of State legislatures, as it had been suggested, since they were directly responsible for law and order and development.

#### *Cr. Procedure Code (Amendment)*

This amendment is another weapon whose use might easily be malafide in the hands of an unscrupulous

executive or minister, who has a grudge against any newspaper. It means that all the resources of the Government will be harnessed against the so-called "accused," right up to the Supreme Court. If the "accused" is able to bear the terrific strain and costs, then he might win. But even so he can only expect a fraction of the actual costs to be repaid, for "costs" in legal practice never mean actuals, if the "defamed" party is below the rank of "Heads of State." Otherwise he can expect nothing. We were not impressed by the footling arguments used in favour of this amendment. But we append below the Rajya Sabha debate report in substance from the weekly *Hindu* of April 24:

When the House resumed consideration of clauses, Mr. J. S. Bisht (Congress—U.P.) strongly supported clause 25, laying down a special procedure for prosecution for defamation against the President, the Vice-President, Governor, Rajpramukh, Minister or a public servant.

Mr. S. Mahanty (Democratic—Orissa) opposed the whole clause. Referring to the arguments that the Press Commission's observations supported the proposed amendment, he said that the Commission was not appointed solely to go into the Press Laws of the country. It was only one of its terms of reference. But a Committee to go into the Press Laws was appointed in 1948. Did Government implement that Committee's recommendations? he asked.

Dr. P. V. Kane (nominated) referred to the provision in the clause stating that the Sessions Court might take cognisance of an offence of defamation "upon a complaint in writing made by the Public Prosecutor" and said that such a complaint should further be made subject to endorsement by the Minister or officer concerned. Otherwise, he asked, how would the provision be consistent with the obligation of the Minister or officer to pay compensation to the accused in the event of the accusation being proved false as provided for in sub-clause 7 of the clause.

Mr. Kishenchand (PSP—Hyderabad) opposed the clause and said he saw no reason why the Government should arm themselves with additional powers when they already had powers to deal with the "Yellow Press" under the Press laws. He suggested withdrawal of the clause from the Bill, or, in the alternative, bring under it only Heads of State and not Ministers and other public servants.

Mr. Jaganath Kaushal (Congress—PEPSU), opposing the clause, said it went against the fundamental principles underlying criminal law and was liable to stifle legitimate criticism of irregularities. He said the Government had not been able to make out a clear case in defence of the clause. The clause, in short, was derogatory to the spirit of freedom and welfare of a State, he said.

Dr. W. S. Barlingay (Cong.—Madhya Pradesh) took exception to the provision in the clause exempting

Heads of State from payment of compensation to an accused person when the complaint filed against the latter is proved frivolous or vexatious. He thought this concession should not be allowed to them as persons who were found guilty should not be allowed to continue in office.

Replying to the debate, Mr. B. N. Datar, Deputy Home Minister, said there was no question of discrimination at all in respect of public servants. The ordinary provisions of penal laws continued to hold good in their case also, and all that was sought to be done was to have the complaint launched by a Public Prosecutor instead of the defamed person himself. It also sought to punish the guilty public servant if the contents of the defamatory substance was found to be true, otherwise to penalise the defamer.

Mr. Datar said that in the interests of purity of administration, the Government should not keep quiet when a public servant was defamed with regard to his conduct in the discharge of his public duty.

Explaining the procedure for starting prosecution in the case of the President, the Vice-President, a Governor or a Rajpramukh, Mr. Datar said it would be derogatory to their position if the prosecution was to be filed at the instance of the Government exclusively and so the matter had been left entirely to each of them. They had also been exempted from the provision on the issue of notices showing cause why compensation should not be paid if the prosecution fell. This was because Article 361 of the Constitution granted them such exemption. No criminal or civil proceedings could be instituted against them.

Mr. Datar said so far as public servants of a lower order were concerned, it might be the head of a department who took a decision but ultimately the matter would be scrutinised by higher quarters and the authorisation would be the authorisation of the Government.

Mr. Datar then referred to the criticism of the provision in sub-clause 5 stating that a person against whom an offence of defamation was alleged to have been committed "shall, unless the court of Sessions, for reasons to be recorded, otherwise directs, be examined as a witness for the prosecution." He pointed out that such a provision occurs in all cases wherever a judicial discretion was to be used by a court. Supposing a writing was *per se* defamatory, a Sessions Judge might feel there would be no need for putting the complainant in the witness box. It should be noted that the provision said the officer "shall" go to the witness box; this was the general rule. The use of the imperative phrase made it clear that the Government had no desire to keep their officers from the witness box.

A number of Opposition members questioned the real intentions of the Government behind providing for exemption in certain circumstances to a public servant alleged to be defamed from appearing in the witness box. Mr. Datar said that if the prosecution did not put defamed man in the box it would be doing so at its own cost. The implication of the decision to launch

prosecution was that the Government had to prove the charge. The rule of commonsense would require that the officer concerned would have to be put in the witness box.

Dr. H. N. Kunzru asked if a magistrate had discretion in cases of defamation, where the complainant was a private party, to exempt the complainant from appearing for examination unless he fell within the exceptions in the Criminal Procedure Code.

Mr. Datar said that in private cases, ordinarily the complainant had to go into the witness box and there would be no question of exemption from appearance. But the question that was to be considered now was whether it was absolutely necessary for him to seek exemption by an order of the court. He would agree that there was no question of asking for exemption because to go into the witness box or not would be a matter which the complainant or his lawyer had to decide at his own risk. The general rule required that the best kind of evidence, had to be produced and direct evidence would be oral testimony. But, the cases when the Government would not like to put the defamed man in the witness box would be very rare.

### Sea-Customs Amendment

This amendment is another highly doubtful measure, which would be a potent weapon for the extraction of bribes in the hands of unscrupulous officers of whom there are hosts in that service. We append the news report below:

New Delhi, April 9.—The Lok Sabha today debated inconclusively the Sea Customs (Amendment) Bill, seeking to give certain additional powers to Customs officers for effective control of smuggling.

Though the Bill, partly discussed a fortnight ago, was scheduled to be disposed of today, an unexpectedly keen discussion on one of its provisions held up its passage, and further consideration was held over to enable House to take up non-official business.

The provision which was the subject of adverse comment by several members, even during the general consideration of the Bill seeks to throw the onus of proof in regard to smuggled goods on the person possessing them.

This, members contended was against the accepted principle of criminal jurisprudence that the onus of proof should fall on the prosecution.

Mr. A. C. Guha, Minister for Revenue and Defence Expenditure, said in his reply to the general discussion that the provision to which members had objected was not new. Similar provisions already existed in many other acts like the Opium Act, the Dangerous Drugs Act and the Telegraph Wires Act.

Mr. Tek Chand (C—Punjab) described the measure as a "public harassment Bill" and said the person who was to be punished would not be the smuggler or the "incompetent Customs officer who lets the goods slip through" but the person who was innocent.

Mr. M. S. Gurupadaswamy (P.S.P.—Mysore) said in the long run the Bill might prove to be both an instrument of harassment and of intimidation.

### *India and the Decimal System*

We have a whole host of measures and weights, that differ from each other, in various parts of the country. This causes a lot of confusion and needs standardisation on an uniform basis. The following news therefore is welcome:

April 22—The Government of India have accepted the Decimal system of coinage and the Metric system of coinage and the Metric system of weights and measures, the introduction of which as the standard and uniform systems in the country has been favoured by the Planning Commission.

This was announced by the Union Minister for Commerce and Industry, Sri T. T. Krishnamachari, in the Lok Sabha on Friday. He said that the Metric system of weights and measures would be introduced in the country 'within a reasonable period.'

The Minister who was intervening in the debate on a non-official resolution which urged the Government to 'introduce uniform weights and measures throughout the country,' said that a Committee had been appointed with the Deputy Minister for Commerce and Industry, Sri Nityananda Kanungo as Chairman to go into the question of Metric system. The Committee would decide upon the type of legislation necessary as well as the phased programme of introduction of the system in the country.

The Metric system of weights and measures would be preceded by the decimal system of coinage for which a Bill would be introduced by the Finance Minister, he added.

### *Winston Churchill*

The retirement of this giant amongst statesmen marks the end of an era in the West.

To all the peoples of Asia and Africa that era meant ruthless exploitation and moral and spiritual serfdom. As such, we have not much to say about this retirement, beyond wishing him a peaceful evening to a strenuous life. The newspaper notice given below will serve for the rest:

London, April 5—Sir Winston Churchill, aged 80, today bowed to the years and resigned as British Prime Minister. He will be succeeded by 57-year-old Sir Anthony Eden.

The Prime Minister drove to Buckingham Palace from his official residence at No. 10 Downing Street to offer his resignation to the youthful Queen Elizabeth this afternoon and so wrote finis to his active career as one of history's greatest statesmen.

The following official announcement of Sir Winston Churchill's resignation was issued from Buckingham Palace at 5-20 p.m. today: "The Right Honourable Sir Winston Churchill had an audience of the Queen this evening and tendered his resignations as Prime

Minister and First Lord of the Treasury, which Her Majesty was graciously pleased to accept."

Sir Winston Churchill has been Prime Minister for a total of eight years seven months and 25 days—including five years as Britain's great leader in World War II.

### *Soviet Editors Refused Entry*

A group of editors of American student and youth newspapers while on a visit to the Soviet Union in 1953 invited a group of editors of Soviet youth newspapers to visit the USA. In the summer of 1954, the US Government refused visas to the Soviet editors on the ground that there was little activity among organized students during the summer vacation in the United States. In March of this year the US Government agreed to grant visas to the group of Soviet editors for a month's stay in the USA. But the visit of the Soviet editors fell through because they refused to comply with the US visa formalities which required them to give the fingerprints of both hands.

A *Tass* statement points out that no such demands had been made of the Soviet chess players when they visited the United States in 1954, neither had the Soviet Union ever demanded of the visiting Americans to give their fingerprints.

### *Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT)*

In recent years co-operation in international trade is being maintained through the international organisation, which is commonly known as GATT. The GATT was born out of the tariff negotiations in Geneva in 1947 between 17 countries. These countries negotiated among themselves a large number of tariff concessions which were extended in a series of subsequent conferences, particularly at Annecy and Torquay. The GATT has now 34 member-countries and its rules now constitute the accepted code in international trade and its policy determines the relationship between 34 countries which between them do four-fifths of the world's trade.

For some time past it was felt that the machinery of the GATT needs some modifications in order to cope with the changing conditions in international trade. The General Agreement seeks to lower customs tariffs, to remove other barriers to the free trade and to discontinue quantitative trade restrictions. With the purpose of modifying the provisions of the GATT, the contracting parties met at a special conference held at Geneva in March, 1955. The conference has reaffirmed the basic objectives and obligations including the principle of non-discrimination in trade and the general prohibition to the use of quantitative restrictions on imports, which have guided the member countries in the commercial relations since 1948. It has also been decided to establish a permanent organization, to be known as the Organization for Trade Co-operation. It will administer the Agreement and

will supersede the present informal operational structure.

It may be recalled here that the GATT was devised as a temporary stop-gap arrangement which will facilitate subsequently the establishment of the International Trade Organization as envisaged in the Havana Charter. The realisation of the Havana Charter ideals is still a far away objective and the GATT seems likely to remain for some years to come. India took a leading part in suggesting modifications of the General Agreement at the recent Geneva Conference. India stands for non-discrimination and she is not anxious to grant or receive new preferences in the field of tariffs. India's import licences also do not discriminate between country and country but are valid for all countries in particular currency areas. Likewise, unfair trading practices, such as dumping, have never been supported by the Government of India. The Government of India, however, differs from other member-countries over the question of liquidation of trade barriers. While there has been general support to the objective of expanding international trade, Government of India has the apprehension that the acceptance of the principles of liberal trading embodied in the GATT will interfere with the economic development of the country and prevent the authorities from giving adequate protection to Indian industries. The question of free trade received the most careful consideration from the Government of India who consulted the Planning Commission and the Tariff Commission in the matter. The Indian delegation that went to the conference was instructed by the Government of India to press for certain special provisions being made in the articles of the GATT so as to give sufficient freedom to countries like India to fulfill their programmes of economic development. Delegations from South-East Asia and South America also joined with the Indian delegation in pressing for the modification of the GATT. As a result, a new article has been drafted to deal with "Governmental assistance to economic development" with special regard to the problems of "countries whose economy can only support low standards of living and is in the early stages of development..". This provision will enable the countries concerned to refrain from giving effect to the other provisions of the GATT in the interests of their economic development and to help the establishment of particular industries.

As regards the proposed change in the articles of the GATT, a new article will be inserted in the agreement which recognises the value of tariff negotiations directed to the substantial reduction of the general level of tariffs and in particular, the reduction of such high tariffs as discourage the importation even of minimum quantities. In order to accommodate the point of view of countries like India which for reasons of economic development and also

for budgetary or other considerations may not be in a position to participate in such negotiations, it has been provided in the article that each country will have the right to decide whether or not to engage in such negotiations. The proposed new article will therefore create no new obligations.

The second important change will be in regard to the items on which concessions have already been allowed. A new set of rules of procedure has been evolved in order to enable the countries to withdraw particular items from the schedules of concessions. Under-developed countries have been given special facilities for this purpose. The result being that, a country like India may at any time re-open negotiations with the countries which have been the principal suppliers of the commodity in question for increasing the fixed rate of duty on it or for making it wholly free from the binding so that the duty can be changed in the future without reference to the GATT. In such negotiations the country desiring the change will ordinarily be expected to extend concessions on other items which are substantially equivalent to the concession which is being withdrawn.

Provisions have been made for extraordinary cases under which it will also be possible for countries to withdraw an item without extending new concessions in its place though in such an event the countries whose exports are affected by the withdrawal would be at liberty to withdraw equivalent concessions from among those which were given to the country concerned under the General Agreement. In all such negotiations, the good offices of the GATT organisation—and in the case of applications from under-developed countries even an arbitration machinery—will be available in appropriate circumstances to secure a speedy and equitable settlement.

It has been further decided that countries which suffer from chronic trade deficits, can take special steps to conserve their foreign exchange and for that purpose quantitative restrictions on trade may be imposed. The modified General Agreement recognises that there may be conditions in which a country in the early stages of development may need to use import restrictions to help the establishment of particular industries where other methods of protection are not suitable. Under-developed countries can therefore have recourse to such restrictions for the establishment of particular industries. Such industries will include not merely new industries but also the establishment of a new branch of production in an existing industry or the substantial expansion of an existing industry supplying a relatively small proportion of the domestic demand.

The proposed amendments are now under the consideration of the Government of India. They are also examining the draft articles of the Organisation for Trade Co-operation the setting-up of which has

been proposed for the purpose of the administration of the General Agreement on Tariff and Trade on a more formal and permanent basis. The Organisation will also serve as an inter-Governmental forum for the discussion and solution of other questions relating to international trade and commerce.

### *Small Industries Corporation*

The Government of India has of late trying to develop small-scale industries in this country. Latest development in this direction is the establishment of a Small Industries Corporation, which has been registered as a private limited company under the Indian Companies Act. The Corporation is designed to assist small industries. It will accept contracts for supplying orders to Government and issue sub-contracts for these goods to small-scale industrial units. Small-scale industries will receive from the Corporation loans and technical assistance necessary for fulfilling orders and for the purpose of manufacturing articles of the required type and standard. The Corporation has been empowered to underwrite and guarantee loans to such units from banks and similar institutions.

The Corporation will endeavour to secure co-ordination in a similar way between large-scale and small-scale industries with a view to enabling small industrial units to manufacture ancillaries, components and other articles required for large-scale industrial units. The Corporation has been set up on the recommendation of the International Team of Experts of the Ford Foundation which surveyed the problems of small-scale industries in India in 1953.

The Corporation has an authorised capital of Rs. 10 lakhs which will be subscribed by the Government of India. It will also receive necessary loans from the Government of India for its working capital. The Development Commissioner for Small Scale Industries, under the Ministry of Commerce and Industry, will be Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Corporation, which will consist of nine members. Members of the Board will include representatives of the Director-General, Supplies and Disposals, and the Ministries of Finance, Railways and Defence. Representatives of small industries and banking interests will be nominated on the Board by the Government of India.

When all is said and done, there still remains a lag and it is that small industries do not receive the necessary help from the various organisations which have been recently set up for providing help to them. The regional and local authorities are rather conservative or at least do not know their job. It is known to us that several small-scale industries, well-established for the last 20 years, have failed to secure loans from the local authorities. On paper, therefore, the Government of India's drive towards developing small-scale industries is well publicised, but in reality there is a lacuna in the working of these institutions.

### *Census of Occupations in India*

*Census of India, 1951, Part-II-B—Economic Tables (General Population)*, issued by the Deputy Registrar General, India, reveals many interesting features of the occupational structure of the Indian population. Out of the total population of 35.66 crores, 69.8 per cent or 24.91 crores belong to the agricultural classes and the remainder, 30.2 per cent or 10.75 crores are non-agricultural classes. In the agricultural classes, 28.5 per cent or 7.10 crores are self-supporting persons, 59.0 per cent or 14.70 crores are non-earning dependants, and 12.5 per cent or 3.11 crores are earning dependants. The non-agricultural population comprises 10.75 crores, and of these 31.0 per cent or 3.33 crores are self-supporting persons, 62.6 per cent or 6.73 crores are non-earning dependants, and 6.4 per cent or 69 lakhs are earning dependants.

The Report further shows that out of 24.91 crores of persons with agriculture as the principal source of livelihood, only 16.6 per cent or 4.14 crores have a secondary occupation and that even the secondary occupation is agricultural in the case of 11.7 per cent and non-agricultural only in the case of 4.9 per cent. This state of affairs reveals the lack of non-agricultural secondary occupations. Among the people whose principal means of livelihood is non-agricultural, only 9.8 per cent have a secondary means of livelihood, the secondary means being agricultural in 4.3 per cent of the cases.

The total number of self-supporting persons in all industries and services in the country is 3.24 crores—males 2.80 crores and females 44 lakhs. Of these self-supporting persons, 11 lakhs are employers, 1.48 crores are employees and 1.65 crores are independent workers. In India, the independent worker in the non-agricultural classes still predominates. The distribution of self-supporting persons in the ten industrial divisions, is as follows :

Primary industries not elsewhere specified, 24 lakhs or 7.4 per cent; mining and quarrying 6 lakhs, or 1.8 per cent; processing and manufacture—foodstuffs, textiles, and leather products—55 lakhs or 17.0 per cent; processing and manufacture—metals, chemicals and products thereof 12 lakhs or 3.8 per cent; processing and manufacture—not elsewhere specified 24 lakhs or 7.5 per cent; construction and utilities—16 lakhs or 4.9 per cent; commerce—59 lakhs or 18.2 per cent; transport, storage and communications—19 lakhs or 5.9 per cent; health, education and public administration 33 lakhs or 10.2 per cent; and services not elsewhere specified 76 lakhs, or 23.3 per cent.

### *Nationalization of Commercial Banks*

Now that the Government of India (or particularly the Congress Party) is professedly wedded to the doctrine of socialism, there can be no useful objection on principle over the nationalisation of the Imperial Bank of India. The demand for nationalisation is not new; ever since 1948 the demand for nationalisation has been pressed off and on. The Imperial Bank has been the

cynosure of attack by the Indian business community and the banks for more than two decades. Before the Central Banking Enquiry Committee, a catalogue of charges was levelled against the Bank. The contention has been set at rest by the recommendation of the All-India Rural Credit Survey and the Government of India acting upon it. The Bank is soon going to be nationalised and a Bill to that effect has already been presented to the Parliament.

The Government of India's main defence in nationalising the Imperial Bank is that it will facilitate rural banking and agricultural financing. The nationalised State Bank will open nearly 400 branches all over the country, particularly in the rural areas and through the machinery of the State Bank, financial accommodations will be extended to the cultivators on a large scale. The All-India Rural Credit Survey recommendations were not for nationalization, but for the holding of majority shares in the Bank by the Government of India. The Government of India have however decided to nationalize the Bank. We are not yet sure whether the Bank shall continue to perform all sorts of commercial banking which are now being transacted by it. Anyway, a great vacuum will be created in the sphere of Indian commercial banking which still needs large, stabilised, joint-stock banks. If the newly created State Bank is withdrawn from the field of commercial banking in this country, trade and commerce and business will greatly suffer. Other Indian joint-stock banks are not just at the moment in a position to take over the magnitude of business done by the Imperial Bank of India.

Another point which should not be overlooked in this connection is that the Imperial Bank has been hitherto the actual *de facto* leader of the Indian money market, the Reserve Bank of India remaining the *de jure* apex bank. Long historical tradition has endowed the Imperial Bank with acknowledged leadership of the money market and this has developed by convention. Banks in need of funds still come to the Imperial Bank for ready accommodation and this they always get. The Reserve Bank of India's accommodations to the commercial banks involve long procedures and as such the commercial banks always find it convenient to approach the Imperial Bank in the first instance for accommodations. If the proposed State Bank is exclusively directed towards rural banking, commercial banks will miss a great helper in time of need.

Agricultural finance requires both long-term and short-term financing. It is yet to be seen how the long-term financing projects can be undertaken by the State Bank. Long-term financing may be for more than 20 years and it is both for development purposes as well as for reclamation. If the State Bank maintains its commercial banking feature, it would be difficult to reconcile commercial banking with agricultural financing. In this country, the structure of farm credit is based on patch work, the authorities still groping in the dark what to do. In Western countries there are specialised institutions for undertaking farm credit. In Britain, in

the USA, in Denmark, Sweden and other European countries, there is an apex agricultural central bank quite unconnected with the commercial banking of the country. In India, the Government of India seems to have been confused by the recommendations of different committees appointed from time to time to suggest ways and means for improving agricultural financing on a wide scale. Only the Gadgil Committee in 1946 made a correct approach to the problem and recommended the setting up of a separate all-India agricultural bank. Mr. Davis, the well-known American authority on agricultural finance, also recommended the establishment of an all-India agricultural bank. The Government of India decided otherwise on their own responsibility and followed the patch-work of combining short-term and long-term financing in the State Bank.

It is yet to be seen how far the *de novo* institution succeeds in this new venture. If it continues its ordinary commercial banking business, it will no doubt strengthen the hands of the Reserve Bank of India in enforcing its decisions over the Indian money market through the machinery of the newly created State Bank. But the new institution stands the risk of complicating its business through over-involvement.

### *Chhuikhadan Firing Enquiry Reports*

Chhuikhadan was a 'native' State till the end of 1947. On January, 1948, it was merged with Madhya Pradesh and was constituted into a taluk. The Madhya Pradesh Government, through a notification on December 26, 1952, abolished Chhuikhadan as a separate taluk and tagged it on to Khanagarh taluk along with certain other areas of Drug district. Thereupon, a Satyagraha agitation was launched with the backing of the District Congress Committee against the Government decision. There were a number of incidents between January 1 and 8, 1953 leading to the firing by the police on a crowd on January 9, 1953, resulting in the death of five persons and bullet injuries to eleven persons. In response to persistent demand for a public and judicial enquiry the State Government set up a one-man committee of enquiry by a notification on January 14, 1953. Mr. Justice B. K. Chowdhury of Nagpur High Court was appointed to hold the enquiry. The enquiry was completed by the 19th April, 1953, and Mr. Justice Chowdhury submitted his report to the Government on the 23rd April, 1953, holding that the firing had been unjustified. Thereupon the Government appointed a three-man Departmental Enquiry Committee headed by Shri Bhowani Shankar Niyogi, a former Judge of the Nagpur High Court. The other two members of the Departmental Enquiry Committee were Shri T. C. Srivastava, District Judge, and Shri H. S. Kamath. The D. E. Commission submitted two reports to the Government on the 1st December, 1953, with a minute of dissent by the Chairman.

which, he said, were exploiting the gambling tendencies of middle and poor classes of people.

"In a message to the Women's Savings Campaign organised by the Madras State Women's Committee, Mr. Rajagopalachari said that legislation to stop gambling would take some time but an immediate ordinance for the total ban of these competitions must be issued."

Rajaji's warning has not come a day too soon. Only a few years ago cross-word competitions were relatively little known things restricted to one or two Bombay periodicals and a few stray publications and their circulation was limited. But now it has become almost a universal spectacle. Many so-called news-magazines are being published solely for the promotion of cross-word puzzle competitions. The purpose of providing an intellectual pastime to the readers is no longer the motive. It has become on the one hand a means in the hands of some persons for making money-taking advantage of the fatality of the people growing out of economic depression, and on the other, a means for increasing circulation of certain periodicals, as the Press Commission have remarked.

Shri Nirmal Chandra Bhattacharyya discusses the nature of these competitions in an article in the *Vigil* of March 26 and writes that the awards did not always go to the most intelligent among the competitors. "The official solutions adjudged by the adjudication committees (I do not know who constitute them) are often unreasonable, inapt and foolish. And this in itself a sufficient objection against the contention that these X-word puzzles are intellectual pastimes and deserve encouragement."

Yet scores of families were wasting valuable time, energy and money in the pursuit of such competitions. In the South, where these competitions were more popular, people made regular provisions in their budgets for such expenses.

It was no longer possible or wise to keep our eyes shut to the evil which was giving rise to a spirit of gambling among a sizeable section of the educated population, as Rajaji has pointed out in his above quoted message.

### *Adulteration of Milk*

The alarming extent to which adulteration of milk is resorted to has been pointedly brought out by a recent survey in Bombay. The survey carried out by Bombay's Municipal Analyst at the instance of the State Government disclosed that eighty-five per cent of the milk sold in Bombay bazars outside the Bombay Milk Scheme was adulterated, reports the *Bombay Chronicle* on April 16. The newspaper report adds:

"In his report the analyst points out that between February 14 and March 15 this year he had examined at the Municipal Laboratory, 1,005 samples of milk obtained from the city markets.

"Out of this nine samples were found to have been curdled, one was broken in transit and 846 were found to have been adulterated. Total number of genuine samples were only 149.

"Out of 846 adulterated samples, 76 were found to contain fat as well as water, 752 were found to contain water only and 18 were found to contain fat only.

"Out of the total number of samples, 193 were adulterated 5 to 20 per cent; 213 by 20 to 30 per cent; 202 by 30 to 40 per cent; 150 by 40 to 50 per cent; 66 samples by 50 to 60 per cent; 19 by 50 to 70 per cent while three samples were adulterated as much as 70 to 80 per cent."

If such a survey were carried out in Calcutta, it may safely be predicted, the result would be no less startling. That adulteration is resorted to on a very large scale in almost all food articles is common knowledge. Such a survey, as the one carried out in Bombay, only statistically confirms the people's worst fears in this regard. But the essential point is to devise the ways and means to contract the area of operation of the mischief makers and prevent the recrudescence of the scourge. It is time serious efforts were directed to that end without confining the energies to the discernment of an obvious evil.

### *Pavement Dwellers in Bombay*

The Government of Bombay undertook a census of pavement dwellers in Greater Bombay which disclosed that the number of pavement dwellers in the city were thirty thousand. It was further disclosed that there were about nine thousand beggars there.

Disclosing the above facts in reply to a question by Mr. Naushir Bharucha (Independent) in the Bombay Legislative Assembly on March 28 the Chief Minister, Mr. Morarji Desai added that though the Government had no detailed plan for checking the beggar nuisance the Government were tackling the problem in several ways. A sum of Rs. 837,600 had been spent in 1953-54 in the implementation of the Bombay Beggars' Act.

### *Growing Juvenile Delinquency*

The disquieting growth of juvenile delinquency in the country has already begun to worry the thinking citizens. Responsible quarters have expressed their concern at the evil. But it is still very doubtful if the extent of the evil and the variety of forms in which it is taking possession of the country's youth have been fully appreciated.

The following report published in the *Bombay Chronicle* of March 31 is highly significant in this context:

"Bombay, Tuesday.—A sex-starved youth, son of a wealthy jeweller of Dadar, came into the clutches of the Vigilance Branch of the City Police yesterday

when pornographic love letters and photographs of nude women received by him from all parts of the world as a 'penfriend' correspondent were seized from his house. The police also confiscated a cinema projector, a 'blue film,' and negatives.

"Sadanand Waman Harchekar, the police stated, had sent a letter to a girl correspondent in Pakistan some time back.

"The letter which contained amorous passages and pictures was accidentally intercepted by the Customs authorities. The Customs directed the letter to the Vigilance Branch."

### Crime in Various Countries

Dr. J. C. Kumarappa writes in the *Gram Udyog Patrika* for April, 1955 that the analysis by the General Secretariat of the International Criminal Police Commission tended to disprove the general belief that poverty led to crimes against property. The study rather pointed to a contrary conclusion and showed, at least statistically, as if the more wealthy a country was the greater would be the crimes.

India was the least criminal of the 34 countries covered by the study.

Dr. Kumarappa quotes from the report the following figures for 1952 for 100,000 population in the undermentioned countries:

	Cognizable crimes	Serious thefts	Simple thefts
U.S.A.	1322	325	953
U. K.	1342	259	911
France	1484	65	366
West Germany	2992	268	935
India	165	46	69

### Foreigners in India

During question hours in the Lok Sabha, the Deputy Labour Minister, Mr. Abid Ali disclosed on behalf of the Home Minister that the number of foreigners registered in India as on the 31st December, 1953(?) was 42,591. The break-up was as follows: Chinese 9110, Afghans 5454, Tibetans 5030, Tribal Pathans 6357, Americans 3517, Iranians 3956, Germans 1191, French 959, Japanese 526, Portuguese 206, Russians 249, Swiss 572, Spanish 413, Burmese 636.

The list discloses the fact the citizens of the other members of the Commonwealth are not "foreigners" in the eye of the law.

### Foreigners' Profits in India

During the year 1954 a sum of Rs. 19.32 crores was sent out of India to foreign countries by foreign firms and companies operating in India on account of profits, the Union Finance Minister, Mr. Chintaman Deshmukh, told the Rajya Sabha on April 15. The figure for 1953 was Rs. 16.67 crores. The figures were

exclusive of individual remittances of less than Rs. 20,000 and also investments of profits in India.

The Finance Minister added that in 1954 Rs. 59.39 lakhs were invested by foreign firms in India as against Rs. 153.60 lakhs in 1953.

### Dr. Pugh and Mr. Tensing

Dr. L. C. G. Pugh, a scientist attached to the successful Everest Expedition, said recently in California that "it was Sir Edmund Hillary who provided the brains for the climb to it (Everest) with Sherpa Tensing." He added, "The Sherpa tribesman, Tensing, did not have the knowledge to make the final climb and it was Hillary who took him up." He said Tensing had not the intellectual ability to operate the oxygen equipment which had to be during the final ascent and that Hillary had done it for Tensing.

Mr. Tensing has issued the following statement:

"Normally a gas mask was not at all a very difficult thing to work with, and sure enough, to be able to handle a mask is not the same thing as getting on to the summit of the Everest.

"It surprises me to think, why some member or the other of the 1953 successful Everest team should break out now and then with stinging remarks at me.

"Is it because I belong to one of those tribal Sherpas, who are treated by a certain patronising class of people as beasts of burden of expeditions?

"Well, for myself, I am proud to be a Sherpa, and will always love to remain a Sherpa.

"It is true, my parents could not send me to a school. I had to work hard since my childhood traversing difficult mountains from one corner of the Himalayas to the other for a morsel of food.

"But I was fortunate to have the opportunity to be taught at the hands of nature and the mountains, and with my mountain up-bringing, I do not want to fling any insult at Dr. Pugh."

### British Press Strike

The national newspapers of England had to suspend their publication for about a month from the 25th March to April 20 as a result of the strike of about 700 maintenance mechanics and electricians. During the strike there was an interruption in the publication of the *London Times* for the first time in its life.

About a week after the beginning of the strike the British Government appointed a three-man court of enquiry to probe the causes of the strike. Sir John Foster, 65-year old Chairman of Britain's National Arbitration Tribunal and of the Industrial Court, headed the court of inquiry. The other two members were Mr. H. M. Caffyn, President of the British Motor Trade Federation and Mr. W. J. P. Webber, General Secretary of the Transport Salaried Staff's

Association and member of the General Council of the TUC.

The Court of Enquiry reported on April 13 that the wages claim of the mechanics were unrealistic and recommended for return to work of the workers without prejudice and on the basis of 12 shillings a week offer of the Newspaper Proprietors' Association (NPA), pending the formation of a central body of 14 trade unions embracing all newspaper workers to negotiate with NPA.

The workers agreed to resume work from April 21 on the above offer of the NPA with the promise of further pay negotiations within eight weeks.

One estimate puts the daily loss of the newspapers at £80,000. According to *Reuter* the strike cost the newspaper proprietors nearly £2.5 million.

The strike has clearly shown that there is really no effective substitute of the daily newspapers in the radio, television or the periodical press singly or even collectively.

### *The Case of Anna Louis Strong*

Miss Anna Louis Strong is an American Communist and an acknowledged authority on Soviet affairs; and in that light she had been looked upon both by Communists and non-Communists until early 1949 when she was turned out of the Soviet Union, where she had been living since 1921, on the charge that she was an imperialist spy.

Now comes the news of her "rehabilitation" by Moscow. A *Tass* statement of March 4 says that she had been falsely accused and was now "restored to her full rights" in the USSR.

It may be remembered that during her expulsion Miss Strong charged with falsely presenting the history of the Chinese revolution implicitly minimising the role of Soviet contribution in her then published book *Dawn Out of China*.

The book was distributed by Soviet distribution bureaus and she regularly contributed articles to the *Pravda*.

After her expulsion Miss Strong made allegations that significant changes had been made in her book on China at the orders of the Cominform.

The Communist Party of USA turned down with a ridicule her offer of a fairly large contribution to the Fund for the defence of the US Communist leaders.

Interestingly enough, after six years she has now been absolved of her "sin."

### *The Australian Aborigines*

Democracy is on trial in the antipodes in a form that is known in the U.S. and in the British-held Africa.

Sydney (WP).—Australian opinion is still divided on equal rights and opportunities for the aborigines,

but more and more, voices of influence are raised in their behalf. A well-known professor of anthropology at Sydney University, A.P. Elkin, recently challenged a statement of an aboriginal station manager that equal education would be "a dangerous experiment." Professor Elkin asserted that although the training of the aborigines should be related to their background and regions, "aborigines do a white man's work and therefore must be educated to understand our economy."

### *Unemployment in Turkey*

The *Worldover Press* supplies the following data:

Ankara (WP).—Turkey's official Labor and Unemployment Association has been doing better all the time in finding work for jobless persons. Figures just compiled, covering the first 11 months of 1954, show that suitable jobs were found for 338,072 of the 387,579 persons who applied. In the same period of 1953, the showing was only 175,129 positions found for 233,150 applicants. Whereas old age benefits applied to only 585,000 persons at the end of 1953, the number had risen by August, 1954, to 700,000, and during 1955 will be increased to 800,000.

### *Albert Einstein*

The following bald news-item announced the end of the greatest scientist of the age and one of the outstanding titans in the history of human civilization.

Albert Einstein was much more than a scientist, inasmuch as he had worked and preached for peace and welfare of all humanity.

Princeton (New Jersey). April 18.—Dr. Albert Einstein the famous scientist, died here today. Dr. Einstein, whose scientific formulae helped to harness atomic energy, was 76.

He was admitted to hospital here on Friday. The cause of his death was rupture of the main artery of the body caused by hardening of the arteries.

Dr. Einstein, who had secluded himself from public contact in recent years, had been attached to the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton.

The quiet, unpretentious wizard of mathematics and physics spent his lifetime searching for a unified mathematical concept of the laws which govern the universe.

A revolutionary idea, it added a fourth dimension—time—to the three—length, breadth and width—which had formed man's basic knowledge of the measurement of matter. It also astounded scientists by disputing Newton's Law of Gravitation.

Dr. Einstein was the greatest scientist of modern times and one of the few men of the present age to be universally acclaimed as an authentic genius.

To his contemporaries in physics, his was the greatest scientific intellect mankind has ever produced.

Yet he had to live the last days of his life exiled from the country of his birth, deprived of his nationality and property after having been publicly shamed and defamed.

## INDO-CHINESE CONTACTS—PAST AND PRESENT

BY DR. H. C. MOOKERJEE, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt.,  
*Governor of West Bengal*

CHINA has been maintaining friendly relations with her neighbours throughout the ages. She has a common past with the Indian people, who are indebted to her for preserving records of great historic value throwing light on the history of the ancient civilization of their country.

I understand that, in the pre-Christian era, Indian merchants purchased bamboos and cotton stuff from the south-western province of China and sold them in the markets of Bactria. Cultural contact between the two countries, however, did not take place till the early years of the Christian era when India moved in that direction through the efforts of Buddhist missionaries.

The message of the Buddha first reached China in the first century B.C. but it did not evoke immediate popular enthusiasm mainly on account of the powerful influence exercised by orthodox supporters of Confucianism. But, from the early years of the Christian era, Buddhism gained ground slowly, largely as the result of the missionary activities of Indian scholars who succeeded by their sincere devotion and deep erudition in impressing on the mind of the people of China the superiority of the faith they advocated to the existing one.

The first Buddhist missionaries of India to visit China were Kasyapa Matanga and Dharmaraksha, who had been invited about 65 A.D., to preach their faith by the Emperor Ming-tih of the Han dynasty. They were followed by a large number of Buddhist missionaries who plodded through jungles and defiles and highly dangerous mountain passes and reached the borders of China to preach the doctrines of Buddhism. Side by side with their missionary activities, they translated large volumes of Buddhist texts carried from India to enable the Chinese to have first-hand knowledge of Buddhist canons and philosophy.

The most eminent of this galaxy of Buddhist scholars was Kumarajiva who reached China in 401 A.D. As he was a master of both Sanskrit and literary Chinese, he succeeded in translating a large number of Buddhist texts in their correct perspective. Chinese students from different parts of that country came to him to study Buddhism making at the same time successful efforts to emulate his character and greatness. Kumarajiva advised his disciples not to take him as their model but to follow his precepts. At the time of his death, he is said to have exhorted his disciples in the following terms:

"Accept my work, but do not take my life to be ideal. The lotus grows from mud. Love the lotus and not the mud."

Other notable Buddhist teachers who went to China during the period under review were Buddhajiva, Gunavarman, Dharmamitra, Sanghabhuti, Gautama Sanghadeva, Punyatrata, Dharmayasa and Vimalaksha from Kashmir, Dharmakshema, Gunabhadra, Paramartha, Prabhakaramitra, and Vajrabodhi from Mid-India, Jnanabhadra, Jinayasa and Yasogupta from Eastern India, Buddhabhadra, Vimokshasena, and Jinagupta from North-Western India, Dharmagupta from Western India, and Bodhiruchi from South India.

From the early years of the Christian era, Chinese pilgrims came to India in large numbers to visit and to worship in the sacred places connected with the life and teachings of the Buddha. Many of them lived in India for considerable periods to study Buddhism under competent teachers.

Two Buddhist Universities, viz., Nalanda and Vikramasila, made suitable arrangements for the study of Buddhism and allied subjects for students coming from China. Many of these pilgrims collected Buddhist texts, carried them to China and devoted their lives to translating them. As early as the second century A.D., Sri Gupta, founder of the Imperial Gupta dynasty, built a monastery at Mrgasikhavana in Varendri for accommodating Chinese pilgrims to Mahabodhi.

The most notable of the Chinese pilgrims, who visited India in the early period are Fa-hien, Cheng-mong, Fa-yong, Huen-Tsang, I-Tsing, Wu-k'ong, Huen-chao, Mahayana-Pradipa, and Tao-hu. Besides these, the Chinese emperors sent embassies and missions to India from time to time to establish contact with Indian princes and also to obtain the services of eminent Buddhist teachers for the dissemination of Buddha's doctrines in China.

The Indian Buddhist missionaries carried along with the message of the Buddha, other elements of Indian culture, such as art, astronomy, mathematics, and medicine to China. Traces of early Indian art have been discovered in Bamiyan, Balkh, Miran, Kuchar, Turfan and Tun-huang through which passed the northern land route to China from India. The influence of Indian art reached China through these countries but it could not displace the traditional art of the country which was admittedly of a high order and, according to many, of a superior type. It was,

however, assimilated and adapted into the existing art of the country forming a new style and technique.

Buddhist artistic activities were in a flourishing condition in the Wei period (A.D. 386-534), regarded as their golden period in China. The chief centres of Buddhist art in that country were Tun-huang, Yun-kang, and Long-men, where grottos and Buddhist sculptures have been found in large numbers. The sculptures are marked by gracefulness of pose and gentleness of expression reminding us of the technique and the design of the Sarnath and the Ajanta schools of art. The Buddhist paintings in China of the period under review also reveal the influence of Indian art and during the Wei period, the Indian painters Sakyabuddha, Buddhakirtti, and Kumarabodhi are known to have carried on artistic activities in various places in China.

As late as the thirteenth century, an Indian artist named A-ni-ko, who specialised in designing, modelling and casting, was commissioned by the Emperor Kublai to execute repairs to some old statues in the royal palace and to execute images for different monasteries in the Empire. Many Chinese pilgrims who visited India are known to have carried many images and specimens of Indian art to China. These undoubtedly served as inspiration, if not models, to the Chinese artists in executing new Buddhist images of the period.

The Indian style of architecture also exercised influence over the Buddhist architecture of the early period in China. The pagoda-like superimposed storeys, extended brackets with hanging bells, golden pinnales and engraved pillars in the temples bear the impress of Indian influence.

I have referred so far to the old religious and cultural contacts between China and India and have tried to show that it was a two-way traffic based not on the political or economic domination of one country over the other but on terms of equality and friendship. It is remarkable that in those remote days when kings and emperors dreamt of extending the boundaries of the dominions they governed almost wholly through war, there was never even the remotest suggestion among the rulers of China and India of any desire for political domination through conquest.

There is the further fact that instead of favouring isolationism so that new ideas coming from outside their countries might not upset the minds of those they ruled, they not only encouraged but went to the extent of even welcoming contacts with foreign countries knowing full well that at least so far as India and China were concerned, they would not be exploited for political purposes. The only explanation of this attitude of India and China is that even in those remote days with wars going on all round them, the rulers of both the countries felt confident that peaceful and friendly relations would continue

to be maintained and were also desirous of learning from one another.

As we come down to later times, we find that the coastline of China, like that of India, became gradually dotted with the trading posts of mercantile concerns of various Western countries and it was not long before both the people found that they were no longer masters of their own countries, side by side with which the old contacts between India and China grew fewer and fewer till they practically disappeared.

I am one of those who believed that the give and take of ideals and ideas is found only when they are worth taking and receiving and that such ideals and ideas rarely bloom and blossom when a country does not enjoy complete political and economic freedom. This to my mind very largely explains the practical ending of the old flow of ideals and ideas worthy of emulation till both China and India acquired freedom and with that were able to evolve them afresh.

Once again, the old contacts between India and China are being renewed in which connection it is necessary to remember that between November 1951 and December 1954 no less than nine groups of writers, journalists, art-critics, painters, poets, exponents of vocal and instrumental music and dancing, actors and actresses, politicians and people taking interest and participating in public affairs have passed from one country to the other and have not only enjoyed their visits but have also learned something from one another.

We had first an official Cultural Delegation from China which visited India in November 1951 and which sponsored an exhibition of Chinese Art and Culture on the last day of November 1951. This was followed by an official delegation from India which visited China in April-May 1952. Led by Shrimati Vijayalakshmi Pandit, it had as its members such eminent personages as thinker, politician and educationist Acharya Narendra Deva, educationist Dr. Amarnath Jha, scholar and historian Dr. Prabodh Chandra Bagchi, politician and leader of women's movement Shrimati Durgabai Deshmukh, veteran editor and journalist Chalapathi Rao, writer and journalist Frank Moraes, art-critic and archaeologist Dr. N. P. Chakravorty, etc. Next came a six-member Trade Union delegation which visited China in April-May 1952. The fourth was a non-official Cultural delegation led by politician Dr. Kitchlu consisting of writers and artists like Shri Manoj Basu, Pandit Ravi Shankar Maharaj, Shri Kshitish Bose, Pandit Uma Shankar Joshi, etc., which visited New China in September-October 1952 under the auspices of the All-India Peace Council. The next was an unofficial Indian Cultural delegation which visited China from July to September 1953, consisting of writers, artists,

singers and dancers from all over India. The invitation extended by the India-China Friendship Association resulted in the visit in December 1953 of a non-official Chinese Cultural delegation led by Mr. Ting Si-Ling, Vice-Minister of the People's Republic of China. Then a 35-member non-official delegation sponsored by the India-China Friendship Association and led by Shrimati Uma Nehru visited China in September-October 1954. It included such eminent members as Dr. Gyan Chand, Economist, Shri S. K. Mukherjee, Speaker, West Bengal Legislative Assembly, Miss Mira Dutt Gupta, Vice-Principal, Women's Department, Ripon College, and Member, West Bengal Legislative Council, etc. Next came the Indian Women Delegation's four-week visit to China in September-October 1954, consisting of nine members led by Shrimati Ammu Swaminathan, M.P., the other members being Shrimati Seeta Paramanand, M.P., Shrimati Renu Chakravarty, M.P., Shrimati Rajen Nehru, Madame D. N. Wadia, Rajmata Kamalendu Mati Shah, M.P., of Tehri Garhwal, etc. The ninth one a 67-member official Chinese Cultural delegation led by Mr. Cheng Chen-to, Vice-Minister of Cultural Affairs, visited India for six weeks during December 1954 and January 1955. This delegation gave several performances of Chinese songs, dances, etc., in New Delhi, Madras, Bombay and Calcutta. This has been succeeded by the recent exhibition of contemporary handicrafts and arts of the People's Republic of China organised under the joint auspices of the Chinese People's Association for Cultural Relations with Foreign countries and the Lalita Kala Acadami.

After referring to the inter-change of cultural delegations between China and India, I deem it necessary to say something about the efforts made by both of them to give opportunities to other countries also to know something about what is being done by them after they had become free which, to my mind, is clear proof of their desire to be friendly with as many nations as possible.

Taking the case of China first, we find that high quality handicraft products have been included in every Chinese agricultural and industrial exhibition sent abroad. Apart from this, two handicraft exhibitions, one in Czechoslovakia and the other in Poland, were shown in 1951. Next year, four such exhibitions visited Bulgaria, the Mongolian People's Republic, Pakistan and India. In 1953, three countries, viz., Soviet Union, Sweden and Indonesia were afforded opportunities of seeing selected specimens of Chinese handicrafts.

Like the visit of the present exhibition of arts and crafts from China India has seen in the last few years a number of exhibitions of photographs, paintings, textiles, crafts and even of industries from various countries all over the world to which no reference can be made here. This, however, has not been a one-way

traffic and exhibitions from India have also visited various countries.

In July 1953, an exhibition of Indian art, organised by the All-India Fine Arts and Crafts Society, visited Russia. It consisted of sculptures, Rajput and Moghul paintings and contemporary paintings in such media as water colour, oils, etc., and a large number of photographs of Indian textiles, sculptures, wood and ivory carvings. This exhibition also visited Poland. This was followed by a second exhibition of Indian contemporary arts and crafts organised by the Academy of Fine Arts, Calcutta, which visited the United States of America. An exhibition of Indian Industrial Development was held in London in June 1953. An integral part of it was a pictorial survey of India's industrial advance and her progress towards implementation of the Five-Year Plan.

In the East, there was an exhibition organised in Tokyo in Japan, which was called the "Great Indian Cultural Exhibition." It included photographs of the Holy City of Banaras, the Ganga and of Buddhist and Hindu shrines throughout India, besides sculptures representing Hindu gods, miniature Moghul paintings, ivory carvings, carpets, paintings, photographs and various statistical maps. To this list should be added the exhibition organised in Australia by two young Bengal artists, Susil Sarkar and Sukumar Bose. An Indian Arts and Crafts Exhibition on a rather small scale was held in Peking, China, in June and July last year. This exhibition generally included ivory carvings bronze and silverware, porcelain carvings in wood and horn, textiles modern paintings and a number of photographs. The photographs depicted archaeological objects like the Lion Pillar of King Asoka the Stone Bull Pillar of Bihar, the giant Stupas of Sanchi and sculptures in the Mathura Museum relating to the Gupta Dynasty. There was also an exhibition in July last year of Indian arts and crafts in Brazil. This specialised in Indian brocades, silk, silverware, brassware, handicrafts and real jewellery. A similar exhibition was also held in Argentina. Just at present, an exhibition of Indian arts and crafts and Indian textiles is touring Europe and will shortly proceed to South American countries under the charge of our well-known Bengal artist, Subho Tagore.

Rightly or wrongly both China and India feel that some at least among the progressive nations persist in thinking that they continue to be backward, as they admit they were in pre-freedom days, and that independence has made little, if any, difference. They also believe that the world at large does not know as much as it should, about their rich heritage, particularly in the spheres of arts and crafts. They maintain that whatever their attitude in the past, the view that they dislike contacts with other, and specially with progressive, nations and prefer to live their own narrow lives within the boundaries of their

countries is wrong. They also desire to occupy what they consider a status commensurate with their importance in the comity of nations so that they too might be in a position to make their contributions towards the solution of world problems.

The removal of such misconceptions in regard to China and India as continue to exist would, the two countries feel, be greatly facilitated if they can somehow persuade the world at large to think that today both are progressive in their outlook and can prove that they have, as a matter of fact, made advances of a substantial character after freedom.

This explains why India and China welcome delegations from other countries so that their members might have opportunities of seeing with their own eyes something of their past glories, of assessing for themselves their achievements in various directions and of verifying the correctness of such accounts in regard to the progress made in post-freedom days as might have reached them.

One important reason for sending out cultural and other delegations undoubtedly is that the members by seeing what is being done in progressive countries might utilise the knowledge thus acquired by fitting it into their framework and rejecting what is regarded as unsuitable. A second equally important reason is that their delegates are expected to act as unofficial ambassadors whose duty is to convey to the outside world as much information as possible in regard to the countries they represent.

Delegations by their very nature have a somewhat limited utility in the sense that the direct contacts established have necessarily to be between comparatively small numbers of people, though it is conceded that they have far-reaching consequences as they are between leaders and prominent men who can, and do later on, avail themselves of the knowledge thus acquired for the improvement of their countrymen.

As regards exhibitions coming from outside their countries, the leaders of both China and India feel that the people at large must be afforded adequate facilities of knowing something about other lands, visits to which are, of course, impossible for most of them. The same feeling operates when they themselves send out their exhibitions, that is to say, they are anxious that the people of countries other than their own should be given opportunities of familiarising themselves with what India and China have to be proud of and therefore want to show. One great argument in favour of both welcoming and sending out exhibitions is that they are viewed by thousands and thousands of the general public thus encouraging mutual respect for the achievements of one another's

people and, from this point of view, they may be said to have a special value of their own.

It is a legitimate inference from what has been said above that the technique followed by China and India, which is a combination of the above two methods, has been adopted with the deliberate intention of hastening as far as lies in their power the process of acquiring knowledge of other countries as well as of reaching to them information of their motherland in all spheres of activity. This becomes clear when we remember the increasing numbers of delegations and exhibitions received and sent out by both the countries.

Let us remember that the contacts already established and those going to be established in future have only one aim. The people of these two countries desire to learn from one another and to come closer to one another with a view to the establishment of the friendliest possible relationship.

Both the countries suffer from a large and growing population primarily depending on agriculture for their livelihood. Land reforms to ensure economic justice have been introduced in both the countries. Both of them appreciate the need for industrialisation and are taking all possible steps to attain that end. The standard of living, that of public health and of education in both the countries need to be greatly improved before their people can expect to live comfortable lives and some progress has already been made in all these directions.

The aim of both India and China is the same though it is admitted that the approach is not identical. Nonetheless the leaders of both the countries believe that it is possible to secure what the countries desire in the ways and through the measures adopted by them severally. Their idea is that both should go their own way without any interference. All they want is peace so that they may be able to devote all their energies to the development of their resources so as to be able to raise the standard of living of their countrymen. Their leaders feel that perseverance is needed to bring back peace and to gradually increase the areas over which it reigns.

A start is being made by the two largest countries in Asia to come together and though the immediate purpose of the recent exhibition was to show India specimens of Chinese Folk Arts and Crafts, it is nonetheless true to say that it is a pointer to the ardent desire of both China and India to have perfect peace among their people in the hope that the example they are trying to set will be emulated first by their neighbours and later on, they hope, by others living farther away.

# SOME ASPECTS OF OUR CONSTITUTION

## (V) Fundamental Rights: Right to Freedom— A General Discussion

By D. N. BANERJEE,  
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### I

We shall now pass on to the consideration of the second category of our Fundamental Rights, namely, the Right to Freedom as guaranteed by our Constitution. Before, however, we actually do this, we should like to make a few introductory observations of a general character, having a close bearing on the subject. And we should also like to refer, briefly, to the position in respect of this Right to Freedom as it obtains today in the United States of America and England. This, it is hoped, will enable the reader to appreciate the position in our country better when we deal with it.

### II

The relation of the individual to the State, that is to say, the question of a just delimitation between the sphere of personal freedom and that of social control, between the rights of the individual and those of the community, has been so to speak, an eternal problem of social and political philosophy, and there is still, as there has been in the past, a very sharp difference of opinion amongst thinkers on this vexed issue. Indeed, Professor Willis hardly exaggerates when he says<sup>1</sup> that "the conflict between man and the state is as old as human history." On the one hand we have, for example, the views of some ancient political thinkers and also of some of their modern followers that the State 'is a creation of nature' and 'is by nature clearly prior' to the individual<sup>2</sup>; that the man is by nature a 'social' or 'political animal' and 'is real' only because he is social, and can realize himself only because it is as social that he realizes himself<sup>3</sup>; that the State is 'an end in itself,' as it 'is a partnership in a life of virtue'; that it 'is not a mere society, having a common place, established for the prevention of crime and for the sake of exchange'; but that it 'exists for the sake of a good life, and not for the sake of life only'<sup>4</sup>; that 'law is the expression of pure and passionless reason' and is, therefore, sacred; that there is, and can be, no real conflict between law and liberty; that true liberty can only be attained 'in and through obedience to the law'; that the State is a 'moral organism,' and is always inspired by a moral purpose; that 'righteousness' for each individual consists in the proper fulfilment of the duties of his allotted station

in the life and activities of this 'organic moral whole'; that only in the State he can 'attain to the good life'; and can 'realize all that he has in him to be'; that he is 'what he is because of and by virtue' of the community to which he belongs and which has poured itself, as it were, into his being and his essence; that he is thus 'created by the social process and is daily nourished by that process'; that his supreme duty, therefore, is to the State which is only an organised aspect of the community and which is really 'the individual mind writ large'<sup>5</sup>—a natural extension, as it were, of the individual personality; that his 'obligations as a citizen' must 'take precedence of all other claims upon his loyalty'; and that 'the mere individual is a delusion of theory,' and 'the attempt to realize it in practice is the starvation and mutilation of human nature, with total sterility or the production of monstrosities.'

On the other hand, there are many thinkers who seriously maintain, speaking briefly, that 'the State is not an end in itself, but is simply a means to secure the welfare of individuals.' Further, they urge 'the right of the individual to unfettered freedom and full self-expression' and insist on 'the autonomy of man' as 'the most important ethical principle.' And, according to many of them, all restraint as restraint is an evil, and every extension of the power of the State means 'a corresponding diminution of the domain of individual liberty.' Thus 'law or government' appears to them as 'essentially antagonistic to the self or true individuality of man.' And one<sup>6</sup> of these thinkers has gone so far as to say that 'over himself, over his own body and mind, the individual is sovereign,' and has, on the basis of a so-called 'demarcation between self-regarding and other regarding action,' added that 'to individuality should belong the part of life in which it is chiefly the individual that is interested,' and to 'society, the part which interests society.' And another<sup>7</sup> has declared that, as 'there is no social sensorium, it results that the welfare of the aggregate, considered apart from that of the units is not an end to be sought'; that 'the society exists for the benefit of its members,' and 'not

1. See Willis, *Constitutional Law of the United States*, 1936, p. 477.

2. Aristotle's *Politics*, Jowett, Oxford, Book I.

3. Bradley, *Ethical Studies*, Oxford, 1952, p. 174.

4. Aristotle's *Politics*, op. cit., Book III.

5. See Follett, *The New State*, 1926, p. 62. "There is no such thing as a self-made man."—See *ibid.*

6. Bosanquet, *The Philosophical Theory of the State*, 1936, p. 143.

7. Bradley, op. cit., p. 174.

8. See John Stuart Mill, *On Liberty*, Introductory, and Chapter IV.

9. See Herbert Spencer, *The Principles of Sociology*, Vol. I, 2nd Edition, 1877, pp. 479-80.

its members for the benefit of the society'; and that 'it has ever to be remembered that great as may be the efforts made for the prosperity of the body politic, yet the claims of the body politic are nothing in themselves, and become something only in so far as they embody the claims of its component individuals.' Further,<sup>10</sup> 'the liberty which a citizen enjoys is to be measured, not by the nature of the governmental machinery he lives under, whether representative or other, but by the relative paucity of the restraints it imposes on him.' Moreover, some of the thinkers belonging to this school of thought lay a special stress on a supposed antithesis between the individual and the State, and hold that this antithesis cannot be either reconciled or abolished. We are not therefore, surprised when we find it seriously propounded by some of them that 'the State ought to strive to make itself useless and prepare for its own demise'; that 'the ideal form of government is no government at all'; and that 'perfect liberty is equivalent' to total absence of government.<sup>11</sup>

It is perhaps hardly necessary to state here that both these sets of views suffer from the defect of one-sidedness. We cannot certainly ignore the importance of human personality in any rational scheme of social structure; nor can we ignore the value of personal freedom as a chief ingredient of individual and social progress. After all, in the ultimate analysis, a Nation or a State means a group of human beings and not a herd of cattle or a flock of sheep. This is perhaps the reason why Thomas Jefferson wrote to a friend of his in the year<sup>12</sup> of his election as the third President of the United States:

"I have sworn upon the altar of God eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of man."<sup>13</sup>

We should not therefore, overlook the individual in the State or allow the question of his welfare to be treated 'as a ball to be tossed about at the caprice of rulers.' That would gradually lead to totalitarianism. At the same time, we must bear in mind that we are not really 'isolated atoms.' We should not, therefore, altogether, 'deny the reality of the social group', and refuse 'to see the wood for the trees' and the importance of the State to the life of the individual. That way lies, ultimately anarchy. The State, therefore, as an eminent publicist<sup>14</sup> has very rightly pointed out, is both a *means* and 'has an *end in itself*.'

"On the one hand," he says, "it is a *means* for the advantage of the individuals who compose it. From another point of view it has an *end in itself*, and for its sake the individuals are subordinate, and bound to serve it."

Otherwise, he further observes, we cannot explain the "spirit of self-sacrifice" exhibited by thousands of men in times of national danger.

"The deeds of ancient heroes," he rightly adds,<sup>15</sup> "would be the folly of idle fanaticism if the State were only a means of serving individual interests, if the collective life of the nation had not a higher value than the life of many individuals."

The State stands for a certain ideal of life, and is, therefore, "something better and higher than a mutual assurance society." The nation, too, "is something more than the sum of (the) persons belonging to it," and "the national welfare is not the same as the sum of individual welfare." Even an individualist writer like Hobhouse<sup>16</sup> has admitted that

An "organized society is something more than the individuals that compose it," and that "in any human association it is true, in a sense, that the whole is something more than a sum of its parts."

It has been rightly held that "without democracy there cannot be liberty."<sup>17</sup> But we cannot ignore in this connexion what democracy implies: It entails a heavy responsibility. Indeed, as Christopher Lloyd<sup>18</sup> has rightly pointed out:

"The problem of Democracy is how to balance discipline with freedom, the good of the whole with the good of the parts."

It is true that it is difficult to strike a balance between the mutual claims of the State and the individual, or to lay down any general rule as to the limit of State control and the sphere of individual liberty which will apply to all times and places. But we must not forget that, if in certain circumstances the individual has rights against the State, the State also has rights against him; that if he does not "exist solely for the State," the State, too, does not 'exist solely' for him; that the State 'has the right to exact from' him the 'conduct which secures to others the enjoyment of the right it secures' to him; that if a certain 'measure of liberty is essential to the development of personality,' 'excess of liberty' really 'contradicts itself'; that, therefore, 'there can be no liberty without social restraint'; that 'there is no true opposition between liberty as such and control as such, for every liberty rests on a corresponding act of control'; that rights are correlative with duties and responsibilities; that if the individual can claim certain fundamental rights, then the society to which he belongs can also demand certain primary obliga-

10. See Herbert Spencer, *The Man Versus the State*, The Thinker's Library, 1940, p. 19.

11. See Seeley, *Introduction to Political Science*, Macmillan, 1908, p. 119; also Bonanquet, *op. cit.*, p. 67n.

12. *I.e.*, 1801.

13. See S. K. Padover, *Thomas Jefferson on Democracy*, 1949, p. 1.

14. See J. E. Meade, *The Theory of the State*, Oxford, 2nd Edition, pp. 100, 101.

15. See *ibid.*

16. See his *Metaphysical Theory of the State*, 1926, p. 27.

17. See Laski, *Liberty in the Modern State*, 1948, p. 66.

18. See his *Democracy and the Individual*, 1950, p. 66.

tions and forbearances on his part; and that 'liberty and compulsion,' therefore, 'have complementary functions, and the self-governing State is at once the product and the condition of the self-governing individual.'<sup>19</sup> In a word, we must avoid the road either to anarchy or to totalitarianism, and true statesmanship lies there. For example, if, on the one hand we must very strongly condemn any regimentation of the life and thought of the citizen by the State, we cannot, on the other hand, concede to him any right to advocate murder, or to undermine by his speeches and writings public order, or otherwise to incite people to commit criminal acts. No State can, and should, tolerate any incitement to break its laws or to defy its authority—any 'definite assault' by any person 'on the principle of law-abidingness' in it.

"Such incitement or defiance" is, as Professor MacIver<sup>20</sup> has rightly said, "more than the expression of opinion," and "the State is entitled to suppress an incitement which itself is an attempt to dethrone the rule of opinion," and must, as a condition of its existence, "use its force in its most legitimate application, to prevent the rule of force itself." For "to urge law-breaking is to attack the fundamental order, the establishment of which is the first business of the State, and for the preservation of which it is endowed with coercive power."

Certainly, if a law is pernicious, the citizen has a right to denounce it 'to his heart's content while still recognizing' his duty to obey it. But if he exercises his right of freedom of speech and expression in a manner which leads to violence and other anti-social acts, the State must interfere, and interfere effectively. Otherwise, it cannot maintain that framework of social order without which any peaceful and progressive civic life is impossible. Even so radical a thinker as Harold Laski<sup>21</sup> has had to admit that

"Our rights are not independent of society"; that "the rights of a citizen are circumscribed by the needs of the community of which he is a part"; that "historic experience has evolved for us rules of convenience which promote right living," and "to compel obedience to them is a justifiable limitation of freedom"; that a Government cannot be "left to the not always tender mercies of an orator with a grievance to exploit"; and that the State, "clearly, has the right to protection against the kind of public utterance which is bound to result in disorder."

### III

It must be evident from what has been stated above that our rights as citizens can only be relative

and qualified, and not absolute. What Professor Willis<sup>22</sup> has stated on the question of personal liberty *vis-a-vis* social control in the context of the Constitution of the United States with which our Constitution is sometimes contrasted by some people to the disparagement of the latter, is particularly worthy of note in this connexion.

"There is," he has rightly said,<sup>23</sup> "no such thing as absolute personal liberty or private rights; they are always relative as between private parties, and the same thing is true between private and public parties. If people were given complete and absolute liberty without any social control, the result would be ruin. Hence, it was never the purpose of the Constitution (of the United States) to give any such protection . . . If the government were given an absolute and complete power to delimit personal liberty without constitutional restrictions the result would be tyranny; and under our Constitution there is no such thing . . . Some compromise must be struck between private liberty and public authority. There is some need of protecting personal liberty against governmental power and also some need of limiting personal liberty by governmental power. The ideal situation is a matter of balancing one against the other, or adjusting conflicting interests. In the United States Constitution an attempt has been made to strike a proper balance between personal liberty and social control through express limitations written into the Constitution and interpreted by the Supreme Court, by implied limitations created by the Supreme Court, and by the development of the governmental powers of regulation, taxation, and eminent domain by the Supreme Court."

Further,<sup>24</sup>

"The final goal of law should be the attainment of social happiness or social perfection. It is possible to think of the attainment of this goal either by personal liberty, or by social control, or by self-control . . . Neither personal liberty nor social control alone is capable of attaining the goal. Self-control, if people would only exercise it,<sup>25</sup> would undoubtedly be the ideal way of attaining the goal . . . However . . . we must resort to all three methods for the attainment of the goal. Law is a scheme of social control, as distinct from self-control; so that when we are concerned with law we are concerned only with the question of how much personal liberty is best and how much social control is best. In order to answer this question it is necessary first to determine those social interests which are so important that they cannot be left to personal discretion but must be protected by social control . . . Where such matters as speech, religion, and scientific and political thought are involved, freedom, or at least a certain minimum of freedom, is undoubtedly more desirable than social control. Where such matters as life, property,

19. See Green, *Lectures on the Principles of Political Obligation*, Lectures F and H; also Laski, *A Grammar of Politics*, pp. 89-102; also Hobhouse, *Social Evolution and Political Theory* (Chap. IX) and *Liberalism* (Chaps. IV, VI and VII).

20. MacIver, *The Modern State*, 1928, pp. 149-52.

21. See his *Grammar of Politics*, pp. 94, 117 and 192, and also his *Liberty in the Modern State* (1948), p. 111.

22. See Willis, *op. cit.*, pp. 477-86.

23. See *ibid.*, pp. 477-78.

24. *Ibid.*, pp. 479-80.

25. The italics are ours.

family, reputation, social institutions, general morals, social resources, general progress, and the individual life are concerned, social control is better than personal liberty. The written Constitution (of the United States) seems to make this distinction."

Finally,"

"If there were no social control, there would probably be no personal liberty. When government exercises social control it of course delimits personal liberty, but if government did not exercise its social control the chances are that the liberty of each would be destroyed by the actions of others in the exercise of their liberty so that social control which delimits individual personal liberty anomalously results in enlarging general personal liberty. Perhaps no general test can be formulated which will determine in all cases when it would be better to permit personal liberty and when it would be better to have social control. It can be said, however, that no one should be allowed to do what all cannot be allowed to do if by so doing our social order would be ruined."

We may also refer in this connexion to the views of Justice Story who is often quoted by the Judges of the American Supreme Court as an authoritative guide to their own judicial decisions. Referring to the clause in the first Amendment<sup>27</sup> to the Constitution of the United States regarding "the freedom of speech, or of the press," namely, that "Congress shall make no law . . . abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press," Justice Story has observed:<sup>28</sup>

"That this amendment was intended to secure to every citizen an absolute right to speak, or write, or print whatever he might please, without any responsibility, public or private, therefor, is a supposition too wild to be indulged by any rational man. This would be to allow to every citizen a right to destroy at his pleasure the reputation, the peace, the property, and even the personal safety of every other citizen. A man might, out of mere malice and revenge, accuse another of the most infamous crimes; might excite against him the indignation of all his fellow-citizens by the most atrocious calumnies; might disturb, nay, overturn, all his domestic peace, and embitter his parental affections; might inflict the most distressing punishments upon the weak, the timid, and the innocent; might prejudice all a man's civil and political, and private rights; and might stir up sedition, rebellion and treason even against the government itself, in the wantonness of his passions or the corruption of his heart. Civil society could not go on under such circumstances. Men would then be obliged to resort to private vengeance to make up for the deficiencies of the law; and assassinations and savage cruelties would

be perpetrated with all the frequency belonging to barbarous and brutal communities. It is plain, then, that the language of this amendment imports no more than that every man shall have a right to speak, write, and print his opinions upon any subject whatsoever, without any prior restraint, so always that he does not injure any other person in his rights, person, property or reputation; and so always that he does not thereby disturb the public peace, or attempt to subvert the government. It is neither more nor less than an expansion of the great doctrine recently brought into operation in the law of libel, that every man shall be at liberty to publish what is true, with good motives and for justifiable ends. And with this reasonable limitation it is not only right in itself, but it is an inestimable privilege in a free government. Without such a limitation, it might become the scourge of the republic, first denouncing the principles of liberty, and then, by rendering the most virtuous patriots odious through the terrors of the press, introducing despotism in its worst form."

Equally emphatic and instructive are the views of Justice Story on the specific question of the liberty of the press.

"There is," he has said,<sup>29</sup> "a good deal of loose reasoning on the subject of the liberty of the press, as if its inviolability were constitutionally such that, like the King of England, it could do no wrong, and was free from every inquiry and afforded a perfect sanctuary for every abuse; that, in short, it implied a despotic sovereignty to do every sort of wrong, without the slightest accountability to private or public justice. Such a notion is too extravagant to be held by any sound constitutional lawyer with regard to the rights and duties belonging to governments generally, or to the State governments in particular. If it were admitted to be correct, it might be justly affirmed that the liberty of the press was incompatible with the permanent existence of any free government. Mr. Justice Blackstone has remarked<sup>30</sup> that the liberty of the press, properly understood, is essential to the nature of a free State; but that this consists in laying no *previous* restraints upon publications, and not in freedom from censure for criminal matter when published. Every freeman has an undoubted right to lay what sentiments he pleases before the public; to forbid this is to destroy the freedom of the press. But if he publishes what is improper, mischievous or illegal, he must take the consequences of his own temerity. To subject the press to the restrictive power of a licenser, as was formerly done, before and since the revolution (of 1688), is to subject all freedom of sentiment to the prejudices of one man, and make him the arbitrary and infallible judge of all controverted points in learning, religion, and government. But to punish any dangerous or offensive writings, which, when published, shall, on a fair and im-

26. See *Ibid.*, p. 480.

27. Adopted and made effective in 1791.

28. J. Story, *Commentaries on the Constitution of the United States*, Vol. 2, Fifth Edition, 1891, Bigelow, Section 1880.

29. See Story, *op. cit.*, Section 1884.

30. In his *Commentaries on the Laws of England*.

partial trial, be adjudged of a pernicious tendency, is necessary for the preservation of peace and good order, of government and religion,—the only solid foundations of civil liberty. Thus the will of individuals is still left free; the abuse only of that free will is the object of legal punishment. Neither is any restraint hereby laid upon freedom of thought or inquiry; liberty of private sentiment is still left; the disseminating or making public of bad sentiments, destructive of the ends of society, is the crime which society corrects. A man may be allowed to keep poisons in his closet, but not publicly to vend them as cordials. And after some additional reflections, he concludes with this memorable sentence: 'So true will it be found, that to censure the licentiousness is to maintain the liberty of the press.'

We may also refer here to the views of another great American jurist—we mean Judge Cooley.

"The first amendment to the Constitution of the United States," he has said,<sup>31</sup> "provides, among other things, that Congress shall make no law abridging the freedom of speech or of the press. The privilege which is thus protected against unfriendly legislation by Congress, is almost universally regarded not only as highly important, but as being essential to the very existence and perpetuity of free government. The people of the States (in the U.S.A.) have therefore guarded it with jealous care, by provisions of similar import in their several constitutions, and a constitutional principle is thereby established which is supposed to form a shield of protection to the free expression of opinion in every part of our land."

He has also observed,<sup>32</sup> however, that

"The common-law rules that subjected the libeller to responsibility for the private injury, or the public scandal or disorder occasioned by his conduct, are not abolished by the protection extended to the press in our constitutions," and that "liberty of speech and of the press does not imply complete exemption from responsibility for everything a citizen may say or publish, and complete immunity to ruin the reputation or business of others so far as falsehood and detraction may be able to accomplish that end."

Further:<sup>33</sup>

"The constitutional liberty of speech and of the press, as we understand it, implies a right to freely utter and publish whatever the citizen may please, and to be protected against any responsibility for so doing, except so far as such publications, from their blasphemy, obscenity, or scandalous character, may be a public offence, or as by their falsehood and malice they may injuriously affect the standing, reputation, or pecuniary interests of individuals. Or, to state the same thing in somewhat different words, we understand liberty

of speech and of the press to imply not only liberty to publish, but complete immunity from legal censure and punishment for the publication, so long as it is not harmful in its character, when tested by such standards as the law affords."

Finally, so far as the libels upon the Government are concerned, Judge Cooley has stated<sup>34</sup> that

"When it is among the fundamental principles of the government that the people frame their own constitution, and that in doing so they reserve to themselves the power to amend it from time to time, as the public sentiment may change, it is difficult to conceive of any sound principle on which prosecutions for libels on the system of government can be based, *except when they are made in furtherance of conspiracy with the evident intent and purpose to excite rebellion and civil war.*"<sup>35</sup>

The views of Willis, Story and Cooley on the question of "the freedom of speech, or of the press" in the United States, are perhaps best illustrated in the judgment of the American Supreme Court in *Gitlow vs. New York*.<sup>36</sup> In delivering "the opinion" of the Court" in this case in 1925, Mr. Justice Sanford said,<sup>37</sup> among other things:

"Benjamin Gitlow was indicted in the Supreme Court of New York, with three others, for the statutory crime of criminal anarchy . . . He was separately tried, convicted, and sentenced to imprisonment. The judgment was affirmed by the Appellate Division and by the Court of Appeals . . . The case is here on writ of error of the Supreme Court . . .

"The contention here is that the statute, by its terms and as applied in this case, is repugnant to the due process clause<sup>38</sup> of the Fourteenth Amendment . . .

"The indictment was in two counts. The first charged that the defendants had advocated, advised, and taught the duty, necessity and propriety of overthrowing and overturning organized government by force, violence and unlawful means, by certain writings therein set forth, entitled 'The Left Wing Manifesto'; the second that the defendants had printed, published, and knowingly circulated and distributed a certain paper called 'The Revolutionary Age,' containing the writings set forth in the first count, advocating, advising, and teaching the doctrine that organized government should be overthrown by force, violence, and unlawful means . . .

34. See *ibid.*

35. The italics are ours.

36. Supreme Court of the United States, 1925. 268 U.S. 652.

37. Mr. Justice Holmes and Mr. Justice Brandeis dissenting.

38. See Fenn, *The Development of the Constitution*, 1948, pp. 83-87; also Dodd, *Cases and Materials on Constitutional Law*, 4th Ed., pp. 811-17; also Dowling, *Cases on Constitutional Law*, 4th Ed., pp. 926-36; also Evans, *Cases on American Constitutional Law*, 5th Ed., Fenwick, pp. 958-64.

39. Reference is to the following: "No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law."

31. Cooley, *A Treatise on the Constitutional Limitations*, 7th Edition, pp. 596-615.

32. See *ibid.*

33. See *ibid.*

"The sole contention here is, essentially, that as there was no evidence of any concrete result following from the publication of the Manifesto or of circumstances showing the likelihood of such result, the statute as construed and applied by the trial court penalizes the mere utterance, as such, of 'doctrine' having no quality of incitement, without regard either to the circumstances of its utterance or to the likelihood of unlawful sequences; and that, as the exercise of the right of free expression with relation to government is only punishable 'in circumstances involving likelihood of substantive evil,' the statute contravenes the due process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. The argument in support of this contention rests primarily upon the following propositions: 1st, that the 'liberty' protected by the Fourteenth Amendment includes the liberty of speech and of the press; and 2nd, that while liberty of expression 'is not absolute,' it may be restrained 'only in circumstances where its exercise bears a causal relation with some substantive evil, consummated, attempted or likely' and as the statute 'takes no account of circumstances,' it unduly restrains this liberty and is therefore unconstitutional . . .

"The Manifesto, plainly, is neither the statement of abstract doctrine nor, as suggested by counsel, mere prediction that industrial disturbances and revolutionary mass strikes will result spontaneously in an inevitable process of evolution in the economic system. It advocates and urges in fervent language mass action which shall progressively foment industrial disturbances and through political mass strikes and revolutionary mass action overthrow and destroy organized parliamentary government. It concludes with a call to action in these words, 'The proletarian revolution and the Communist reconstruction of society—the struggle for these—is now indispensable . . . The Communist International calls the proletariat of the world to the final struggle!'

"This is not the expression of philosophical abstraction, the mere prediction of future events; it is the language of direct incitement . . .

"For present purposes we may and do assume that freedom of speech and of the press—which are protected by the First Amendment from abridgment by Congress—are among the fundamental personal rights and 'liberties' protected by the due process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment from impairment by the States. . . .

"It is a fundamental principle, long established, that the freedom of speech and of the press which is secured by the Constitution, does not confer an absolute right to speak or publish, without responsibility, whatever one may choose, or an unrestricted and unbridled license that gives immunity for every possible use of language and prevents the punishment of those who abuse this freedom.<sup>41</sup> . . .

Reference is made here to Justice Story and to a number of other decisions in the United States.

"That a State in the exercise of its police power<sup>42</sup> may punish those who abuse this freedom by utterances inimical to the public welfare, tending to corrupt public morals, incite to crime, or disturb the public peace, is not open to question . . .

"And, for yet more imperative reasons, a State may punish utterances endangering the foundations of organized government and threatening its overthrow by unlawful means. These imperil its own existence as a constitutional State<sup>43</sup> . . . And a State may penalize utterances which openly advocate the overthrow of the representative and constitutional form of government of the United States and the several States by violence or other unlawful means . . . In short, this freedom (of speech and press) does not deprive a State of the primary and essential right of self-preservation; which, so long as human governments endure, they cannot be denied . . .

"That utterances inciting to the overthrow of organized government by unlawful means, present a sufficient danger of substantive evil to bring their punishment within the range of legislative discretion is clear. Such utterances, by their very nature, involve danger to the public peace and to the security of the State. They threaten breaches of the peace and ultimate revolution. And the immediate danger is none the less real and substantial, because the effect of a given utterance cannot be accurately foreseen. The State cannot reasonably be required to measure the danger from every such utterance in the nice balance of a jeweller's scale. A single revolutionary spark may kindle a fire that, smouldering for a time, may burst into a sweeping and destructive conflagration. It cannot be said that the State is acting arbitrarily or unreasonably when in the exercise of its judgment as to the measures necessary to protect the public peace and safety, it seeks to extinguish the spark without waiting until it has enkindled the flame or blazed into the conflagration. It cannot reasonably be required to defer the adoption of measures for its own peace and safety until the revolutionary utterances lead to actual disturbances of the public peace or imminent and immediate danger of its own destruction; but it may, in the exercise of its judgment, suppress the threatened danger in its incipency . . .

"We cannot hold that the present statute is an arbitrary or unreasonable exercise of the police power of the State unwarrantably infringing the freedom of speech or press; and we must and do sustain its constitutionality. This being so it may be applied to every utterance—not too trivial to be beneath the notice of the law—which is of such

41. Under American constitutional law, the expression "police power" is a very comprehensive one. Among other things, it means the power of the State "to prescribe regulations to promote the health, peace, morals, education, and good order of the people, and to legislate so as to increase the industries of the State, develop its sources, and add to its wealth and prosperity."—See *Barbier vs. Connolly*, Supreme Court of the United States, 1885, 113 U.S. 27.

42. Justice Story is again quoted here.

a character and used with such intent and purpose as to bring it within the prohibition of the statute . . . And finding, for the reasons stated, that the statute is not in itself unconstitutional, and that it has not been applied in the present case in derogation of any constitutional right, the judgment of the Court of Appeals is affirmed."

This decision of the American Supreme Court establishes, beyond doubt, the principle that, whatever may be the language of the relevant constitutional provisions in the United States, freedom, as Professor Charles Beard has put it<sup>43</sup> 'is relative' and 'not absolute.'

"It is not easy," he has further observed,<sup>44</sup> "to draw the correct line between the expression of opinions that are actually dangerous to orderly progress and the expression of opinions that, even if extreme, are within the boundaries of the liberty guaranteed by the Constitution. In any case, freedom cannot be absolute, that is, it does not give the citizen a right to say anything he likes anywhere, at any time, regardless of circumstances. No government could allow unrestricted liberty to persons who urge direct attempts to overthrow it by violence or the murder of its officials. In ordinary criminal law the man who induces another to commit a crime by persuasion or promises also shares the guilt of the principal and is punished. So in the case of criticism of the government, conspiracies and attempts to overthrow it by violence are necessarily crimes; otherwise its foundations would be built on sand."

Elsewhere<sup>45</sup> we have discussed in detail the effect of the adoption by the American Supreme Court, as the basic principle for its decision in some cases, of what is known as the test<sup>46</sup> of "clear and present danger of serious evil" so far as the freedom of speech and expression in the United States is concerned. As we have stated there, even if we accept this test—there is a difference of opinion among jurists on the question of the merits of this test as a constitutionally permissible rule of law<sup>47</sup>—, it does not in any way shake our position that the so-called fundamental

rights can never be absolute rights in a State and that they are not so even now in the United States, in spite of the apparently *unqualified* character of the provisions<sup>48</sup> in its Constitution relating to such rights. The Supreme Court of the United States has never declared the fundamental rights of the American citizen as absolute or unqualified; nor does this follow from the test of "clear and present danger" referred to above. We may even go further and say that the Supreme Court has not so far repudiated the doctrine of police power emphasized by it in 1925 in the course of its judgment in *Gitlow vs. New York*. At best, the emergence of the clear-and-present-danger test, if it is considered at all adequate—and we do not, like many others think so—, does only supplement, and not supplant, the doctrine of police power referred to by the Supreme Court in *Gitlow vs. New York*. Another noticeable point is that the judgment in *Gitlow vs. New York* (1925) in which we find emphasized the doctrine of police power of the State, was given several years after the judgment in *Schenck vs. United States* (1919)<sup>49</sup> which had first embodied the formula of 'clear and present danger' as a basic principle of judicial decision. Thus we find in an American official publication<sup>50</sup> of a great weight that in the *Gitlow* case the Supreme Court "was obliged to reach a clear-cut choice between the common law test of dangerous tendency and the clear and present danger test" and that "it adopted the former and sustained the conviction (of Gitlow), saying 'by enacting the present statute the state (of New York) has determined, through its legislative body that utterances advocating the overthrow of organized government by force, violence and unlawful means, are so inimical to the general welfare, and involve such danger of substantive evil that they may be penalized in the exercise of its police power. That determination must be given great weight'."

This is in brief, the position in the United States of America in regard to personal freedom. We may now refer to the position in this respect in England.

So far as England is concerned what the Rt. Hon. Lord Justice Denning of His Majesty's Court of Appeal said only in 1949 in regard to the question

43. See Charles A. Beard, *American Government and Politics*, 1947, pp. 23-24.

44. See *ibid*; also see in this connexion Munro, *The Government of the United States*, 5th Edn., 1947, pp. 93-94; also Ogg and Ray, *Introduction to American Government*, 9th Ed., 1946, p. 154; also Zink, *Government and Politics in the United States*, 1947, pp. 89-90.

45. See my article entitled "Freedom of Speech and Expression in India: Clear-and-Present-Danger Test" in *Indian Law Review*, Vol. VI, No. 2, 1952.

46. This test is also popularly known as the "Holmes formula" as it was Mr. Justice Holmes of the Supreme Court who first used it in 1919 in *Schenck vs. United States* (249 U.S.47) when he "declared for a unanimous Court that 'the question in every case is whether the words used are used in such circumstances and are of such a nature as to create a clear and present danger that they will bring about the substantive evils that Congress (the State?) has a right to prevent. It is a question of proximity and degree'."—See *ibid*; also Evans, *op. cit.*, pp. 507-509; also Strong, *American Constitutional Law*, 1950, pp. 830 and 936.

47. See Willis, *op. cit.*, pp. 198-99, also *The Constitution of the United States of America: Analysis and Interpretation*, prepared by the Legislative Reference Service, Library of Congress (Corwin), Washington, 1953, Document No. 170, pp. 788-92; also an article entitled "The Degradation of the Clear and Present Danger Rule" by Prof. Wallace Mendelson, University of Tennessee, in *The Journal of Politics, University of Florida*, August, 1953.

48. See, in particular, Amendment 1 (adopted in 1791), Amendment 5 (adopted in 1791) and also Section 1 of Amendment 14 (adopted in 1868), to the Constitution of the United States of America as originally adopted.

49. 249 U.S.47 (1919).

50. *The Constitution of the United States of America: Analysis and Interpretation*, prepared by the Legislative Reference Service Library of Congress (Corwin), Washington, 1953, Document No. 170 p. 775.

of a true balance between personal freedom and social security, is particularly worthy of attention here.

"Let me," he said,<sup>51</sup> "first define my terms. By personal freedom I mean the freedom of every law-abiding citizen to think what he will, to say what he will, and to go where he will on his lawful occasions without let or hindrance from any other persons. Despite all the great changes that have come about in the other freedoms, this freedom has in our country remained intact. It must be matched, of course, with social security, by which I mean the peace and good order of the community in which we live. The freedom of the just man is worth little to him if he can be preyed upon by the murderer or thief. Every society must have the means to protect itself from marauders. It must have powers to arrest, to search and to imprison those who break the laws."<sup>52</sup>

The task therefore, he further observes,<sup>53</sup> "is one of getting the right balance. The freedom of the individual, which is so dear to us, has to be balanced with his duty; for, to be sure every one owes a duty to the society of which he forms part. . . (Thus) what matters in England is that each man should be free to develop his own personality to the full; and the only duties which should restrict this freedom are those which are necessary to enable every one else to do the same." The English law, according to him, "has kept in the past the balance between individual freedom and social duty."

And what Lord Justice Denning said on the question of "freedom of mind and conscience" in England, is also equally worthy of consideration here. Referring to this aspect of the freedom of the individual, he stated:<sup>54</sup>

"This is just as important, if not more important, than his personal freedom (*sic*). To our way of thinking it is elementary that each man should be able to inquire and seek after the truth until he has found it. We hold that no man has any right to dictate to another what religion he shall believe, what philosophy he shall hold, what shall be his politics or what view of history he shall accept. Every one in the land should be free to think his own thoughts—to have his own opinions, and to give voice to them, in public or in private, so long as he does not speak ill of his neighbour: and free also to criticise the Government or any party or group of people, so long as he does not incite anyone to violence . . . This country, just as every country, preserves to itself the right to prevent the expression of views which are subversive of the existing constitution or a danger to the fabric of society. But the line where criticism ends and sedition begins is capable of infinite varia-

tions. This is when (where?) the practical genius of the common law shows itself. The line between criticism and sedition is drawn by a jury<sup>55</sup> who are independent of the party in power in the State."

Referring in this connexion, particularly, to freedom of speech and of the press Lord Justice Denning remarked<sup>56</sup> that

"Nothing is more important than that there should be an independent press entitled to make any honest comment on a matter of public interest, no matter whether it be politics or literature, art or science or anything else."

But he added:<sup>57</sup>

"Freedom of speech and . . . of the press . . . does not mean that anyone is free to libel or slander another. Actions in the court everyday show that. But it does mean that free and frank discussion and criticism of matters of public interest must in no way be curtailed. But there comes a point at which this country, and every other country, must draw the line: and that is when there is a threat to overturn the state by force."

We find a virtual endorsement of these views in Dicey, Berriedale Keith and Ivor Jennings—undoubtedly three recognized authorities on English constitutional law. Referring for instance, to the question of freedom of discussion in England, Dicey has said:<sup>58</sup>

"The true state of things cannot be better described than in these words from an excellent treatise<sup>59</sup> on the law of libel:

"Our present law permits any one to say, write and publish what he pleases; but if he make a bad use of this liberty he must be punished. If he unjustly attack an individual, the person defamed may sue for damages; if, on the other hand, the words be written or printed, or if treason or immorality be thereby inculcated, the offender can be tried for the misdemeanour either by information or indictment."

"Any man may, therefore, say or write whatever he likes, subject to the risk of, it may be, severe punishment if he publishes any statement (either by word of mouth, in writing, or in print) which he is not legally entitled to make."

Nor does, Dicey has further observed, the law of England recognize, in general, any "special privilege on behalf of the 'press'." The law of the press as it

51. See Denning, *Freedom under the Law*, Stevens, 1949, p. 5.

The italics in this quotation are ours.

52. Denning, *op. cit.*, pp. 4-5.

53. Denning, *op. cit.*, pp. 35-36.

55. Referring to the jury system in England, Lord Justice Denning stated: "By the constitution of this country a man is not to be found guilty unless twelve of his fellow countrymen—each and all of them—unanimously find him to be guilty. This was settled in 1367 . . . and never has there been any doubt that a jury must be unanimous."—Denning, *op. cit.*, pp. 53-54.

56. See *ibid.*, p. 45.

57. *Ibid.*, p. 44.

58. See Dicey, *Law of the Constitution*, 9th Ed., pp. 239-41.

59. Odgers, *Libel and Slander*, Introduction (3rd Ed., 1896), p. 12.—See *ibid.*

exists in England is "merely part of the law of libel,"<sup>60</sup> and "the so-called liberty of the press is a mere application of the general principle, that no man is punishable except for a distinct breach of the law."<sup>61</sup>

So far as "the right to criticise the conduct of the government" is concerned, the law in England, according to Dicey,<sup>62</sup> is as follows:

"Every person commits a misdemeanour who publishes (orally or otherwise) any words or any document with a seditious intention. Now a seditious intention means an intention to bring into hatred or contempt, or to excite disaffection against the King or the government and constitution of the United Kingdom as by law established, or either House of Parliament, or the administration of justice, or to excite British subjects to attempt otherwise than by lawful means the alteration of any matter in Church or State by law established, or to promote feelings of illwill and hostility between different classes. And if the matter published is contained in a written or printed document the publisher is guilty of publishing a seditious libel."

"The case," he has added,<sup>63</sup> "is pretty much the same as regards the free expression of opinion on religious or moral questions."

"And we find in Berriedale Keith:<sup>64</sup>

(a) "The liberties of the subject (in England) rest on the two principles: (1) that the subject may say or do what he pleases so long as he does not infringe the substantive law or the rights of others; and (2) that public authorities can do only what is permitted by common law or statute"

(b) "The right to personal freedom means that no man may be punished, imprisoned, or coerced, except for a breach of the law proved in a legal manner before an ordinary tribunal, and this right flows directly from the provisions of Magna Carta, the Petition of Right, 1628, and the Bill of Rights, 1689."

(c) The right to freedom of speech "covers that of the liberty of the Press and of conscience, and is in effect the fact that any person may say, write or publish what he pleases so long as he does

not bring himself within the law relating to (1) slander or defamatory libel, or (2) blasphemous," (3) obscene, or (4) seditious words written or spoken."

Anything, therefore, "is lawful," says Professor Ivor Jennings humorously, in regard to the so-called fundamental rights in England,<sup>65</sup> "which is not unlawful . . . The 'right' is the obverse of the rules of civil, criminal, and administrative law. A man may say what he pleases provided that he does not offend against the laws relating to treason, sedition, libel, obscenity, blasphemy, perjury, official secrets, etc. He may form associations provided that he does not offend against the laws relating to trade unions, friendly societies, religion, public order, and unlawful oaths. He may hold a meeting where and how he pleases so long as he does not offend against the laws relating to riot unlawful assemblies, nuisance highways, property, etc."

And what is called "the right to personal freedom," is, he further observes,<sup>67</sup> "a liberty to so much personal freedom as is not taken away by law. It asserts the principle of legality, that everything is legal that is not illegal. It includes, therefore, the 'right' of free speech of association, and of assembly. For they assert only that a man may not be deprived of his personal freedom for doing certain kinds of acts—expressing opinions, associating, and meeting together—unless in so doing he offends against the law. The 'right of personal freedom' asserts that a man may not be deprived of his freedom for doing *any* act unless in so doing he offends against the law. The last is the genus of which the others are species."

Thus, "the rights of free speech, of association, and of assembly," remarks Professor Jennings in conclusion,<sup>68</sup> "cannot be regarded as being without limitation. They may be used not for creating opinion in order to turn out the Government by lawful means, but to persuade a small minority to use force to coerce the rest of the population. In their extreme meanings, the rights conflict with the fundamental requirements of public order. National emergencies, too, may demand a limitation upon the rights of individuals which would not be permissible in ordinary times."

#### IV

We have referred above to the legal position in regard to personal freedom in the United States of America and England, just with a view to illustrating the points we have emphasized in the earlier part of this article. The position is more or less the same today in every other democratic country. Nowhere

60. See Dicey, *op. cit.*, pp. 240-41.

61. *Ibid.*, p. 248.

62. *Ibid.*, pp. 243-44.

63. In regard "to the question who are to determine whether a given publication is or is not a libel," the reply, says Dicey, is "that in substance this matter is referred to the decision of a jury. Whether in any given case a particular individual is to be convicted of libel depends wholly upon their judgment, and they have to determine the questions of truth, fairness, intention, and the like, which affect the legal character of a published statement." Thus freedom of discussion, continues Dicey with, according to Professor Ivor Jennings (*The Law and the Constitution*, 2nd Ed., p. 248), "conscious exaggeration," is "In England little else than the right to write or say anything which a jury, consisting of twelve shopkeepers, think it expedient should be said or written."—*Ibid.*, p. 246.

64. See Berriedale Keith, *Constitutional Law being the Seventh Edition of Ridges' Constitutional Law of England*, 1946, pp. 433, 434, and 444.

65. According to Lord Justice Denning, "the offence of blasphemy is a dead letter" now.—See Denning, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

66. See Ivor Jennings, *The Law and the Constitution*, 2nd Ed., pp. 243-44 and 239.

67. See *ibid.*

68. See *ibid.*

is freedom absolute. It has been very rightly said that freedom can exist only "under the law"; that it "exists only because there is *restraint*"; that "freedom and restraint are thus but obverse sides of the same shield."<sup>69</sup> and that, generally speaking, "law is a removal of natural restrictions, (and) not the addition of more."<sup>70</sup> We, therefore, fully agree with Professor Ernest Barker when he says<sup>71</sup> that (i) "the truth that every man ought to be free has for its other side the complementary and consequential truth that no man can be absolutely free"; (ii) that "the need of liberty for each is necessarily qualified

and conditioned by the need of liberty for all"; (iii) that "liberty in the State, or legal liberty, is never the absolute liberty of each, but always the qualified liberty of all"; (iv) that "liberty within the State is thus a relative and regulated liberty"; and (v) that "a relative and regulated liberty, actually operative and enjoyed, is a liberty greater in amount than absolute liberty could ever be—if indeed such liberty could ever exist, or ever amount to anything more than nothing at all."

In conclusion, we should like to state that in this article we have dealt with the general question of personal freedom *vis-a-vis* social control by way of, as noted before, an introduction to what will follow it. In our next article we propose actually to commence the consideration of the nature of our Fundamental Right to Freedom.

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69. See Willoughby, *An Examination of the Nature of the State*, 1922, p. 110.

70. See Dehinde Burns, *Political Ideals*, 1929, p. 253.

71. See Ernest Barker, *Principles of Social and Political Theory*, 1952, pp. 145-46.

## IS SECOND CHAMBER A SUPERFLUITY?

BY PROF. JATINDRA RANJAN DE, M.A.

PROF. LASKI says:

"It is regarded as noteworthy that practically every state of importance in the modern world has adopted the two-chamber system. It should yet be noted that the two-chamber system is largely an historical accident. Bifurcation is universally derived from the habits of English Constitution."—*Grammar of Politics*, p. 328.

Great Britain is the mother of Second Chamber. It is largely the product of the conflict between the landed aristocracy and the commons. The whole history of Great Britain is characterised by the fact that the State-power shifted from the absolute monarchy to the landed aristocracy and from the landed aristocracy to the Commons. The victory of the House of Commons was complete with the passing of the Parliamentary Act of 1911. The same history repeated itself in most of the countries and the Second Chamber acted as check on Democracy. Always it was a reactionary body and conservative in outlook. At present almost all of them excepting a few, have been designed or remodelled on democratic lines to serve the purpose of legislative revision and to act as a check of resistance to the predominant body of the State, that is, the Lower House. Excepting in Great Britain and Canada nowhere it is a body of vested interest or reactionaries—it does not act as a stumbling block to Democracy. At one time the Labour Party of Great Britain was vehemently against the retention of House of Lords and according to them, "What was

needed was a single chamber, the House of Commons kept in closest touch with the people." At present it appears that the Labour Party is not enthusiastic enough to abolish the House of Lords if it can be reformed on democratic lines. Thus the question even in Great Britain is not of abolition of Second Chamber rather its reformation.)

History is the same everywhere. The Japanese House of Peers of the Constitution of 1889 resembling the British House of Lords has been replaced by a popularly elected body, it is the House of Councillors in the Constitution of 1946. The powers of the indirectly elected Second Chamber of France—it is the Chamber of Deputies—have been curtailed by the Constitution of the Fourth Republic in 1946 and the body has become the pale image of the Lower House. The indirect election of Senators in the U.S.A. was abolished in 1913 by the seventeenth amendment of the Constitution and popular election has been introduced. The Weimer Constitution of Germany in 1919 replaced the all-powerful Bundesrat of Imperial Constitution by a Federal Chamber of German States; it is the Reichsrat. The present Bonn Constitution of West Germany has given the Upper House only a suspensive veto power over Legislation (Except the Senate of the U.S.A. no Second Chamber of the day exercises more than a suspensive veto power over legislative proposals of the Lower House. It acts only as a filtering body of the popular impulses. Prof. Laski's comment that "A Second Chamber is

no more likely than the first to be correct in its judgment of the electoral will" can be combated by the equally authentic view of Professors Ogg and Zink that

"No student of English history needs to be told that upon sundry occasions the Upper House has interpreted the will of the nation, or the realities of a political situation, more correctly than the Lower, and that more than once it has saved the country from hasty and ill-considered legislation."—*Modern European Governments*, p. 232.

If the observation is true of the British House of Lords, it is more true of present-day Democratic Second Chambers. Prof. Laski's statement that the Second Chamber will "be a premium not upon improvement but upon opposition in terms of vested interest" can be falsified by the fact that modern Second Chambers do not represent the vested interest excepting a few.

Revolution is unknown in Democracy. It achieves its objectives through evolutionary steps. Complete break with the past is not favoured in Democracy. All the steps for social, political and economic changes, it takes with caution. After lengthy deliberation it takes any step it desires to do. The verdict of the people in the determination of a Government does not smoothen the path of the Government to adopt all measures it desires to take unless it is an avowed objective of the party before the election. As such, every item of national importance should be discussed by the nation as a whole and then adopted. Democracy is not a Government by majority, rather it is a Government by compromise. If the Second Chamber can facilitate such a compromise between different political parties, it is highly desirable. Prof. Laski's view that "The power, in fact, to postpone is a power to defeat the changes regarded as necessary by the party chosen for office by the electorate" does not hold good if we accept the idea that the electorate does not give all powers to a party only by choosing it to power. Revolution cannot be brought about only by a victory in election.

With this outlook we cannot but conclude that India needs a Second Chamber. The predecessor of our Second Chamber has a black history. It represented only high income groups and was notoriously opposed to the national desire. But the present one is democratically constituted and there is no reason to believe that it represents or shall represent only the high income groups and act as a deterrent to democratic will. India is a land of complexities. She has complex economic, social and political problems of national importance. It is not wise to allow all these problems to be handled by a single House. Furthermore, the Indian Constitution has adopted Parliamentary supremacy limited only by the

Constitutional bounds. It is not safe to give this supremacy to one House alone. The power may be abused by brute Party majority. The House of People may err; the Council may point out its errors. The members of the Lower House may be guided by popular impulses and may design to codify that. The Council may give it a deliberate consideration; and afford the opportunity to the nation to pause, ponder and discuss the matter in details and at the same time allow the members of the House of People to give it a second consideration. After second consideration, to many it might appear detrimental to the national interest or useless.

To some the Council of States appears to be an impotent institution. "To suppose that power will allow itself on important matters to be controlled by impotence is vain." (Goldwin Smith—cf. *Strong in Modern Political Constitution*). The Council possesses not only a suspensive veto but can play a positive role in matters of legislation. It can initiate legislation besides Money Bills. If it cannot agree with the legislative proposals of the Lower House it can compel the joint sitting of the two. If the House of People is sharply divided and the Council is unevenly divided with a substantive majority against the House of People, the latter may lose the battle. But if in the House of People the legislative proposal has the support of overwhelming majority, the measure will be adopted because of the numerical superiority of the House of People, as the number of members of the Council of State is 250 to 500 of the House of People. If it happens, there is nothing to fear, because Democratic Will should prevail in Democracy. The Council is to serve the purpose of a check on the abuse of Democracy, not on its proper use.

It shall be a permanent body—one-third of its members retiring every second year—and shall be elected by members of the State Legislature. As such Second Chambers shall not necessarily be a shadow of the first Chamber, because the general election and the election of the members of the Council of States shall not be held at the same time except the first one. So according to Abbe Sieyès' dilemma it may not be superfluous. Again it may not be pernicious because it is not undemocratically constituted.

But it does not represent the federal principle. India is a Federal Government. It can be reasonably hoped that the Second Chamber should have been a federal Chamber. It is not a Second Chamber like that of the U.S.A. and the Australian Senate, where federating Units are represented equally, nor it is a Second Chamber like Bundesrat of old German Confederation where members should come as delegates from Laenders (federating units). Seats have been allotted to the States more or less on the basis of population as in Bundesrat of the present Bonn Constitu-

tion of Germany. It does not enshrine the Federal principle of equal representation of each State in the Upper House. But is there any necessity for this? The U.S.A. Constitution was framed completely in a different political set-up. Otherwise disintegrated colonies united themselves into a federation. There is no such disintegrating feeling amongst the people of India. Even if it exist, this should be ruthlessly curbed rather than be fanned.

From the knowledge of Indian history it is evident that whenever India became disintegrated it fell a prey to the foreigners. Furthermore, present Indian States hardly represent any feeling of Nationality. Present States are more or less administrative units. In the U.S.A. and Australia, members of the Senate do not consider everything from the State point of view, rather they are guided by their party affiliation. This fact destroys the very intention of equal representation of States as safeguarding weapons for the rights of the States.

Our Constitution has given the Second Chamber power to protect the rights of States in another way by Section 249 which states that Parliament can legislate over State subjects provided that the Council of States passes a resolution to that effect by a two-third majority. It is supposed to be a body of wise men. The overriding authority of the Parliament is given to the body of wisdom.

The success of bicameralism in India, after all, depends on the selection of its members. State legislatures should always elect men of real talent, experience and judgment to the Council. The best and the wisest men of the Nation should constitute the Second Chamber of India. Sufficient scope is given by the Constitution for that. Apart from twelve nominated members all shall be elected not by popular votes but by votes of persons of comparatively superior calibre. As regards the nominated members, the President may not forget the very intention of the provision for such nomination. Much again shall depend on the members of the Council

of States themselves. If they can prove the efficiency of a Second Chamber it shall be a safety valve of infant democracy in India. If they cannot, it shall fall into desuetude.

The next questions to be answered are whether it is constituted in the best possible method and whether it requires to be more powerful. Answers to these questions are in the negative. Framers have given very careful consideration as to the methods of its composition and have allowed it just the powers it requires to act as a legislative revisory body. It is not undemocratic like the hereditary British House of Lords and the nominated Canadian Senate; and it is not too much democratic like the U.S.A. Senate having both Houses popularly elected—both representing one and the same people in the same manner. It makes both of them equal in powers and ultimately allows one to fall in oblivion. It has avoided the South African method of election of members of the Upper Chamber by members of both State and Central Legislatures, because it smacks of Unitarianism. It has not accepted the French method of composition of Second Chamber. The Council of the Republic of France is partially elected by the National Assembly. Under this system the Upper House becomes the shadow of the Lower House.

It is not all too powerful a body like the U.S.A. Senate nor only a dilatory body like the British House of Lords and the French Council of Republic. Virtual veto power over legislation like that of the Japanese system has not been accepted in our Constitution. It is given only substantial revisory power, not equal powers, over legislation. It does not and should not require more than that because in Democracy popular will should ultimately prevail. The Council of States is not only the best constituted Second Chamber in the world, it is also the most well-balanced in its power to fit in modern Democracy and to serve the Constitutional purpose which a Second Chamber in Democracy is required to perform in the best possible manner.





Aerial view of the Imperial Plaza, Tokyo



A view of the snow-clad Mt. Fuji from the lobby of the Hotel de Yama, Japan

NATIONAL MALARIA CONTROL PROGRAMME



Trained technical hands go out everyday with insecticides like DDT and spraying equipments to spray walls and ceilings of houses, once or twice in a season



An Inspector of the Malaria Squad scoops a ladleful of water from a stagnant pool for examination

## BHOODAN—A REVOLUTION MISTAKEN FOR REFORM

By BIRENDRANATH GUHA

SOME say there is not enough land in this State or in that to be given away to Bhoodan. Such talks leave one wondering, what may they mean! I would not call these arguments captious. Nor would I run to counter them by marshalling facts. I would simply reproduce Vinoba's words which say:

"Those who do not give me land to-day will give tomorrow. They cannot but give. There is no one in India who may refuse."

These are not vain words. Vinoba is not given to rattle. He speaks with confidence. Is this confidence born of faith merely? No. He derives his authority from the confidence reposed in him by the poor, by the masses. To quote Vinoba:

"Large numbers of people come to attend my prayer-meetings. They certainly do not come to earn merit as a passport to the other world. They do come because they have come to believe that what this fellow is doing would do them good in this very life. I do daily read this hope in their eyes."

In another context he has said:

"The entire people are speaking through me."

This sustains him. This makes his words so winged. And a people never lend ears to a message before its time. The idea of equality is in the air. It is knocking at the door. To it Gandhi gave a name and shape. Some one was needed to link this great idea—Mantra—to an adequate programme. Vinoba gave Sarvodaya a programme such as it demanded. A stroke of genius it was. And it readily caught on and marked off Vinoba as the leader.

And what a leader! One who has no attachment, no desires. One who is ready to throw away his body. Such a one can move mountains. Says he:

"I am weak in body. I have been so from the very start of my life. Vital energies too have grown feeble. But looking to the mind, I find it full of enthusiasm, full of vigour. I feel as though I would throw the world this way, throw the world that way."

For four years now this man who is in his sixtieth year has been on the move covering on an average nine miles a day. Has he, except for the few days at Chandil where he was stricken with malignant malaria, ever failed to keep to the schedule by a day, even by an hour! The sun's unerring precision has marked this movement. Could you believe that this man has an old duodenal ulcer to reckon with? The mind dominates. The spirit dictates and the body obeys.

So all the prerequisites to a shake-up—the time spirit, the programme, and a rare leader—are there.

And this old fossilized society of ours needs a great shake-up.

There is no end to economic bondage and so to social injustice here. Tillers of land, six crores of them, have no lands of their own. Call them wage-earners, call them serfs. They are there. Social justice has long demanded that lands should be taken away from non-agriculturists and given to tillers. Yet this our Welfare State has dallied too long with this crying problem. And when it has come to legislate, it has made a free-gift of from 25 to 33 acres to non-cultivating landlords besides leaving to them the option to form joint-stock farms running to even 15000 acres, each shareholder entitled to hold 25 acres. This is ending social injustice by clinging fast to it.

Social justice waits and waits. The limit is reached. And at long last it asserts itself. It chooses its time. It finds its leader. And then, bang goes the thing. Telangana's was a near approach. It erred in that it ignored the tradition and cultural heritage of India.

True to her culture, true to her genius India rebounded, sought and found a humane and, therefore, a more dynamic and correct way. And Bhoodan Yajna was born.

What does Bhoodan Yajna stand for? It seeks to bring about a change in the values of life. It seeks to do away with the individual ownership of land vesting it in the village to be jointly held and co-operatively cultivated. Vinoba says:

"What it is all that I am doing? What is my goal? I want to bring about a (1) change of heart, (2) a change in the way of life, (3) a change in the very structure of society. This three-fold change, three-fold revolution is what I am labouring for."

And again:

"I will not be satisfied unless the entire village land comes to be freely owned by the whole village as one family. The power and authority which is at present centred in Lucknow or Delhi should get distributed to the villages."

But how is that to come about? By begging? No. Begging pays not. Begging is anathema to Vinoba. "To make the poor conscious is my mission," says he. He wants the common man to realize that he himself is the maker of his destiny, the guardian of his freedom. He cannot degrade him by begging. He says:

"The slogan, 'Give lands to the poor' jars upon my ear. To say 'Give lands to the poor' is begging. I do hate it. What is dear to me and what I insist on people voicing is: There will be none in our village who has no land."

## CHANGING PATTERN OF THE PRIVATE SECTOR In the Climate of A Socialist Pattern of Society

By PROF. R. N. SANYAL, M.A.

THE pattern of a Socialistic Society, set out in the resolution of the Avadi Congress, has been described by some as a mere sop to a vague sentiment of Socialism while others have dubbed it "Nehruism" to distinguish it from communism, socialism and capitalism. In any case this "socialistic pattern of society" may in plain language be called a "mixed economy" in which a private sector co-exists with a public sector under certain overall control, supervision and safeguard, by the State in accordance with the National Plan. Industrialists have recognised that public ownership has become a part of the social order. As Mr. G. M. Mackelay significantly observed, in the course of his presidential address to the annual meeting of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce and Industry:

"The justification for and the inevitability of a dual pattern of economy, namely, public and private, for the future has been accepted by industrialists operating in the private sector without reserve."

He wanted to impress "the very marked re-orientation that has taken place in the capitalistic outlook of former days." But while the capitalists have been reconciled to their co-existence with a public sector, the complete change of the climate under which capitalism flourished so far has not been so clearly understood by them, as is evident by their lack of will to adapt their pattern to a changing social and economic system. One of the most important symptoms of this change of climate is the problem of incentives and efficiency, and it is here, more than anywhere else that we have to find the big changes which are going on in our generation. We are going through the transitional phase of a changing civilisation, where old values are giving place to new ones.

### INCENTIVES TO ENTREPRENEUR

The prime motive of the private sector is the motive for profit. It is, of course, of the very essence of this sector that profit should govern its activities. The exponents of this sector say that it is open to the State to mop up what it regards as excess profits. Only, it should be careful to see that all profits are not mopped up, for that would be to bring the private sector to a standstill. Again, it must be realised that there is, as Mr. Mody said, "Nothing in the world about profit motive, every man has a right to get a reward for his work." But an institution

is judged not by what it feels about itself, but how others view them. Judged by this standard, private enterprise in this country has few friends and sympathisers outside its own narrow circle.

Take for example the view of a man like the late Mr. Jagmohan Das Khatun, who in the words of Mr. K. R. P. Shroff, was a strong and ruthless critic of Company management. Again take the case of the Bombay Share-Holders' Association. Obviously, they had to create this instrument to defend their interests. In law and in theory, the shareholders are the owners of a Joint Stock Company. Power and authority which go with ownership are taken as vested in them. The management is supposed to act on their behalf, as their agent or trustee, under the guidance and control of a Board of Directors elected by the shareholders. How is it then, that the owners of a business concern, find themselves so much at the mercy of the very people to whom they have entrusted their savings, that they have to organise themselves to protect their interests?

Mr. Dharamdas M. Khatun, while addressing the shareholders of the Associated Cement Companies, Ltd., two months ago, said:

"If we are able to fulfil the targets now laid down for us, and in the process of doing so we can convince the work people, our consumers and our shareholders, that, by pinning their faith on Free Enterprise, they ensure their own security, progress and well-being, then it may well be that, in due course, the national emphasis will be laid on individual initiative rather than, as is the case today, on State enterprise."

Applying this touch-stone, we find that it is not shareholders alone whom private enterprise in this country has estranged to the point of seeking protection against it from the authorities. It is also doubtful if its position *vis-a-vis* workers and consumers are in any way happier. If the shareholders, workers and consumers were friendly towards private enterprise, it would amount to saying that private enterprise had the active support of the whole nation. But still all is not lost so far as private enterprise as a basic factor of our socio-economic organisation is concerned. In spite of some defects there is still a good deal of vitality about it. If its defects can be cured, if it can reorient its entire outlook, if it can establish itself on friendly terms with all those who serve it and whom it serves and

win their support and goodwill, if it can put itself to the fore as a factor which contributes to social security as well as rapid social progress, and finally, if private enterprise can throw up leaders, with daring, strength and imagination, there is still a hope of its leading the country to a new era of peace, prosperity and happiness in which the whole populace could share.

#### INCENTIVES TO LABOUR

The theory and practice of free enterprise lay stress on labour incentives of two types: (a) fear of sack and (b) hope of high income, promotion to a higher status or both. Today the first main incentive of fear of sack has lost a great deal of its force. Even in a community where the employer retains full legal freedom to dismiss the worker without any provision for appeal, his practical power, to do this is reduced very much, due to the strength of organised labour and the power of the Trade Unions. Fear, as an incentive to the workers, is no more effective, and unemployment has wellnigh lost its terror in a "full employment Welfare State." Hope of higher earnings under the system of piece-work or through promotion to a higher grade has been given more weight to compensate for the loss of the first incentive. But unconsciously, the workers are not having the encouragement to maximise their output, as they feel that increased efficiency of work might lead to a reduction of prices and not necessarily to the raising of wages.

A planned economy of a socialist pattern involves planning of the distribution of income as well as of what is to be produced and of the methods of production to be employed. It implies planning for full employment which means not only a lessened fear of unemployment, but also an assurance for most people of regular and continuous earnings. This double assurance has naturally weakened very much the second incentive of higher earnings. Moreover, in a society where personal earnings are looked down upon by the authorities and sometimes considered even enemies of society, and fear of want has been totally eliminated, a normal man is not likely to be spurred by the incentive of earnings. This naturally discourages greater efforts on the part of persons of capacity and ability and ultimately the society is a sufferer for this forced cold storage of efficiency. Newer social motives—patriotism, pleasantness of work and the like must take the place of the older motives.

#### INCENTIVE TO INVENTIVENESS

In a well-planned society, the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research and its related research institutes, universities, colleges, etc., should be in the closest touch with the planning authorities of the government and the facilities under the new conditions might be better. Very often an invention

has its origin in the research work of a pure scientist, passing from the University laboratory to the research workers in applied science and technique, and is brought by them into relation to a number of other inventions and discoveries, until it becomes the basis for a proposed new industrial process and emerges as a commercial proposition. This type of organised research and invention is beyond the means of private firms except the very big ones, and the government may have to spend lavishly on such work.

#### INCENTIVES TO CAPITAL INVESTMENT

Provision of capital in a free economy is left in the hands of individuals and institutions and decisions to spend or save as well as the decision to invest are all left in private hands. Traditional economists assumed that all that was saved got invested. But when unemployment became chronic many economists began to realise that saving does not guarantee prosperity.

In a planned society, investments are decided by the government on the advice of the Planning Commission. It settles both the total level of investments and the distribution of investments among different industries on the basis of priorities. This decision involves a reduction in current spending in the community, and the capital required may be raised by the authorities by means of taxation or by borrowing or by "creating" money, deficit financing. Thus, the level of investment in a well-planned economy does not depend upon the decision of individuals to save or firms to borrow for investment but upon the national needs of full employment of the available man-power.

This problem is more difficult in a mixed economy in which socialised and private sectors must exist side by side for Government must secure the right amount of investments within public and private sectors. The government will have to control investments and savings, and extend the controls even to spending and consumption. This may be done in a well-planned system by means of financial policies and the application of the technique of national budgeting.

#### CONCLUSION

In his speech to the A-I-C-C, Mr. Nehru said that he saw no conflict between the public sector and the private sector in the task of raising the wealth of the country. There was enough to be done by both. Repeatedly Mr. Nehru said that they could not be bound by any theories outdated by modern science. The socialistic pattern of society envisaged by the Congress could not be a mere imitation of socialism practised in any other country. It must conform to Indian conditions and have roots in the Indian soil.

"In our conception of achieving progress," he said, "we do not rule out the place of the private sector. If we say that we want to have a socialistic

pattern of society, it does not mean that we visualise the taking over at once of the private sector in our grip. This is wrong. What we have to take complete hold of are the obstacles which come in the way of achieving our ideal under the National Plan."

But if the private sector is to play the role, it is expected to do, they should bring about a healthy improvement in the relation between the community and the government, the community and the public and the community and labourers. Mr. Homi Mody clarified in his speech on "Economic Policy" at the meeting of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry in the first week of March, that although the business community was prepared to advance with the times and to co-operate in all schemes for the advancement of the real welfare of the people, there was a general distrust of the community. He attributed this to the anti-social activities

of a certain section of businessmen. He suggested that members of a recognised body who were found guilty of having indulged in such activities should be debarred from being members of that organisation. Surely 'capital' is not what it was some 30 or 40 years ago, and it will be something quite different in some 10 or 15 years from now. What is required of private enterprise is that it must function with "honesty of purpose and a sense of social justice." As Dr. Radhakrishnan said while inaugurating the Burmah Shell Oil Refinery in Bombay:

"The Refinery is an outstanding example of what private enterprise, backed and encouraged by an enlightened democratic government, can achieve."

"We wish to lay stress on the social vision, the social approach; wealth produced must be equitably distributed in order that the existing contrast between 'irresponsible wealth and abysmal poverty' may become less and less."

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## THE IDLE HOURS

By KALI CHARAN GHOSH

The unemployment situation in the country is getting worse from day to day. The Central and the State Governments have numerous schemes in view for the solution of the great problem, and if the Central Finance Minister is right, in the next ten years the spectre that is growing in size will not only shrink and shrivel but will vanish into thin air altogether. Let us wait with the legion of the unemployed for the blessed day and in the meantime hold our soul in peace.

A very large number of thoughtful men have suggested remedies for the alleviation of the distress of the unemployed. Some of these no doubt look very attractive and it is for the person in distress to act upon such advice and profit by it. It is unnecessary to dump another set of counsel upon the people who have them in plenty and most of whom are not in a mood to accept or to work upon them because of the little or no prospect of immediate result accruing from them. There is worry and want in abundance for the helpless and hopeless fellow who is without employment but the sense of being useless to the family or to the society is added to the poignancy of abortive attempts to earn and to enable himself (or herself) to keep body and soul together.

The sense of frustration in life as well as the boredom of forced idleness is galling to the extreme. While pain of hunger is felt in the minutest tissue of the body and the tiniest nerve, and the melancholy strain of the piteous wail coming feebly out of the hollow of the throat of young ones who are objects of

supreme love and delight reaches the ear and he has to witness the sight of hot tears of sorrow, anguish and despair rolling down the cheeks of the speechless and famished mothers, wives, sisters and daughters, it requires a stupendous amount of effort to overcome the temptation of doing physical violence to self and to other members of the hapless family. It is simply maddening. Each dawn is a curse, each day is everlasting: time hangs too long and there is no streak of light peeping through the pall of deepening gloom. The question, next to the troubles arising out of poverty is, how to pass the time day in and day out, without any work, without the expectation of gain or a comforting thought of a favourable chance.

If any one ventures to tender any advice to the unemployed people, the first question they would ask is whether that would bring them a farthing, not to speak of an income sufficient for subsistence for the worker himself. The question of maintaining the family may be relegated to the background.

There is hardly any advice worth tendering except what is contained in that hackneyed word "self-help." At once a chorus of protest would rise to say, "No more of such advice that does not help one presently."

Every thinking man knows that idle hours sharpen the edge of suffering very greatly, because one is left with unbounded opportunity for brooding over his hard fate and feeling sour with everything around him.

Let there be no relaxation in the efforts for earning a livelihood by all means. No time, no effort, no

opportunity should be allowed to go unwatched. There is still prolonged idleness throughout the day and a large part of the night. This idleness should be tackled by all means even if they fail to bring anything in the shape of ready money. This waste of time should be confronted with another form, if we may call it so, of waste of time by taking to some form of hobby; let us admit, a non-paying hobby. This is the best weapon for killing boredom.

What these hobbies should be, what shape they will take in appealing to one's taste, it is difficult to suggest. Hobby develops according to one's idiosyncrasy, environment, education and temperamental leanings. It is better to follow the line of least resistance where inclination follows the natural bent of mind.

It is to be clearly understood that it is not for a moment suggested that the course will lead to direct income. Just, it may. But that is secondary for our present purpose. It is treated as something that is likely to rob some of the bitterest moments when life seems unbearable.

With the educated unemployed, it is better to take to reading as often and as long as possible which does not conflict with one's efforts for securing something that would fetch a little cash or some concrete benefit. That is the best way of whiling away time. Every unemployed young man for whom this is written will perhaps say with some amount of justification that the proper mood for study is wanting due to distraction, and books are not available in plenty to a poor man. The latter difficulty is overcome by honest dealings, by returning the book in time in good order and condition to the donor or the owner and the rest will be smooth sailing. As to the former difficulty, the start will no doubt be a bit hard as is the case with every new endeavour and the thought that the particular step has been adopted to strengthen the greatest enemy of boredom will encourage us to a point till triumph has been achieved.

The next point is to develop a taste for a particular branch of study, to specialise so to say, in history, geography, economics, literature, art, penology, psychology, psycho-analysis, sociology or whatever it may be, so that your advice will be sought for by others in the locality in cases of controversy, and gradually, your advice or opinion will be sought for by a wider circle on the subject. It is better to read a variety of subjects but the aim is to be directed towards a particular matter with another as additional. These who can afford may indulge in learning a foreign language, particularly French and German; and a little efficiency in any one of these is bound to give a rich dividend by way of affording opportunity for killing much of the unpleasant time. Nothing is definitely told about the efficacy of the course as a means for earning livelihood but again it can be said, *it may*; it forces one door partly open for some opportunity to appear in the embassies or in the Department of Foreign Affairs.

To come to other things: a hobby for music is the next best course to adopt. The points against the measure are the same as with the case of study of books. There is no question of neglecting the efforts for earning but here again the problem of idle hours comes to the fore. But it is to be remembered that a modicum of efficiency in either of the instrumental or vocal music will at once attract notice not only of the locality but also of the wider public within a short time. A good singer is oft-times a merry man even when in hunger and vocal music does not require so much of expenses as is the case with instrumental music. Of the three requisites: leisure, determination and mood, there should be no dearth of the first two, and the third should be developed by all means.

Drawing, painting, etching, sketching, calligraphy, lettering (of charts) and a host of other items performed with the help of the pencil, the brush, the style and such other tools, and works of other sorts, such as making of paper flowers, clay and other models or toys, chiselling of sola or soft wood, or anything of choice can claim a little time each day. If there is a small plot of land, and villages afford the best opportunity, some work on it including gardening and all that has any connection with gardens, such as putting up of a nice fencing, better irrigation, intelligent lay-out, selection of fancy plants, etc., will absorb greater time and make the work attractive even in an otherwise dull and drab atmosphere.

If the experiment can be pushed a little further, one other avenue for recognition may be created. There is no money, no sufficient land and above all no proper mental condition to undertake profitable gardening. But if one chooses to concentrate upon one or two items only, the otherwise gloomy picture may present a lighter tint here and there. If one takes to growing *all* species of chillies or tomatoes amongst the lighter crops, *jaba*, *sthal-padma*, *rajani-gandha* or *bela* in the group of flowers that are known to be in existence, his small garden is likely to attract attention in a short time bringing some amount of celebrity at his door. The entire outlook changes when he is successful in bringing about a special type or something unusual in shape, size, field or resistance to pests, etc.

A hobby for collection is to be the best and easiest way of killing monotony. A collector of stamps or of coins or of both can spend several enjoyable hours over successful 'bagging' of one particular piece for which he might have worked for days and months. And the time spent over this effort, for devising means for securing the end, is so much of gain against brooding over fate. There is no end of the list for collections and not that each and every item requires money. Say, a collection may cover specimens of minerals and sub-divisions of minerals, of foodgrains and other cereals and oilseeds and their different types, of fibres, medicinal and other plants, furs, feathers, curios, insects and the like. Everybody knows that after the first hurdle has been

overcome, "exchange" goes a long way in rapid strides in embellishing the stock.

In respect of whiling away of time, indoor games have earned a reputation without parallel and in all ages guardians and well-wishers have accepted these as the best resort of an idler and do-nothing of the family and the society. A player gains experience and efficiency with time in any one of so many of the indoor games, particularly where intelligence plays a greater part in winning than luck, and there should be an endeavour to excel in them, particularly in chess and to a certain extent in auction bridge in cards. If a position is attained when there is practically no competitor in the locality, the reputation spreads wide and the name of such a player is mentioned in bigger competitions and challenge from distant places is accepted with a certain amount of confidence. The circle of friends becomes larger and some are likely to be of immense help in securing some benefit of financial nature.

Every unemployed young man does not belong to a "poor" family and those who can afford would best bestow some time in training domestic pets in performing special feats. When the art has been mastered to a certain extent, the rest becomes easy; and while trying for a job or any source of income, the activities of a trainer of pets may be extended to the houses of friends and relations.

What about learning magic and practising sleight of hands with cards and other articles? This pastime is so engrossing that a daily practice will rob many an unpleasant hour and the appetite for learning more will be whetted to a point which would give no rest to the learner. Add to it, if you like, a lesson in astrology or palmistry and the cycle is likely to be complete with a study and application of the knowledge of the influence of metals, minerals, roots, herbs and the like.

There is a good chance for a ventriloquist to attract public attention. It goes well with the magician's trade. But trying to kill time in an effort to reflect the moods and tempers on the physiognomy together with developing the pitch and sonorosity of the voice may bring a wave-tossed ship of young life to the haven of the stage or the screen or both.

There can be no end of the various activities which can keep one engaged at least for a certain part of the day. In every family there is so much of domestic duties to perform which when intelligently attended to would

keep one gainfully engaged and is sure to bring a healthy change in the minds of other members of the family. The poisonous flings of taunts and sneers of the bread-giver, the indignity that is heaped upon by those who pose themselves as the sole trustees of the welfare of "the fool" who allows himself to be exploited and is forced to ruin his health and blight the future of the dearest ones for the sake of those who should be shown the door, have goaded thousands to desperation. While living upon others' earnings these factors have to be taken into account. Even simple domestic services will to a certain extent allay hostility and mellow down the pungency of attack while money saved by work in the domestic field will be earning a lot though indirectly. It may give some sort of consolation that a part of the cost of living has been well-earned. Even then I would repeat that there need be no relaxation for trying for a job or other suitable means of earning.

It is best to devote as much time as possible on all sorts of local public activities, libraries, educational institutions, charitable societies, co-operative bodies, children and women welfare centres, guidance clinics, scout movement, development of indigenous games, research organisations, societies for the improvement of agriculture, cattle and the like. If there is honesty of purpose and a large fund of diligence, the services rendered to such public bodies will be recognised as valuable if not indispensable and are sure to attract attention of people high up in social position. There need be no quarrel over positions because power flows to those who combine intelligence with a sense of responsibility.

In whatever sphere we may work the aim will be to rise above the average in qualities or the activities of others whom we would like to emulate. A man who has initiative, perseverance and devotion to duty, is sure to rise higher and higher in the estimation of the public and occupy a respectable position which is not unlikely to bring financial succour. If it does nothing else, it will make life livable. This is the spirit which is badly needed. The salt of life has become stale with the millions vainly searching after jobs and it is a fact that some sort of diversion is absolutely necessary. Can't some permanent centres be opened in villages where unemployed young men may spend some part of their idle time profitably?



# MADURA—THE HOLY CITY OF TAMILNAD

By ANTHONY ELENJIMITTAM

CAUGHT up, as we usually are, in the vortex of high international politics, city gossip and roboted life, one feels a world of difference to betake oneself to the holy cities of India where life continues much the same today as it was millennia ago, where little difference is made between mythology and history, no difference whatsoever between the rational and the imaginative.

If even the holiest cities like Jerusalem, Rome and Mecca today represent a type of psychic dichotomy between the mythological past and the scientific

city could be traced back to the 5th century B.C. when the Pandyan dynasty ruled over Tamilnad. When the



Goddess Minakshi worshipped in the Madura Temple

present, then the holy cities like Benares, Madura, Nasik and other places in India betray the impact of modern civilization in that there exists an air of scepticism—nay positive hostility against the accepted religious practices and beliefs. Socialists, Communists, Anarchists and Materialists are found today even in the Holy cities.

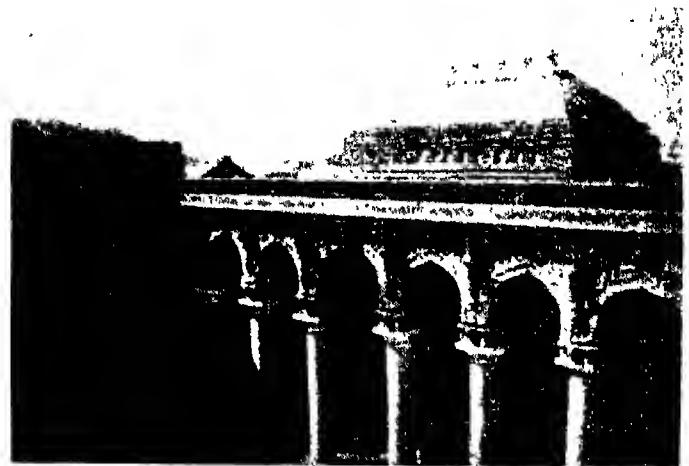
Madura, the Benares of the South, is famous for its temples, Sanskrit learning and religious lore. Rising majestically on the banks of the river Vaigai, surrounded by hills and hillocks, Madura is rich in scenic beauties. Kodaikanal and Palani Hills, the queen of Indian Hill Stations, lie within fifty miles from Madura. The soaring heights of the Kodaikanal Hills could be seen from any building in Madura. To religious ascetics and pilgrims, Kodaikanal and Palani Hills are like Kailas of the South.

Madura became famous because of the Minakshi Temple, a rare specimen of Indian art and architecture. The earliest beginnings of Madura as a religious



The thousand-pillared Temple inside the Minakshi Temple

Pandyan dynasty came to an end in the 11th century A.D., Madura became renowned not only for the



Tirunai Nayakam Palace (Nyaya Mandir)

Minakshi Temple, but also as the seat of Hindu culture, specially of Saivism and rich philosophical and religious literature.

Minakshi Temple, also known as the "Great Temple," is in the shape of a parallelogram of about 847 ft. by 729 ft. It stands about two furlongs away from the Madura Railway Station on the Madras-

Trivandrum or Madras-Tuticorin Express line. Alighting from the station, the sight of the tall *gopurams* enchants the eyes of the visitor. There are four main *gopurams* standing as the sentinels on the four sides of the thirty-feet-high wall surrounding the temple, the largest of which reaches the height of 152 ft. Then there are seven *gopurams* inside the temple. *Gopurams*, so common in the South Indian temples, are pyramid-like ornamented gates resting on rock door-posts,

to Saiva Siddhanta philosophy, so very popular in Tamilnad as the Sakti cult in Bengal is the symbol of the Primordial Energy, *Adya Sakti*, worshipped as Knowledge (*Jnana*), Love (*Prema*) and Activity (*Kriya*).

Contrasted with the small, gloomy temples of the North, the South Indian temples, specially the Minakshi Temple, Srirangam, Canjeevaram, Rameswaram and other temples of Tamilnad give us the idea of something vast, gorgeous and spacious for the religious folk, pilgrims and visitors. These huge temples remind us of the great Cathedrals of Europe wherein several thousands at a time can worship and pray, study and meditate. For millennia have generations after generations come and brought their pitchers to draw waters of life from these shrines and quench their religious thirst. But today tradition is being challenged.

Besides the world-famous Minakshi Temple, Madura owns an array of small and big temples scattered throughout the city. Of these the most important



Kodaikanal Lake and the Boat Club

which at the Minakshi temple are 60 ft. high. It is on these tall door posts the array of gods and goddesses, elephants and peacocks and religious stories are carved out, ornamented, coloured and gilded. Rising like a pyramid, the top extremities of *gopurams* end in stone *trishul*, the recognised Saivaite symbol.

The "Hall of a Thousand Pillars" inside the temple is believed to have been built by Raja Viswanath of Nayak Dynasty. In architectural beauty the "Thousand Pillars" are on par with the best classical Greek architecture. There are three large courtyards, one large temple tank so beautifully decorated, three large halls with gothic roofs and colour and oil paintings and one long corridor of over 500 ft. long leading up to the shrine of goddess Minakshi. Of the most graceful statues inside the temple the one of Radha-Krishna is the most perfect and elegant.

Underneath a richly-gilded dome stands Goddess Minakshi, the consort of Siva, attired in white and gilded robes. Siva has got another shrine in the temple. There are many other side-shrines for some gods and goddesses of the Hindu Pantheon, Minakshi, according



Kodaikanal Observatory

for both pilgrims and visitors are the Subramanya Temple, Mariamam Tappa Kulam and Alakar Kovil Vishnu Temple. For the tourists, however, after Minakshi Temple the most interesting monument from the artistic and historical point of view is the Tirumala Nayakam Palace which is acclaimed by art critics as "the finest specimen of secular architecture in Madras Presidency." The palace is named after Raja Tirumala Nayak who reigned in Madura from 1623 to 1659 A.D., and built up that royal palace.

It is reported that many European and Indian artists and architects worked for over a decade to complete the building. Certainly, the gorgeous gothic arches, colourful paintings, carved pillars and the general architecture are there to tell the visitor that Tirumala Nayakam Palace is the proud product of East-West co-operation. The Durbar Hall, called "the Vasanta Hall" is 333 ft. long and is rich in architectural grace.

Like the Rock Temple in Trichinopoly, Tirumala Nayakam Palace is roofed with a high terrace from where one can get the aerial view of the whole city of Madura and its environs, including the graceful Palani and Kodaikanal Hills. The terrace is punctuated with domes and doors which bespeak of the glory of the palace underneath. It spells bad taste—to say the least—on the part of the Government to transform such a masterpiece of art into the District Law Court and to call it today *Naya Mandir*. It is

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a pity that Tirumala Nayakam Palace, such a monument of art and beauty, is not used for anything better than for the District Law Courts and nestling cooves for bats, rats and birds!

The proximity of Kodaikanal Hill Station with its wonderful sceneries, the graceful three-mile long lake, the astronomical observatory, the enchanting Pillar Rocks the fashionable "Highbelere" American School, the Jesuit Theological College and the Shembakanoor Post office, the cleanest and the most efficient post office in the whole of India, is an added attraction for pilgrims, tourists and visitors who go to bask in the aesthetic beauty and religious rhapsody of Madura. Kodaikanal is the one Indian Hill Station which has the same uniform climate all the year round with scene beauties comparable to Switzerland, and it forms the veritable *Kailas* of the holy city of Madura.

## SHIVA TEMPLE OF BHOJPUR

By DIPT NARAIN TRIPATHI, M.A.

CENTRAL India presents an infinite variety of scenes. Mountains clothed with deep forests and low rocky hills overgrown with thorny jungles skirt the vast fertile land with its myriad gardens and far-stretching fields of waving corn. Rivers flow softly through fields of millet and sugarcane, through towns and hamlets and wide pasture lands.

in the shady forest, we stumble upon the ruins of cities that were rich and populous a thousand years ago. High up on the breezy hill-top, we startle a herd of gazelles in the forests beside some crumbling, tottering ramparts that in its day resounded with the din and clash of battle. The panther finds shelter for his brood among the marble columns of palaces, once



Bhojpur Temple from a long distance



Inside view of the Bhojpur Temple

Hills and plains are rich in records that live in the broken pillars and crumbling walls. Far away from the stir and bustle of the present world, deep

splendid and gay with pageant revelry. Bleak winds move through the deserted galleries of cave temples, upon which many generations of priests and worship-

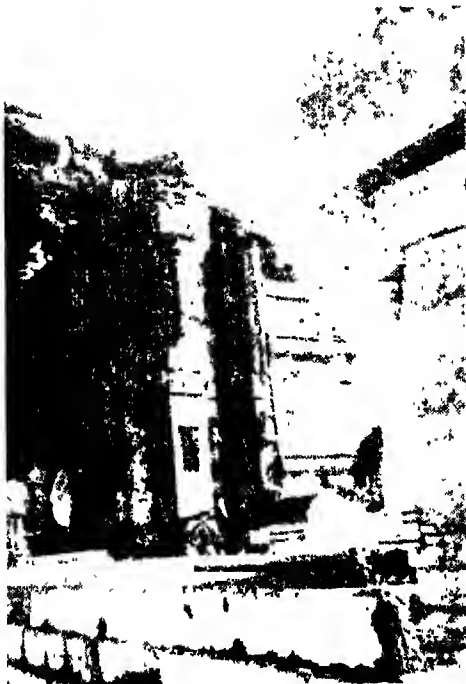
perpetrated lavished their wealth and art in ages long ago. Every glade in the forest, every fountain on the mountain side, every pool in the deep valley has its ruined shrines and its half-forgotten story. Though many ancient places are still replete with buildings, chisellings and inscriptions of the highest antiquity and interest, they are still for the most part very little known to us.

The temple of Bhojpur is one of the little-known places of Central India (Bhopal). It is an ancient Shiva temple and is in a very dilapidated condition. It is near a small village of Bhojpur. This village consists of about fifty houses of poor people. It is nearly 18 miles away from the city of Bhopal. A pucca road runs from Bhopal city to Hasangabad which is situated on the southern boundary of the

Hasangabad. It was he who in 801 A.H. founded a city near Piran Dhar, his capital on the hill of Mando, which he found to possess an agreeable climate and was difficult of access. After the waters had subsided, Hosung founded villages in this tract which obtained the name of Pargana Tal. During the rainy season there is such a quantity of mud of an adhesive nature that certain low-lying lands are impassable.

Near this dam is the village of Bhojpur on the left bank of the tributary of the Betwa. Near this village there is a hillock belonging to the Vindhya Ranges on whose slope this village is situated. On the upper portion of the slope the ancient temple of Shiva stands.

The local tradition assigns the construction of this temple to the celebrated Raja Bhoja who is said to have been eleventh in descent from Vikramaditya and to have transferred the capital from Ujjain to Dhar. King Bhoja after a long reign died by the close of the eleventh century. There is a story current among the local people that once Raja Bhoja wished to build this Shiva temple within a night but unfortunately he could not succeed to complete it within the



Exterior of the Bhojpur Temple on the right hand



Lingam on the Argha

State. To reach Bhojpur it is necessary to leave the pucca road at 15 miles from Bhopal and turn to the eastern side of the road. A three-mile journey after crossing a small tributary of Betwa, takes us to the village of Bhojpur. The village is in the Tal Pargana division of the State. This is how it came to be known by this name:

In former times Raja Bhoja, ruler of Malwa and Ujjain, built a long, broad and lofty dam of stones between two hills about sixteen miles from Bhopal, the scattered remains of which can still be seen. Owing to this dam the out-flow of water from the hills was checked and a large lake was formed extending for several miles in every direction. This dam was destroyed and the water was released by Hosung, Prince of Malwa, the founder of the town

desired period. This was the reason that the temple remained unfinished. But this local tradition does not seem to be true because by observation one finds that it did bear the *shikhara*. The withering effect of nature ruined it, as time rolled on.

This ruined temple is the symbol of happiness and prosperity of the people of the period when it was first constructed. It shows the masterly craftsmanship of the sculptors who chiselled out the stone-pieces to build the temple.

As far as the shape of the temple is concerned the lower portion of the temple is rectangular but it is difficult to ascertain anything about the shape of the Shikhara for it has fallen down and there is nothing to indicate it. But it is believed that it would have been pyramidal in shape which was in fashion

at the time. The only remains are the ceiling of the temple but its central portion is open to the sky which therefore does not necessarily indicate the hollowness of the Shikhara.

The temple is made of stone-bricks chiselled out from the neighbouring hillock whose stone is durable for building purposes. The stone slabs were first levelled and chiselled on the hill and were taken therefrom to be used as we notice, while walking on the hillock, at several places. These stone slabs are joined with each other by mud plaster.

In the inner side of the temple there are four massive stone columns, one in each corner supporting the ceiling or we may call it the roof. These columns measure nearly 36 feet in height and 7 feet in circumference. On the uppermost portion of these columns are to be found winged figures facing each other. But due to our misfortune at the time of our visit these figures were covered by bee-hives and we could not identify them.

The ceiling in between these columns is in gradually diminishing circles making the Shikhara hollow. The ceiling is carved out in intersecting geometrical and other designs of a masterhand. But as was ordained nothing has survived in the centre.

In the centre of the *sanctum* there is the Argha of the *lingam* made of a single massive stone block on which rests the *lingam*, the object of worship. The *lingam* is of massive cylindrical stone inserted in the Argha. There are many *lingams* in India having one Mukha to four Mukhas but the *lingam* of reference is not of any Mukha. The height of Argha and *lingam* is about 14 feet. The measurement of the *lingam* alone is approximately 7 feet in height and the circumference can be measured by stretching the arms of four persons joined together as we did at the time of our visit. Facing the door are to be found two lines one smaller than the other joining together making a figure like A as it may be seen in the photograph of the *lingam*.

The jambs of the door are made of stone slabs. There are seven jambs on each side of the door

making the symmetry. On these jambs figures of human beings and foliage are carved out in low relief. But Nature did not like to see the beauty of the jambs and she did not allow to stand some jambs of the left side. Thus Nature has made these beautiful jambs ugly.

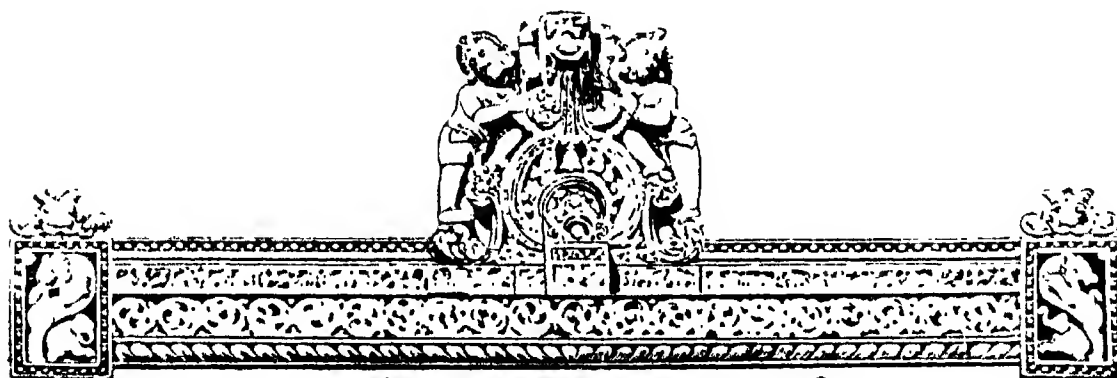
The fallen stones of the Shikhara are lying by the right side of the temple. A large number of stone bricks have been taken away by the village people to build the walls of their *kuncha* houses. The remaining stone bricks are being taken away by the people of the village as the place is unguarded. It is fortunate that the Archaeological Department of Bhopal has taken it under its protection as we come to learn later.



Jambs of the right hand of the door

In front of the temple there is a small hut in which a *pujan* or priest of the temple dwells. This priest looks after the temple and the object of worship, the *Lingam*. Still now the people of the locality come and offer their prayers to get their desires fulfilled through the mercy of the Lord Shiva.

The department of Archaeology has taken it under its protection and due publicity will help in attracting people of different classes to visit this sleeping memorial of a glorious past.



# HELEN KELLER—A NEW STAR OF HOPE

By PARIMAL CHANDRA MUKHERJEE

"THE more hazardous an enterprise becomes, the greater thrill and confidence I feel in myself." With these significant words Dr. (Miss) Helen Keller not only expresses her delight and fearlessness in air travel, but also indicates her faith in the 'generous beams of science' which she wants to follow without fear and plead to the world 'the wonders of co-operation and brotherhood which grows and flourishes through human



Helen Keller—A sketch

influence' No, it is a step further, it marks the triumph of human spirit over odds posed by Nature. This faith has not only sustained her but has also made her conquer despair and made herself a living message to the handicapped, nay, to the humanity at large. This is how she expresses herself:

"I did feel sad and discouraged on certain occasions, but that was not because I was blind and deaf; the human miseries and sufferings only made me feel sad and despondent. My factual relief is that if they (the handicapped) put faith in themselves and reject all gloomy views of blindness, their problems and difficulties will flee before them as the night before the morning."

Her patience, perseverance and aspirations since she lost her sight and became deaf and dumb, at the age of her eighteenth month, have brought her to this unshakable state of mind. She is majestic yet humble to-day. Like a devotee her modest words will leave little room of doubt as regards her sincerity:

"I have seen thousands of brave people who have overcome handicaps greater than that I have known unfolding their resources of will-power. When I think of these persons, I feel very humble indeed."

This will-power has made her a guiding light marching along the paths of peace. Yes, it is real peace that she has discovered and peace that she stands for. That is why, while ordinary hazards of life only add romance to existence, the Atom and H-Bombs reveal to her as great terrors "which if unleashed could spell annihilation and devastation."

Although it is amazing, no, a miracle to think about her life and achievements, yet if we sit quietly and pause for a moment it will not be difficult for us to discover that every single human being suffers from one handicap or the other—some from physical while others from mental. While many strive and rise above them, others succumb and surrender for so many reasons, important of which are lack of trust in themselves and will to rise above what they are. All great men and women bear testimony to this, and Helen Keller is no exception to that. Through almost complete seven decades she has studied, worked and travelled without any rest, without indulging in any personal effects whatsoever, with one single aim and that is to lay a treadable road, if not a straight and smooth one, for those who are, and will be afflicted with darkness! She never hesitated, never stopped—in fact she fell in love with and married her aim. And such is the depth of this love that her mind could never respond to the call of marriage union without *his* being converted to the same ideal. Who could be! Strangely enough, it proved to be none, in spite of the fact that she is a "gracious, compassionate woman of singular intellectual attainment and compelling personal charm" and that she has won friends in all parts of the world by her sparkling sense of humour, vitality and, last, though not the least, the warmth of her hand-clasp!

Yes, these palms alone are more than our eyes, ears and tongues. It is through this medium only that she received her first lesson which gradually rather in a very short while helped her to grow into a full-grown super-intellectual, writing, addressing, travelling throughout the length and breadth of the world, enjoying music, motion pictures and all arts and crafts. All sounds and music which are nothing but vibrations cannot by-pass her. She catches them and it is no wonder that you will find her in theatres and motion-picture shows while a companion spells the plot into her hands.

Her beginning in this world of darkness, her meeting with her teacher are as much surprising as her achievements. Who can say that it was really not a good luck to the world that she was born in a well-to-do family with a loving father!

A born genius and source of inexhaustible perseverance, she was growing restless, whimsical, expressing her wants by signs up to the age of six; nothing could be taught. But soon she meets her "guardian angel" Miss Anne Sullivan, a gifted though young teacher from Perkins Institution in Boston, a famous American School for the blind, who happened to be her constant companion for the next 50 years of her life. This lady, Miss Sullivan, for whom no tribute as teacher is too much, soon realized that the education of this child will be a distinguishing event of her life. Soon the entire nation came to know about this "mental prodigy" and had been watching the progress with great interest. The meeting of Miss Sullivan and Helen Keller can almost be compared to that of Shri Shri Ramakrishna and Swami Vivekananda who immediately saw in each other the personification of each other's object, and worked both together toiling, labouring, and achieving things which are little short of miracles.

Helen Keller, even as a child in spite of all possible worldly comforts, was pining for light and love. The day she met Miss Sullivan, she discovered her home too.

The moment she came to know the means of methodical learning, she "spent almost every waking hour with her teacher, to know more and more. In addition, her family and household was quite a large and busy one. Quite a good number of adults, children and servants, constant visits of guests of all types and shades, provided her ample resources to have a dip into the human character. To this were added the farm activities, the animals, the flowers, orchards, woods, fields, and streams. All these together provided ample materials for her awakening mind; and soon she came to know what they are.

This practical touch with all aspects of human life made her a woman and not a scholar away from the daily life of common men and women and their sufferings. Her good education and better taste have not only brought her up, but has made her taste what life is. And it is her earnest desire that every single human soul deprived of sight or any other handicap should be brought out of that sense of inferiority and taught to forget their difference.

That is why she did not stop when her academic career came to a close. Waves of the silent call of the handicapped-humanity made her restless. She started an active life and visited Japan, Korea, and Manchuria, for and on behalf of the blind.

At the cessation of World War II, the stories of the war blind sent her across from Britain to France, from there to Italy and Greece to study first-hand their problems and what really can be done for them.

Later on, in 1948, she travelled through India, Pakistan, Australia, New Zealand, Japan, the Philippines, Korea, China, and the Middle East. All this was with one single aim and that is to help formulate policies and programmes for the handicapped.



Quite at home with Dr. Radhakrishnan

In her travel from one country to another, she not only feel the difference by the atmospheric touch and smell, but even the approach of mountain is obvious to her and she fully appreciates the thrills and adventures of height, hazards, and awe-inspiring majesty. A flint stone brought from the top of the Everest was touched by her and she remarked:

"When I touched the stone I felt a wonderful thrill of the Everest looking down upon the world through a mist of greatness."

Being deaf she had no idea as to what sound was but nothing could stand on her way. There was day, there was night, and she had the energy to work ceaselessly. The result is, she can speak to-day. It took her twenty five years to develop this power of speech although it is not always very distinct. Having no idea about the immediate reaction of the audience her speech sometimes runs faster than could be understood. At such moments Miss Thompson, her constant companion, has to caution her for a slow speech. Her concentration for reception is so perfect today that in spite of her being completely deaf she can hear if one speaks to her slowly and clearly.

Even as a student at Radcliffe her career as a literary figure started. At the end of the second year she wrote her first book *The Story of My Life* which not only made her known to the world, but at once made her one of the most inspiring figures in public life. Since then, she has written many other books including *The World I Live in*; *Out of the Dark*; *My Religion*; *Mid Stream*; *My Later Life*; *Peace at Eventide*; *Helen Keller in Scotland*; and *Let Us Have Faith*.

Like everything else she is exacting in her writing too. She writes and revises them over and over again till they meet her standard. Although she can use both ordinary typewriter and a Braille writing machine, as she cannot read what she types, her composition naturally is slow. But steady she is and success is hers therefore too.



Her palms are her eyes and ears

She is not only a scholar, and an author, but also an artist in the truest sense of the term. And that is why when she travels she tries to discover the soul and expression of the country. She intends to visit the Tajmahal and feel its exquisite beauty of arts and crafts for two reasons; one, because she thinks that this is not only a great heritage of India, but an essential expression of her (India's) soul too; secondly because, she wants to carry this feeling with her to spread it to all the handicapped through their language. This desire is like ours to carry a good thing for our near and dear ones. To her the humanity she represents is near and dear.

She does not want to miss any opportunity to popularise and further her aim. Based on her life story a documentary film, *The Unconquered*, has been made. She has played the heroine herself. Nothing could be more realistic.

To have praise for one and to follow him or her is quite a different thing. Although Americans had been watching her progress with great interest, yet she did not have a smooth way for aiding legislation for the handicapped. She had to fight an untiring battle appearing before the US Congress and State Legislatures.

Throughout the length of her seventy-five years she has met many great persons. Most of them considered it a great honour to be able to meet her. In the course of her four months' tour of the Far East in 1955 sponsored by the American Foundation of Overseas Blind, in co-operation with the Indian Ministry of Education, she did not fail to meet Sri Nehru, Dr. Rajendra Prasad and Dr. Radhakrishnan. She touched their faces and foreheads and found Sri Nehru "undoubtedly a very great man" . . . "was much impressed by his nobility, upward and inward qualities embodied in the dome of his forehead." She was also "touched by his gentle and thoughtful manners." She sincerely believes that "Sri Nehru is working mightily hard for peace . . ." Greatly spiritual as she is she did not fail to discuss the Bhagvatgita with Sri Nehru and took important clues to good translations which she intends to study.

The President Dr. Rajendra Prasad reveals himself to her "a darling, not only a fine personality but a great soul."

The history of life has presented rows of kings and emperors, Prime Ministers and other temporal Heads with all their pomp and grandeur the earth can produce, but rarely has it produced souls who by their work and faith lifted the humanity from dust, to march along to a peaceful and prosperous life. Amongst such immortals Helen Keller has stepped into by her undaunted spirit and an unshakable faith. The depth of this faith can only be understood in her own words so simply and clearly expressed:

"Faith is a safeguard to me against cynicism and despair. After all, faith is not one thing or two or three things; it is an indivisible totality of belief that inspires me belief in God as infinite goodwill and all-seeing wisdom whose everlasting arms sustain me walking on the sea of life. Trust in my fellow-men, wonder at their fundamental goodness and confidence that after this night of sorrow and oppression they will rise up strong and beautiful in the glory of morning."

This is she—a new star of hope in the dark horizon emitting the light of joy to the millions of the handicapped. She has won many awards both from private as well as State sources, but are these enough? No. The greatest that this world can present her is a pledge to work ceaselessly till that day when no man or woman remains to be called as handicapped.

It is known that in one corner of the lawn of her residence there stands a Japanese stone lantern, eight feet high, with a constantly burning light—not to go out while she lives. This light in fact should be kept burning till that day when every single individual be a she or he becomes a self-respecting, independent citizen and the word 'handicap' (as understood today) disappears completely.

# THE KHASIS

BY PRINCIPAL JOSEPH MINATTUR, M.A., LL.B., J.D.

THE Khasis who are in the van of the movement for a separate 'eastern hill state' are a very interesting people. They inhabit the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills District in Assam. There are 230,326 Khasis in Assam, 113,109 male, 117,217 female. Women exceed men considerably, 1036 women to 1,000 men. Literacy is higher among women than among men.

The Khasis are a handsome people with light olive-brown complexion. They are short and sturdy and have slightly depressed noses, black straight hair, and black or brown eyes that are almost almond-shaped. Their highly developed calves are considered an addition to their beauty, especially for women. Some women are very fair with wild-rose cheeks.

The Khasi men in Shillong have adopted European dress. The men in the villages wear a sleeveless cotton shirt, a loin cloth or a dhoti, a wrap, and a turban. On festive occasions they wear a silk loin-cloth or dhoti, a finely embroidered coat and a silver chain across the chest.

The Khasi woman is probably the most modestly dressed woman in the world, with the exception of *pardaashins*. Her dress reminds one of a Carmelite nun's religious habit. Even the religious habit stands second to the Khasi woman's dress in point of modesty.

The woman of the interior rural areas still wears the original Khasi dress. She wears next to her skin a piece of cloth called *ka jynpnet*, wound round her body and fastened at the loins. Over this is worn a long piece of cloth, usually of silk, called *ka jainsem* which hangs loosely down to the ankles without being caught in at the waist and is kept in position by knotting it over both the shoulders. (In Shillong these days two pieces of cloth are used, one for each shoulder.) Over the *jainsem* is worn the gay-coloured woollen *ka jankup* which is thrown over the shoulders with its two ends knotted in front. It hangs down the back and the sides to the ankles. A woollen wrapper called *ka tapmohkkeh*, usually of some bright colour, is worn over the head and shoulders fastened around the neck. The skirt and the blouse or the frock and the chemise worn nowadays by the women in the towns are recent innovations induced by Western influences.

On ceremonial occasions the Khasi woman does not cover her head; she adorns her hair with jewellery or with flowers. She wears necklaces of coral and gold beads. The gold bead is a hollow globe filled with lac.

Both men and women carry a bag of cloth or leather with them for odds and ends. The commonest contents of the bag will invariably include a few pieces of the ever-needed betel-nut. The women of the town carry a leather bag slung across the shoulder.

The Khasi woman's dress has no parallel in India, except among the Syrians of Malabar. The Khasi dress strikes one as a wise adaptation of the Syro-Malabar woman's dress to suit the climatic conditions of a wind-

swept hilly region. The main difference seems to be that in place of the *tapmohkkeh* and the *jankup*, the Malabar woman wears a long shawl which serves the purpose of both in a warmer climate. The shawl is worn over the head and shoulders and is allowed to flow down over the chest crosswise and is now and then kept in position or held intact with the hand.

The Khasi language has no script of its own. It is written in Roman script which was introduced by the Welsh missionaries who gave the tongue a written character.

## THEIR ORIGIN

The origin of the Khasis is as misty as one of Shillong's wintry nights. They are probably Proto-Australoid, in spite of a few Mongoloid traits noticeable in their physical features. These traits may be later acquisitions due to their contact with the Mongoloids of the neighbouring areas.



Khasi children in dance dress

The Khasis speak a tongue which is related to the Mon-Khmer group belonging to the Austro Asiatic branch of the Austrie family of languages. The Munda speech of Chhota Nagpur is also related to the Mon-Khmer group. The Pnats or Jaintias (also called Syntengs) who inhabit the Jaintia Hills speak a tongue which is not very different from the Khasi language. The Pnat speech is very often taken to be a dialectal variation of Khasi. The Pnats are darker in complexion and follow the matrilineal system more rigorously than the Khasis. They probably constitute a link between the Mundas and the Khasis. They, like the Mundas, were more in touch with the Dinaric races of their neighbourhood while the Khasis felt the impact of the Mongoloid and the climatic condi-

tions of a higher plateau on their complexion, physical features and cultural outlook. It would appear that the Jaintias who still occupy the territory of their ancient residence are the parents of the present Khasis of the high hills and the War and Bhoi countries.



Khasi women

It is probable that the Mongoloids who effected a change in the physical features of the Khasis adopted the language and customs of the latter, especially because of the rigorous matrilineal social system of the Khasis. The Austic temper, in spite of a casual sprinkling of occasional abandon has in it great respect for convention. It is seen even now that the westerner or the man of the plains who marries a Khasi woman usually adopts the Khasi language and social usages including matriliney. Even if he does not, his children, born of the union invariably take to the customs of their mother's community. An exception is sometimes made in regard to metronymy.

The Austic language is spoken, according to Schmidt, over a large area of the globe extending from the Panjab in the west to Easter Island off the coast of South America in the east. Jean Przyluski thinks that the Austic linguistic zone extends further to the west of India. He sees in the Sumerian speech of Chaldea a language allied to the primitive Austic. The many parallels observed between the Khasis and the people of Malabar, especially the Chaldean Syro-Malabar community, are probably due to an ancient kinship in language and culture perhaps also in blood. The necklaces worn by the ancient Sumerian woman, as understood by Sir Leonard Wooley and others who conducted excavations at Ur in Mesopotamia, are exactly like the ones worn by the Syrian Christian girls in Malabar and

the Khasi girls in Assam. Sir Leonard refers also to the gay garments of bright red woollen stuff worn by the Sumerian women. The parallel in dress between the Sumerian, the Syro-Malabar and the Khasi, women may appear far-fetched; but it becomes important when so many other points of affinity are also considered, for instance, the art of pottery, which would appear to have been unknown to the Negritos who were in all probability the earlier inhabitants of India.

It would appear that the Hebrews in the early days traced relationship through the mother. We find Abraham marrying Sarah, a half-sister of his through his father's second wife, because Sarah belonged to a different clan. Though in a later period the Hebrews were definitely patrilineal, it is interesting to note that some of the patriarchs and their wives had matrilocal residence. Jacob, Moses and Samson were living with their fathers-in-law. From the Pentateuch of the Old Testament we gather that the naming of children was a right enjoyed by Hebrew mothers in the early period.

The Proto-Australoids are supposed to have been the original speakers of the Austic tongue. They were a very ancient offshoot of the Mediterranean race. It is therefore probable that the Proto-Australoids in their trek to India left some of their tribes on their way or that some kinsmen of those who migrated to India went to Mesopotamia and settled down there.

The stream of migration of the Austic-speaking Proto-Australoids seems to have started from the extreme western end of the entire tract, whether it is Chaldea or the Panjab, and to have worked eastwards and southwards. It is almost certain that it was from India that the Austic speech spread into the lands and islands of the east and the Pacific.

There might have been back-washes of immigration into India of the Austic-speaking Polynesians and Melanesians. It was probably the Polynesians who introduced the outrigger canoe and the coconut into India. It is intriguing to find that the Dravidian-speaking Malayali calls his land 'Kerala' (the land of coconut palms) and the southern part of his country 'Vanchinad' (the land of canoes).

#### THEIR CHARACTER

The Khasi, like his Austic-speaking brethren in other land, is given to cheerful hard work, sturdy gaiety and kindly simplicity. Even in the midst of strenuous, back-breaking labour, cheerfulness comes to him as naturally as flight to a bird. He is pre-eminently gregarious. He is fond of simple music. A bottle of *biah*, a snatch of song and a girl-friend beside him can make him happier than a similar assortment of worldly goods could have made Omar Khayyam.

Many a Khasi woman who works day and night in the kitchen and the fields is so cheerful and is heard so merrily singing that one is apt to take her for a live wrap of wool surrounded by a song.

The Khasis have an infinite capacity for fun at work as well as at play. One could with eyes misted with

loving curiosity notice them coming to Shillong from neighbouring villages on a Barabazaar day. Crowding an ancient bus to double its capacity, they sit in one another's lap and laugh and joke among themselves. Someone, very often a pretty honey-coloured girl in her teens, starts singing a snatch of song, in which all join, with laughter for its burden. They seem to have a cool sense of the real values of life. "If we could only be a little like that!" whispers a spectator to himself.

The Khasis are possibly the world's sweetest-tempered people. Though they are easily offended, even for imaginary reasons, one does not often find them lose their temper.

They are well-ordered in their spirit. They are stubbornly honest. They have an instinctive aversion to humbug. They do not seek high rewards through guilt-hypocrisy; nor do they court anything that is not within easy and honourable reach. A Khasi's principle of life is to live his life in such a way that he can look any man in the face and tell him to go to hell.

The Khasis have poise and polish. Every one of them is very polite without being servile; every one speaks to a visitor 'spicy little words with sweetness beneath.' Every one has a natural dignity without a shadow of arrogance. On the road the Khasi women carry all kinds of loads on their back—baskets of potatoes and dried fish, bundles of firewood, heaps of laundry, and babies in cloth-cradles. They move gracefully and with dignity among the crowds, oblivious of the women in silk *mekhallas* and gorgeous *saris*.

Hospitality is sacred to a Khasi and he offers what he has. At Cherrapunji a visitor may be overwhelmed by the golden oranges he is offered by the generous local people. It would seem that there is an unwritten Khasi law that no one may withhold help from anyone who is in need of it.

The Khasis are keen traders. Many of them, even old women with time on their hands and faces, earn their living by travelling from market to market with their heavy loads of goods.

Literate and diligent, with an easy susceptibility to new ideas that continue coming to the hills like electric pulsations, the Khasis have distinguished themselves in all walks of life. There have been Khasi cabinet ministers in all governments formed in Assam. One of them was a highly educated lady with University degrees in arts, law and education.

The Khasi's food is sparse in nutritive contents. It consists generally of rice and dried fish. How he manages to do hard work like carrying heavy loads must puzzle dieticians. Those who can afford, and they are not many, take pork, beef and any kind of game. The indigenous liquor called *kiat* made from rice or millet is the luxury and solace of the common man. Continual chewing of *pan* has become, for a Khasi, one of the necessities of life.

In some parts of Shillong, Khasis who know the gnawing of poverty huddle together thicker than sea-

birds on their rocks, in slums of medieval squalor. In Dawki and other areas bordering East Pakistan, Khasis live mainly on God's good air and green grass. Still they keep afloat the bubble and foam of happiness; they cherish an intense love of life and colour and sunlight. One watches them in a spirit of marvel unable to understand the spontaneous joy of the moment which is so natural to them and which all the motor cars, palatial houses and gadgets of big cities fail to call into existence.



A Khasi girl with sun-shade

#### THEIR CHILDREN

One of the most fascinating scenes in Shillong is the merry morning procession of children to school. With his chubby face, wild-rose cheeks and innocent eyes, Sobenshon proves that "heaven lies about us in our infancy." There is an angelic prospect about Serlymon with her white frock flowing down over her little tummy and her elfin light-blue head-dress framing a sweet, ruddy face, a few wavy locks showing on the forehead.

The Khasi child has endearing manners. Binola is always polite, gay and charming. She has a certain sense of *noblesse oblige*. She gets so much love from *knie* and *kpa* and her tender relatives that she feels she must be responsible to it. As her mother has to go out for work, she learns to adjust herself to circumstances. She does not make either a silent or a screaming demand

for a baby-sitter. She finds comfort in the company of her elder brothers and sisters or of the children of the neighbouring house. It is fair that she should develop this sense of responsibility and accommodation even when very young, for, consider for a moment how tiring and tedious a job *knie* does, as she goes on making, for hours on end, dancing movements with her whole body to lull to sleep the little Binola carried in a cloth-cradle on her back.

Liushnai in her infancy is fondled and kissed and hovered over not only by her parents but also by all their friends, relatives and visitors. She seems to be quite happy in her own warm loving household and does not seek frequent adventures outside



In memoriam U Tui Singh, Syiem of Nongkhilaw.  
One of his descendants is seen standing at the monument

Jren Manik is treated with so much loving kindness and constant anxious attention that occasionally for a change he is inclined to take the reins of household government. He starts a reign of terror for a brief while through his innate, infinite capacity for wild innocent wailing. The independent Khasi, for all his democratic traditions, submits himself for the moment to the minority rule of the child. But such occasions are very rare. The Khasi child is usually too good and too polite to be embarrassingly mischievous.

Khasi children are not problems. Biltrimai is seldom scolded and less often spanked. Still she grows up good and polite. Spare the child and toil the Lord was

spoken of the Khasi child. The Lord keeps her good and sweet and wise.

#### THEIR POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS

Khasi states remind one of Buddhist republics in ancient India. They were aristocratic republics. Though they had a mixed constitution with elements of monarchy, oligarchy and democracy, the prevailing note in many states was democratic, in some seemingly oligarchic and in none monarchic. Custom required that the Syiem or chief should be elected from the Syiem family. It was again customary to elect the brother in some states and the eldest son of the eldest uterine sister of the deceased chief in most states and the brother of the deceased chief in some other states. But he was to be elected by an electoral college. In some states, as in Langrin, all the adult male citizens formed the electoral body. In some others when the hereditary electoral college consisting of priests or headmen or both could not come to a unanimous decision, the entire body of the people exercised a right of referendum. Thus the ultimate power was vested in the people; the headmen and the priests who constituted the electoral college and those who sat on the durbar were representatives of the people. It is true they were not elected; but the avocations they followed in life gave them the status of a representative and when they, as heads of clans or priests, elected a chief or helped the chief decide a dispute, they were doing so as representatives of the people.

In the Khasi matrilineal society the rule of succession to syiemship was different from the rule of succession to real property. As in the royal families of Malabar, the customary right to succeed a Syiem went to the brother or the eldest son of the eldest uterine sister; but inheritance to real property was a right enjoyed by the youngest daughter of the family. In the absence of sons to the eldest sister, a Syiem was succeeded by the son of the next eldest sister. Thus by what has been called 'knight's move,' the right to succession rested with the son of the sister or niece of the deceased chief.

Though this was the customary rule of succession the electors could, when the situation demanded it, select a worthy chief from the Syiem's family or any other family, regardless of the claims of the brother or the son of the eldest sister. It is interesting to remember that in the Rig Vedic era, the *visah* (common people) who constituted the *rashtra* (national unit) exercised the same right of selection.

The Syiem in durbar conducted the affairs of the state. The *durbar* consisting of the *mantris* was an executive council. It had judicial powers too. The Syiem was not permitted to perform any act of importance without first obtaining the approval of the durbar.

The durbar, it would appear, corresponded to the *sabha* of the Vedic age. At the *sabha* consisted of the elect, that is, the *purohitis* and the rich patrons, the durbar was constituted of the *lyngdohs* (priests) and the heads of the clans.

As God and Caesar were considered cater-cousins in early societies, conduct of the government by a council of elders was not considered undemocratic in principle. "The *gana* leaders," says the Mahabharata, "should be respected, as the worldly affairs depend to a great extent upon them. The spy and the secrecy of council should be left to the chiefs, for it is not fit that the entire body of the *gana* should hear those secret matters." Lord Buddha who adopted a democratic constitution for his religious organisation, following probably the example of Lichchhavi and other republican states of the period spoke of the Vajjians that so long as they met together in concord and carried out their undertakings in concord, acted in accordance with their ancient institutions, and honoured and esteemed and revered and supported the Vajjian elders and held it a point of duty to hearken to their words, they might be expected not to decline but to prosper. Thus hearkening to the elders as a point of duty was insisted upon in the republics of ancient India. It seems, therefore, that the membership of the *darbar* enjoyed by priests and headmen did not derogate from the basic democratic principle of the Khasi states.

The timeless piece of advice from the sacred lips of the Enlightened One that so long as the Vajjians carried out their undertakings in accord, they might be expected to prosper, is invested with an unfading freshness and timeliness all its own.

The democratic Khasi was never familiar with the conception of nomination by a higher authority and that is why the present-day Khasi does not take very kindly to the idea of nomination of members to the District Council, whether they be Khasi or *dkhar* (Khasi term for one from the plains).

The Syiem's main sources of revenue were the *pymsok* (contribution) voluntarily paid by the clans, the tolls levied from the various markets and judicial fines which were divided between him and the *darbar*.

There were twenty-five Khasi states, Khyrim, Myllem, Cherri, Nongstoin and Nongkhlaw were the most prominent among them. Shillong is within the territory of Myllem; but the municipal area is administered by the Government of Assam and the Cantonment by the Union Government.

The *dolois* of the Mawlong syiemship and of the Jaintia Hills in their powers and duties corresponded to the *dalavas* of Travancore. In Travancore as also in the other royal families of Malabar, the rule of succession to kingship was almost the same as in the Khasi Hills.

The British came into contact with the Khasis in 1824. The Khasi chiefs gave permission to the British to construct a road through their territories connecting the Assam plains with Sylhet. But when they suspected that British roads and arms would not come all alone with no strings attached, they attacked the Europeans. This led to a series of engagements between the two powers. Warfare continued vigorously until in 1833 U. Tirat Singh, the Chief of Nongkhlaw, was treacherously

captured and imprisoned. The British entered into a number of treaties with the Khasi chiefs and the states were granted many of the rights and privileges common to native states in British India.

The Sixth Schedule of the Constitution of India provides for an autonomous District Council for the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills District. The District Council was inaugurated in June, 1952. The *syiems* with vague undefined powers continue to exist. They are now lorded over by three other democratic institutions -- the District Council, the Government of Assam and the Union Government. The average Khasi who does not interest himself in the technicalities of Constitutions and schedules feels that he has too much democracy at his expense and to his cost.

#### THEIR RELIGION

The Khasi uses the word 'miam' to denote religion. It is a loan-word from Assamese or Bengali, meaning rules of conduct. The idea implied in the use of the word in the sense of religion may be that the Khasi's customs and manners are regulated by religion or that his usages form the bed-rock of religion.

The Khasi, by temperament and choice, is a highly religious person. Before he does anything important, it is customary for him to ascertain the will of God through some form of divination, usually through egg-breaking. The Khasi Presbyterian Christians seem to observe Sabbath more strictly than the Welsh Missionaries who converted them and who are themselves strict observers of the day.

The Khasi religion is monotheistic. God, called U. Blei in Khasi, is the creator and preserver of life, lord and master, omnipresent, omniscient and the ultimate cause (U. Blei U. Nong-ci) to Whom all homage is due. God (U. Blei) as Creator and Master is thought of as a male, U. being the definite article for the masculine gender, and God (Ka. Blei) as preserver and controller is conceived of as a female, Ka being the definite article, denoting the feminine gender. It is noteworthy that at the marriage ceremony God is addressed U. Blei-Ka. Blei, probably suggesting the union of the couple which should be a reflexion of the unity of the godhead, though spoken of in duality. This division of powers and duties between godhead as conceived of as male and godhead as thought of as female may be due to the matrilineal system in which there is a division of powers between the uncle and the youngest niece. It can also be the other way about, that religion influenced the working out of details in the social set-up.

The Khasi neither makes nor worships any image of the divine, nor does he have any temple or place of worship.

To him material existence upon this earth is a life of temporary encasement (*Ka ruh shong bynda*); and the earth itself is a place of temporary abode (*Ka pyrthei shong besa*).

He believes in an immortal soul which leaves the body at death and goes to the house of God the Creator or to His garden where there are groves upon groves of betelnut palms. A departed soul is usually referred to as one who is eating betelnut in God's house. To eat betelnut ceaselessly is considered extremely pleasant for a Khasi and the eating of betelnut in God's house may be an expression in human terms of the idea of supreme happiness in heaven. It may also mean that U. Blei has taken the departed soul to Himself and is entertaining him with betelnut.

The Khasi believes in a myriad of spirits, all under the control of U. Blei. When man commits sin, God permits evil spirits to visit him with ailments or calamities in punishment for his transgression. Then through some divination it is ascertained which spirit is causing the trouble and how he has to be propitiated. If such attempts at propitiation fail, the Khasi believes that it is the will of God that he should suffer. He is aware of the seriousness of sin, a transgression against the law of God. Sin is a *sang*, that which is gaping, that which cannot be bridged, that which keeps man away from God.

The Khasi idea of the expiation of sin is strangely Christian in its character. Experts at 'egg-healing' repeat the formula, "I man have sinned." The cock who appears as a mediator between man and God is described as "the son of God (*Ka Blei*) who lay down his neck (life) for me man." In one prayer God is asked not to forget the covenant (agreement or promise): "O God, do not forget the covenant, arise oh man." The idea seems to be that man has offended God by committing sin but God is expected to spare him according to the agreement and accept in his place the cock who is styled "the son of God," horn of the female quiddity. All this is reminiscent of the promise in Eden and the expiation of the sins of the world by the son of God.

The spirits of those who die in sin (*sang*) are obliged to wander about the earth in various forms.

The Khasis do not worship the dead. The giving of food (*ai bam*) to the spirits of the departed ancestors is to win their favour and blessing. These spirits being in the house of God are in a position to intercede for the living before God and secure His help and protection for them.

The dead are cremated and the bones placed in the sepulchre of the clan. Huge stone monuments are erected in honour of the illustrious dead. These are cenotaphs and not tombstones, as the tomb in which the bones are deposited may be at some distance from the monoliths.

Some Khasis are believed to propitiate with human sacrifices a snake called *U Thlen* who rewards them with wealth and happiness on earth.

With the concept of monotheism and expiation for sins in their own religion, to many Khasis, Christianity have appeared strangely familiar. That is probably why a large number of them took to Christian-

ity as readily and delightfully as they take to sunshine in winter. It is possible that the mystery of the Holy Trinity in the Christian conception of God is easily acceptable to a people who have an imageless concept of *U Blei-Ka Blei*, the one deity in the aspect of two.

#### THEIR SOCIAL CUSTOMS

The Khasi community is composed of a number of exogamous clans. A clan comprises all the descendants of one common ancestress. A Khasi is forbidden to take a wife from his clan or sub-clan. A Khasi of the Diengdoh clan, for instance, should not marry a Khasi of the same clan or a Phnar of the Lalu clan. For the lineage of the Diengdohs and the Lalus is traced to the same common ancestress and they, therefore, belong to the same clan.

A Khasi cannot commit a more heinous sin than to marry within the clan. To do so will entail the most serious social and religious consequences. The couple will be excommunicated, funeral ceremonies will be refused at their death and their bones will not be placed in the sepulchre of their clans.

Like the people of Malabar with whom they have many things in common, the Khasis follow matriliney. In a Khasi family it is the youngest daughter who inherits the family property. The other daughters are given some share at their mother's death.

Men are more respected in the matrilineal Khasi society than they generally are in a patrilineal society. In communities where patriliney prevails, a man is regarded with respect in his own family only; in a matrilineal social system he is esteemed in two families, as brother and uncle in his mother's family and as husband and father in his wife's family. His youngest sister who holds the family property in consideration of her responsibilities for the performance of the religious rites of the family seeks his advice in all matters of importance.

The matrilineal system does not affect a woman economically if a marriage turns out to be a failure. Such a failure by itself is a calamity. Why should a social system add to it an economic disaster as is done in the patrilineal society? And why should the children be left unreared for and almost destitute? If matrilocal residence of the bride is customary as it is among the Jaintias and as it used to be among the Nayars of Malabar, matrilineal marriages are happier for the bride, as she has not to adapt herself to the ways of a generally unsympathetic mother-in-law. Among the Khasis matrilocal residence of the bride is insisted upon till a child is born to the couple; after that the husband and wife may have a home of their own. An exception is usually thought of for the youngest daughter, who, because of her special responsibilities, has to live in her mother's house.

Most things run smoothly in the Khasi society. Even divorce is no exception. One has not to devise schemes for colluding without collusion or accuse one's partner of cruelties he or she never even imagined. One

has only to tell the Syiem in durbar why the partners cannot get along together. And if the couple are determined on a divorce, the Syiem grants it. But divorces are not so common as in some of the western countries. The percentage of happy marriages in the matrilineal Khasi society seems to be much higher than in the patrilineal societies in India. And what adds a glittering halo to these marriages is the fact that they are held together until death do the partners part, not by the fear of the adverse economic or social consequences which may appear in the wake of a divorce, but by sheer genuine affection.

It is probably these circumstances that have tended

to make the average Khasi girl more open-minded and straightforward in her behaviour than her sisters elsewhere. She moves in society naturally and gracefully without any lurking fear that her conduct may be liable to criticism.

Because of the matrilineal system, children are not adversely affected if their father dies or when there is a separation or divorce between their parents. They are very well looked after and educated in their mother's home.

If pursuit of happiness is the motif for a social set-up, the Khasi system seems to be one of those best suited for the purpose.

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## GANDHI, THE CHAMPION OF DECENTRALISATION

BY BIJOYIAL CHATTERJEE

MAHATMA GANDHI had not yet become a world figure. He was leaving for Natal. His friend Mr. Polak had come to the station to see him off. He left with him a book to read during the journey. It was Ruskin's *Unto This Last*. Gandhiji writes in his autobiography :

"The book was impossible to lay aside, once I had begun it. It gripped me. Johannesburg to Durban was a twenty-four hours' journey. The train reached there in the evening. I could not get any sleep that night. I determined to change my life in accordance with the ideals of the book."

When Gandhiji reached Durban his life had already been transformed by the tremendous ideas of a master-mind of the modern world. A great thinker changes the whole system of our organised perceptions. When Ruskin wrote *Unto This Last* perhaps he knew that a day would come when the power of his mighty thoughts would open before the eyes of a young Indian barrister in South Africa a new version of the world, a new path to truth. It was intended by Destiny that a man who would usher in a most magnificent new era in the benighted life of an unhappy nation should be fully equipped with revolutionary ideas that would give him courage and determination to fight for political and economic democracy for over half a century.

Many years ago I read a book by Bernard Shaw in which I came across the following lines :

"I have met in my lifetime some extremely revolutionary characters; and quite a large number of them, when I have asked 'Who put you on to this revolutionary line? Was it Marx?' have answered 'No, it was Ruskin.' Generally the Ruskinite is the most thorough-going of the opponents of our existing state of society."

And again Shaw remarks :

"It goes without saying of course that he was a communist."

Shaw had no doubt that Ruskin was a communist.

Gandhi, a Ruskinite, was certainly a thorough-going opponent of our existing state of society. In his *Constructive Programme* Gandhi wrote that Working for Economic Equality was 'the master-key to non-violent Independence'. The valuable booklet contains the following thought-provoking lines :

"A non-violent system of government is clearly an impossibility so long as the wide gulf between the rich and the hungry millions persists. The contrast between the palaces of New Delhi and the miserable hovels of the poor labouring class cannot last one day in a free India in which the poor will enjoy the same power as the richest in the land."

Regarding the significance of 'Working for Economic Equality' Gandhi writes :

"It means the levelling down of the few rich in whose hands is concentrated the bulk of the nation's wealth on one hand, and a levelling up of the semi-starved naked millions on the other."

It was because Gandhi was a Ruskinite in the true sense of the word and was a firm believer in economic democracy that he advocated the principle of decentralisation of economic and political power. His distrust of the State in economic reform was based on the belief that even representative Governments are too easily dominated by the holders of economic power. He wished to see society organised so that it should be malleable to the general will. His advocacy of Charkha and village industries amply demonstrated his living faith in decentralisation of economic power. George Russel, popularly known as A.E. wrote in *The National Being* :

"It is by a predominating idea that nations achieve the practical unity of their citizens, and national progress becomes possible."

And when starving millions cry for food the only dominant idea that can influence their minds is the idea of democratic control of the economic life of the nation. I think it is G.K. Chesterton who wrote :

"If a ship is being wrecked, we organise a life-boat; if a house is on fire we organise a blanket; if half a nation is starving we must organise work and food."

Gandhi saw India was starving and he organised work and food. He placed before us Khadi. It meant decentralisation of the production and distribution of the necessities of life. Gandhi wrote :

"Khadi to me is the symbol of unity of Indian humanity, of its economic freedom and equality, and, therefore, ultimately, in the poetic expression of Jawaharlal Nehru, 'the livery of India's freedom'."

But Gandhi was a practical idealist. He recognised the value of heavy industries and knew that they would be necessarily centralised. Only such centralised heavy industries should never be controlled by private capitalists. They had to be nationalised. And Gandhi wrote :

"Heavy industries will necessarily be centralised and nationalised. But they will occupy the least part of the vast national activity in the villages."

Gandhi, the disciple of Ruskin, stood for economic freedom of the masses and he saw clearly that such economic freedom would remain an impossible dream unless the idea of democratic control of the economic life of the nation was a reality. Gandhi had little faith in centralisation of economic and political power. The production and distribution of the elementary necessities of life, such as food, clothing and shelter could not be left in the control of the Government. For in the struggles between rich and poor, between capital and labour there was every possibility that the holders of economic power might capture the political power and use that power to enhance their own interests. Gandhi, therefore, exhorted us to find all the necessities of life in India and that too through the labour and intellect of the villagers.

Aldous Huxley has rightly said :

"Our basic trouble is that, in spite of everything that has happened, everybody thinks that he is right."

We are seeing before our very eyes that 'in modern industrial societies vast numbers of men and women pass their whole lives in hideous cities, are wholly dependent for their livelihood upon a capitalistic or governmental boss.' They have no root in the soil and no property of their own. Further they perform manual or clerical work that is mechanical and monotonous in character. Huxley, one of the greatest of modern thinkers, thus writes in his *Science, Liberty and Peace* :

"My own view, which is essentially that of the Decentralists, is that, so long as the results of pure science are applied for the purpose of making our system of mass-producing and mass-distributing industry more expensively elaborate and more highly specialised, there can be nothing but ever greater centralisation of power in ever fewer hands. And the corollary of this centralisation of economic and political power is the progressive loss by the masses of their civil liberties, their personal independence and their opportunities for self-government."

"Man as a moral, social and political being," says Huxley, "is sacrificed to *homo faber*, or man the smith, the inventor and forger of new gadgets."

Such sacrifice is a crime against man and God. This craze for labour-saving device, this infatuation for progressive technologies is making one insensible to the dignity and worth of human life. Ruskin's immortal ideas opened before us a new horizon. His books did one great service to thinking men and women throughout the world. He made us see that the life in a person is something that has worth, dignity, delicacy and nobility. Gandhi, the Prince of the Decentralists, accepted the principle of decentralisation in both economic and political spheres of national life, from his limitless reverence for human personality. May God give us love and understanding to appreciate the greatness of Gandhi's personality and the historic mission for which he lived and died

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## "WHAT DO YOU EXPECT OF INFORMATION?"

It is on the subject-matter "What do you expect of Information?" that the two-yearly meeting of Evian (France) will be held, from 13th to 16th June next.

This reunion is placed under the high patronage of the President of the French Republic. Its honorary Committee is composed of thirty-four French and international professional organizations. It will follow up the International Days of the Press which gathered representatives of all the continents in 1951, 1952 and 1953. H. E. Sardar Hardit Singh Malik, Ambassador of India in France, was in 1951 one of the chief guests.

The opening speech will be made by Professor Andre SIEGFRIED of the French Academy. Many people of consequence in the Press, literary men, scientists and economists will take part in the discussions.

The two-yearly reunion of Evian is not only open to the professionals of Information. It is also meant for all persons interested in the problems of public opinion and news diffusion.

All particulars may be asked from now on from "Conseil permanent de la Kiennale d' Evian," 122, rue de la Boetie, Paris, (8°), France.

# POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY OF TAGORE

By NARAYANI BASU, M.A.

## REALITY AND LIFE

TAGORE is a philosopher whom it is not difficult to classify. In his ideas he is very near to the illustrious contemporaries, Tolstoy and Gandhi. Like them he is a humanist to the core but cast in the mould of a poet. He has a strong passion for art. He is more an artist than a dialectician and has expressed himself mainly through colourful poetry which naturally made a wider public appeal than pure philosophy. This medium makes him deeply human. For him life is not a prison to be escaped; it is to be lived and enjoyed in its largest relations and affinities.

"Deliverance is not for me in renunciation.  
I feel the embrace of freedom in a thousand  
loads of delight."

But these bonds do not tie him down to a static reality. The earth for him is an eternal flux of change where life is in tune with the rest of universe.

"The same stream of life that runs through  
my veins night and day runs through the  
world and dances in rhythmic measures.

It is the same life that shoots in joy through  
the dust of the earth in numberless blades  
of grass and breaks into tumultuous waves  
of leaves and flowers."

Tagore's metaphysics has a close affinity with that of Bergson. The flight of the ducks in the poem 'Balaka' symbolises a vibration of life pulsating all around which recalls the surge of the *clan vital*. Like Bergson again, Tagore sees that Spirit is struggling unceasingly to break the shell of matter and bursts out in a sweep of creative force. Thus in 'Nirharer Swapnabhanga' (Awakening of the Mountain Spring):

"I know not what stirs my life today;  
I hear the surge of the ocean from afar.  
Ah, I feel a dark prison around me,  
I must hit and hit and knock it down.  
What a melody the bird has sung today  
And what a piercing light is come!"

This dynamic spirituality is the essence of Tagore's humanism. Life is a ceaseless flow towards the Spirit which is implicit in the vast ocean of humanity.

## HUMAN EQUALITY

Like all other philosophers of modern India Tagore began his public life as a staunch nationalist and revivalist. He threw himself headlong in the

Swadeshi movement during the days of the partition of Bengal. He felt the necessity of political freedom in order to liberate humanity from suffering and hence he immortalized the revival of Maratha, Sikh and Rajput nationalism in his ballad poems (*Katha O Kahini*). But soon he discovered that his nationalism was not of the common variety. He found that the real problem of India was her social degradation wrought by poverty, ignorance and caste rules.

"Oh my cursed Motherland . . .

Those whom you have deprived of human  
rights,

Kept standing before you yet did not have  
your lap for them

In degradation you shall be equal made."

When India was fighting for political liberty Tagore saw that real emancipation will never come if she builds upon the quicksand of social slavery. Thus he writes in 'Ebar Phirao More' (Take me back from the Ivory Tower):

"The dumb millions who stand there downcast,  
the sorrow of centuries written on their face, who  
transmit the burden of their miseries to their sons,  
never blame anybody, neither man nor God, who  
know not where to seek redress . . . In those  
mouths dull, dark and dumb, I have to give voice;  
in those tired, dry and broken hearts I must raise  
the thrill of hope."

Indian nationalists showed a woeful indifference towards these basic needs. And so Tagore recoiled from politics and devoted himself to the work of education and social uplift of his people through the institutions of Santiniketan and Shantiniketan.

It is significant that Tagore realized much earlier than many fire-brand Indian nationalists the incipient class differences which have rent society into twain.

"All over the earth, since the beginning of history, we find that one class of men prosper at the expense of another class. They establish their class domination upon the slavery of the other class. For a long time man has been doing this. Still, I must say that this is not human. Man's greatness cannot endure on his dependence upon slaves. This is injurious not only to the slaves, this destroys the masters too. Those whom we insult and trample under foot are hardest obstacles to our steps forward."

Tagore makes the same observations in *Russian*

1. *Geetanjali*, Macmillan and Co., Ltd., London 1919, No. 73.

2. *Geetanjali*, No. 69.

3. *Geetanjali* (Bengali).

4. "Tagore on Gandhi, 1933." *Mahatma Gandhi* (Bengali), Visva-Bharati, p. 32.

*Chithi* (Letters from Russia). He welcomes the solidarity which the poor and the oppressed are forging among themselves. He was struck by the success of Russia in her campaigns against illiteracy, poverty, frustration and social servitude. He agrees that the cultivator and not the landlord is the real owner of land, that land to be productive must be brought under collective farming. But he is against uprooting the human instinct of property by force as the Soviet State is doing. He wants property to remain but would curb its enjoyments in the interests of society.<sup>5</sup> The only solution of the conflict between the claims of the individual and the society is co-operation, i.e., the co-operative system in every form of economic enterprise.<sup>6</sup>

In the USSR, Tagore found a light in darkness to solve India's age-old problem of social inequality.

#### NATIONALISM

Tagore is a lover of that kind of nationalism which helps a people to stand on their feet and to attain freedom from tyranny and exploitation. His nationalism is the antepode of the Hegelian variety preaching supremacy of the world historical nation and generating a feeling of hatred towards the weaker people. Society as such has no ulterior purpose except the development of human ideals in co-operation with one another. A nation, on the contrary, is nothing but the political and economic organization which is intended to keep politically inferior people in bondage.

"A nation in the sense of the economic and political union of a people is that aspect which a whole population assumes when organized for a mechanical purpose."<sup>7</sup>

It is "the organized self-interest of a whole people where it is least human and least spiritual."<sup>8</sup>

The consciousness of a national feeling develops only when the living bonds of society are breaking up and giving place to merely mechanical organization. The West is under the grip of this type of nationalism. It has forged a tremendous machine of greed and power. The natural thread of morality which holds society together is snapping and the moral man is giving way to professional man.

The nations of the West are trimming their minds, regulating their thoughts, manufacturing their feelings and welding themselves into one uniform mass through their governments. The no-nations like India and China have been victims of their greed. Western nations have become a terror to humanity and to themselves. This organization of politics and commerce whose other name is the Nation is like a father who has become a gambler. The gambler risks his family for chances of game. The nation risks the

community for chances of success. A nation's wisdom lies in distrust. It lives in perpetual fear of others. Fear brings out all that is base in man. Jealousy, theft, robbery and lies become virtues for a nation.

This accounts for the chronic maladies with which society is infected today. The only reason for anarchist movements is that "power has become too abstract—it is a scientific product made in the political laboratory of the nation through the dissolution of personal humanity."<sup>9</sup> As to the reason for the endless economic war between capital and labour:

"What but that the wealth-producing mechanism is incessantly growing into vital stature, out of proportion to all other needs of society,—and the full reality of man is more and more crushed under its weight?"<sup>10</sup>

The West has developed its weapon but has lost its soul. The real power is not in the weapons but in the man who wields them, in the soul. The West has borrowed from science its motto of 'survival of the fittest' which means 'help yourself and never heed what it costs to others.' It ignores to its own cost the fact that men are closely knit together and that when you strike others the blow recoils on yourself.

The history of Europe is not merely a history of conflict for power and preparation for scientific development. During the mediaeval period, the natural man tried to reconcile the struggle between the flesh and the Spirit. Both the material and the spiritual forces acted strongly upon her nature. Europe owes all her greatness to that period of moral discipline. Then came the age of intellect. Intellect is an unpersonal abstraction. At this stage man attains power and freedom in the material world. He attains the rapidity of pace but in spite of all these advantages the moral man lags behind because intellect does not deal with the whole reality but only with the laws of things which are unpersonal. "Thus man with his mental and material power far outgrowing his moral strength is like an exaggerated giraffe whose head has suddenly shot up miles away from the rest of him, making normal communications difficult to establish."<sup>10A</sup>

Nationalism is sweeping like an epidemic over the West. Unlike India Western countries have no problem of social adjustment. Their only problem is to overcome obstacles in their physical surroundings or the menace of their powerful neighbours. Hence, they have organized power for defence and aggression. Thus in the West the nations have become powerful at the cost of higher social life. National feeling has converted a living people into an automaton led by the power of greed.

5. *Russian Chithi* (Bengali), Visva-Bharati, p. 48.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 177.

7. *Nationalism*, Macmillan and Co., London 1924, p. 9.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 15.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 11.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 11.

10A *Ibid.*, p. 35.

Some would say that the exploited people should form themselves into nations and resist encroachment. But that is no remedy. "An endless bullfight of politics" is no remedy against exploitation. Tagore is sure that this reckless craze of the machine is bound to break into a crash.

"Whenever power removes all checks from its path to make its career easy, it triumphantly rides into its ultimate crash of death. Its moral brake becomes slacker everyday without knowing it, and its slippery path of ease becomes its path of doom."<sup>11</sup>

Tagore is confident that people who are politically weak, who are not nations, shall live. Man will be reborn in the freedom of his individuality.

"I assert that man's world is a moral world not because we blindly agree to believe it but because it is so in truth which would be dangerous for us to ignore. And this moral nature of man cannot be divided into convenient compartments for its preservation."<sup>12</sup>

#### BONDAGE AND FREEDOM

Nationalism militates with the spirit of the West. Europe too has spiritual strength which is the fountainhead of her creative art and literature, her great quest for knowledge, her deep love for freedom. The nation is mechanical, but the Spirit is creative, it lives in freedom.

"While the Spirit of the West marches under its banner of freedom, the Nation of the West forges its iron chains of organization which are the most relentless and unbreakable that have ever been manufactured in the whole history of man."<sup>13</sup>

It obstructs the free flow of the inner life of the people and exploits it for its own power.

"In the so-called free countries the majority of the people are not free, they are driven by the minority to a goal which is not even known to them. This becomes possible only because people do not acknowledge moral and spiritual freedom as their object."<sup>14</sup>

This centralization of power is multiplying fast and the cry of the oppressed spirit of man is in the air which struggles to free itself from its grip.

Political freedom does not give any freedom unless the mind is free.

"Those of us in India who have come under the delusion that mere political freedom will make us free have accepted their lessons from the West as the gospel truth and lost faith in humanity."<sup>15</sup>

Today Europe has lost her soul in the mad pursuit of wealth and power. She is a prisoner of her own vanity:

"Prisoner, tell me who was it, that wrought this unbreakable chain?"

"It was I," said the prisoner, "who forged this chain very carefully. I thought my invincible power would hold the world captive leaving me in a freedom undisturbed. Thus night and day I worked at the chain with huge fires and cruel hard strokes. When at last the work was done and the links were complete and unbreakable, I found that it held me in its grip."<sup>16</sup>

Hence, with all his praise for Russia, Tagore did not approve of her regulation of the mind. He did not approve of the suppression of opinion. He observed:

"With the education system they have made a mould. But manhood cast in a mould can never last. If the truth of a living mind is not adjusted with the truth of education then either the mould will break one day or the human mind will be stultified or it will be converted into a marionette."<sup>17</sup>

Dictatorship spoils both the ruler and the ruled. Freedom is possible only through a true synthesis of the individual and the society.

The freedom which Tagore seeks for his country and for his people, is the freedom of the mind and of the soul.

"Where the mind is without fear and the head is held high

Where knowledge is free;

Where the world has not been broken up into fragments by narrow domestic walls;

Where words come out from the depth of truth;

Where tireless striving stretches its arm towards perfection;

Where the clear stream of reason has not lost its way into the dreary desert sand of dead habit;

Where the mind is led forward by thee into ever-widening thought and action

Into that heaven of freedom, my father, let my country awake."<sup>18</sup>

#### FUTURE: JAPAN AND U.S.A.

Europe is undoubtedly great. But she has stopped half-way in her journey because of her pride of power and greed of possession. Her nationalism is poisoning the fountainhead of humanity. It has infected the East. Eastern Asia which was pursuing its own path, evolving its own civilization based upon the deeper relations of humanity is overtaken by Western nationalism. In this crisis Tagore puts faith on two quarters, on Japan in the East and on USA in the West.

Japan is not a mere replica of the West. She does not indulge in crude display of power and

11. *Ibid.*, p. 22.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 231.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 241.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 121.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 123.

16. *Geetanjali*, No. 31.

17. *Russian Chithi*, p. 6.

18. *Geetanjali*, No. 35.

wealth. Everywhere in Japan there are emblems of love and beauty. She has shown her genius not by acquirement but by creation, not by dominating nature from outside but by realising it in her own life. Hence, he has a mission to fulfil.

"She must infuse the sap of a fuller humanity into the heart of modern civilization."<sup>19</sup>

But Tagore has his fears about Japan. He is afraid that from the rude pressure of political ideals of the West she may lose her own. He warns Japan that her acquiring of modern weapons should not go beyond the need of self-preservation.

"My brother, when the red light of conflagration sends up its crackle of laughter to the stars, keep your faith upon those stars and not upon the fire of destruction."<sup>20</sup>

Japan did not heed and fell grovelling in the dust.

America is a projection of the Western civilization. But while Europe has grown old America is still young and is making experiments. As yet she has come to no conclusion. But in future she will contribute something to the ideal of human unity.

"America is destined to justify Western civilization to the East. Europe has lost faith in humanity and has become distrustful and sickly. America, on the other hand, is not pessimistic or blasé."<sup>21</sup>

After thirty-six years of his writing Tagore's words are still a cry in the wilderness. In his expectation that America is the land of future progress Tagore comes close to Hegel. Of course, the outlook of Tagore differs basically from that of the Western philosopher. Hegel thought that in the ages that he ahead the burden of world's history will reveal itself in America. With her vast economic resources, mechanical power and atomic weapons, she really seems to be playing the role of Hegel's world historical nation. But the fulfilment of Hegel's prophecy is the burial of Tagore's hopes. Is it through the travail of another World War and laborious international reconstruction after that, that humanity will step forward towards the goal of spiritual unity as visualised by Tagore?

#### DOCTRINE OF SPIRIT

Oriental institutions are built upon a deeper reality than political. That is why they have a longer longevity. While the political civilizations of ancient Greece and Rome lie dead and buried, the civilization whose basis is society and the spiritual

ideal is still alive in China and India. There is the complaint that the East is static, it does not move; but the West is dynamic, it moves fast. It must be remembered that speed and movement are not the criteria of progress.

"If the office cannot wait, or the buying and selling, or the craving for excitement, love waits and beauty and the wisdom of suffering and the fruits of patient devotion and reverent meekness of simple faith. And thus shall wait the East till her time comes."<sup>22</sup>

The East has viewed politics and business in the larger framework of life. The West and the modern man cultivate the falsehood that business is business and politics is politics. "We must know that man's business has to be more than mere business and so should be his war and politics."<sup>23</sup> If man is to be saved from the madness of national selfishness, pride and greed which is fast leading to a suicidal conflagration "man will have to exert all his power of love and clarity of vision to make another great moral adjustment which will comprehend the whole world of men and not merely the fractional groups of nationality."<sup>24</sup>

"Some of you may say that such a doctrine of spirit has been in its death throes for ever a century and is now moribund; that we have nothing to rely upon but external forces and material foundations. But I say, on my part, that your doctrine was obsolete long ago. It was exploded in the spring-time of life, when mere size was swept off the face of the world and was replaced by man, brought naked into the heart of creation, man with his helpless body, but with his indomitable mind and spirit."<sup>25</sup>

Life based on mere science has its glamour which attracts the people as insects are drawn to fire. The effect of such life is fatal to man's nature. It not only deadens his moral sympathy but also his intellectual sympathy which is necessary for the understanding of different races. At the time of her making, Europe had never to face the recurrent incursion of new races. Hence, it easily constituted itself into national states. Europe is one country made into many. India, on the contrary, was naturally many, yet adventitiously one. She had to absorb new races coming again and again on her soil in a vast social organism. Accordingly, she suffered from the looseness of diversity and feebleness of unity.

"The tie has been as loose as possible, yet as close as the circumstances permitted. This has produced something like a United States of a

19. *Nationalism*, p. 68.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 92.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 103. Cf. Goethe who wrote in a poem in 1837: 'America! Thou art more fortunate than our old continent, thou hast no ruined castles and no ancient stones. No useless memories, no vain fends of the past disturb thee from living in the present. The happy use of the present. And should thy children start in poetry, may a kind Providence preserve them from stories of the romantic past.'

22. *Nationalism*, p. 64f.

23. *Ibid.*, p. 85.

24. *Ibid.*, p. 102.

25. *Religion of an Artist*—"Contemporary Indian Philosophy," Radhakrishnan and Muirhead, p. 28f.

social federation, whose common name is Hinduism.<sup>26</sup>

But Europe's solution of race problem was different. She colonised America and Australia after exterminating the original settlers. Thereafter, she has shut the doors there against foreigners, or has accepted them as menials.

Thus India has shown her enormous capacity of Spirit to adjust different races within one body. Through the caste system she evolved a social unity within which all the different peoples could be held together. As her problem was the problem of the world in miniature she has offered a model to the world with her solution as to how a synthesis of races and nationalities may be achieved.<sup>27</sup>

But while recognizing difference and seeking unity in diversity, "She has made grave errors in setting up the boundary walls too rigidly between races in perpetuating in her classifications the result of inferiority, often she has crippled her children's mind and narrowed their lives in order to fit them into her social forms."<sup>28</sup>

She has ignored the law of mutation which is the

law of life. India is to make amends for this mistake and regain her spiritual vitality.

So Tagore, with all his praise for Russia and his hopes on Japan and USA, looks back again to India of hoary antiquity, loaded with heaps of dust and dirt accumulated through centuries, who has to purge herself of these accretions by means of a spiritual revolution. He warns his countrymen again and again not to imitate the West, not to seek to pay evil with evil, not to forget her own and follow other peoples' history.

"When we show nails and teeth we thereby only salute those who fight with tooth and nail. Scorn them, do not imitate."<sup>29</sup>

"We must show those who are over us that we have in ourselves the strength of moral power, the power to suffer for truth."<sup>30</sup>

So Tagore's testament to the country is as follows:

'Be not ashamed, my brothers to stand before  
the proud and the powerful,  
With your white robe of simpleness  
Let your crown be humility, your freedom the  
freedom of the soul."<sup>31</sup>

26. *Nationalism*, p. 115.

27. 'Bhasatuttha in *Goutangali* (Bengali).

28. *Nationalism*, p. 5

29. *Russian Chithi*, p. 135.

30. *Nationalism*, p. 113.

31. "The Sunset of the Century" in *Nationalism*.

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## UNIVERSITY EDUCATION IN INDIA

By DR. AMARESH DATTA, M.A., Ph.D.,  
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UNIVERSITY education has been a craze in our country for a long time now and it still persists. What was once a matter of prestige and economic advantage, has now become a mere habitual pursuit, followed by students and encouraged by guardians without any definite aim and purpose. Thus is why every year a large number of boys are being sent to the universities because their guardians cannot find any other occupation for them, and what is worse, no smaller number of girls is receiving the same education either because they could not be otherwise engaged or because their guardians believe they acquire better prospects of earning or matrimony by being educated in this fashion. So long as we could financially afford this luxury or so long as it helped us in getting even tolerable jobs, the policy of higher education on a large scale without any reference to the capabilities or aptitude of the students could somehow be accepted on grounds of expediency. But times have now changed and not only a new orientation in the method of education but a definite attitude apropos of our present conditions should be forthwith adopted if we want education to be individually and nationally useful. University degrees these days do not help our young-

men so much in their search for a living, and even prestige, whatever it was worth, is now being usurped by the aristocracy of wealth or political power. And yet we complain of the over-crowding in the universities, inconvenience of many shifts, unwieldy structure of the system and the rest of it. Why does this craze still so blatantly manifest itself in spite of practically no prospects at all? Is it one for a pure love of knowledge? An affirmative answer to the question would be very flattering indeed, but a very real travesty of truth. The reason for this, I think, may be found at least partially in a social complex which we have been cultivating since the very beginning of university education in India.

Educated men in our country are mere degree-holders and our universities have been the constant suppliers of these degrees since their inception. Indeed this has been their most significant function which has also been very efficiently performed. Therefore men without these credentials to sophisticated society are looked down upon not only by the so-called educated, but also by the masses of the people. That knowledge may be acquired without working for degrees or follow-

ing the university syllabuses, is an idea which appeals, if it does at all, to very few in this country. So a Bachelor of Arts or for that matter of Science on the expiry of four years of adventuring in the college or university, begins to consider himself infinitely superior to a man who has undergone say, ten years of arduous training in music or painting under a renowned master. And since these degree-holding bourgeoisie form the intelligentsia of the society and influence, guide and mould the minds of men in general, such fantastic notions continue to prevail. The effects, of course, are obvious: that we are almost Quixotically proud and exhibitive about our degrees and we have accepted the theory that the only criterion of judgment regarding a man's worth is his academic qualifications. Universities have the right to confer their degrees, but if they send out men to society with a new caste-consciousness, it will be harmful both to the cause of higher education and democracy about which we speak so ecstatically these days in and from all possible places. Yet alas, this is what has actually happened. A university-educated man, generally speaking, is not only boastful and superiority-conscious but also loathes manual labour, suffers constantly from a false sense of prestige, disregards all that is old and past but does not possess any vision of the future, is suspicious of new ideas, worried about an uncertain future but still remains a child of passing fashions—in other words, he is one who has come out of an institution where he did not go impelled by an intrinsic urge or where life to him was either a long holidaying or a term of dreary detention.

Needless to say, this attitude of the average student towards university education has been created by the peculiar need and purpose of higher education in this country and fostered by his circumstances. If he is brilliant in examination, he considers the poetry of Wordsworth or the law of thermodynamics useful and important only for passing the civil service examination; if he is a rich man's offspring, he goes through the course, aided sufficiently by help-books and private tutors for a degree just because he wants to attain a status in his circle of friends and brethren and if he is of the middle class and indifferent in studies, he feels he is wasting his time over Plato's philosophy or Shakespeare's plays because these will not assist him in his work in the Government secretariats or private firms. There may be many such similar motives but the one that should actuate all higher education the one of pursuit of knowledge for its own sake and for the development of mind and character, is conspicuous by its absence. If our grandmothers thought that higher education was not necessary for a man if he had sufficient means of living to see him through life, we think it is necessary either for securing respectable jobs or for realizing our dream of respectability in society. If the academic attainments of a man bring him rewards in terms of a decent appointment—that is what it should be, but be it remembered that 'education is neither the

process of fitting the students for professions nor the one of unfitting them for the same.' In other words, education has, really speaking, little to do with a man's profession, for only a few hours are given to the means of living, but education is meant for all the hours of his life.

This is the background of higher education in our country; and since it is so vulgarly commercialized, there is, for obvious reasons, no academic or intellectual atmosphere in the university. Faculties are water-tight compartments, and students in their compulsory straying into the university are thrown into these different folds, each keeping as far away as possible from the others except on occasions of general strikes and each growing dogmatic about his subject of study as well. Thus a student and even a teacher of Arts usually felt either inferior or too confident about the scope of his subject of study while their counterparts in Science take pride in their ignorance of subjects which, they think, breed dreamers of idle days. This is why our educated men are not necessarily cultured men and are at best only half-developed. This is why, again, we do not feel the influence of the university at home, in the drawing room or in the parliament. Education is only creating and fostering rigid types and one feels bored with the other.

Then there is the strange notion about scholarship. Whereas in other countries scholarship is judged by the merit of a work, here it is judged by degrees which may be acquired by various methods. Whereas again, in other countries after the minimum requirement is obtained, degrees are conferred as marks of distinction for efficient and original work, we cannot even begin our career without somehow obtaining them. So our scholarship lies buried in the pages of unpublished theses which are usually mere collections of data or other men's views. And therefore we find it difficult to work on a subject without the lure of a degree at the end. But a professor of Cambridge or Oxford will find it difficult even to conceive of such a mentality.

If this is what university education has been or what it has meant to us, we should review the whole situation in the light of our present needs and circumstances, because much will depend upon the universities in the regeneration of our country. To my mind the remedy of all these maladies seems to lie in the proper understanding of the function of higher education and in the rearrangement of the educational structure so as make it possible for higher education to achieve its purpose.

I think it will be admitted that university education should not be universalized, because it is not really meant for all. This is, of course, no reflection on any other type of education—it is merely a statement of fact. So some restriction on the basis of merit or aptitude or potentiality will have to be imposed for entrance into the higher courses of study. But this will be possible only when new avenues and opportunities are made available to our young men, and what is more important, when there is a change in the policy of employment,

governmental and private. At present and for quite some time past employers have been able to insist, owing to a superfluity of graduates, on university degree for posts ranging from those of clerks to those of higher officials for none of which universities provide any special training. Consequently young men are forced to take degrees or adopt all possible means for acquiring them. Academic standards, therefore, go down, education loses its purpose and significance, and universities turn into factories where clerks are produced or training centres for civil servants, which was perhaps originally the function of the universities established by a foreign power for their administrative convenience. Psychologically also this has a very harmful effect: Four years of aimless flirting with books, loss of money (for education is indeed very expensive) and energy, fear of examination, and high expectation from life and at the end either unemployment or a negligible job breed a type of cynicism in the young men which is dangerous both for themselves and for the nation as a whole. It has also been noticed that the kind of education that these students receive makes them unrealistic in their approach to life and so when the cosy complacency of the class room is over and they get involved in the struggle for existence, they begin to falter for a power which they have not learnt to find either in themselves or in the world outside. It is indeed gratifying that our Government have become conscious of these anomalies and thinking on the lines suggested above, are trying to introduce the much needed reforms.

The commercialization of education, therefore, may be stopped if the policy of employment is modified and the employers look for special training in a work for professional purposes and not for university degrees. General knowledge in all important subjects and fairly good educational and cultural background may be obtained from the higher secondary stage of education, if it is made self-sufficient and a proper standard is maintained and established, as it is done in other countries. Here also this has been the considered opinion of the commission set up for framing a new policy of higher secondary education. However, if this practice is a little scrupulously observed by the employers, then a student, for instance (it is an actual case) may not be forced to take a degree in Science for entering into subordinate police service, just because he finds Science graduates getting more favour from the selection board than degree-holders in Arts. Needless to say, for all important and responsible professions that demand wide interests, a basic sense of values and discipline of mind and intellect, higher secondary education should be enough, provided of course the standard is raised higher than what it is today. And then for vocational training separate institutions will have to be established. It needs no saying that the responsibility of making this policy effective will ultimately depend more on public establishments than on the Government.

This will certainly give a new direction to higher education in our country. We will have more serious students and more enthusiastic teachers with whose co-operation our universities—the lighthouses of culture—will quietly but steadily show ways of progress which we have yet to make.

It is often argued that the situation was not very much different in the past and yet the academic standards were definitely higher. How could one account for the rapid deterioration of standards in our days? Will a change in the policy of employment or in the system of education solve our problem of falling standards? I think even in the past our standards left much to be desired. A few cases of exceptionally brilliant scholars or a greater earnestness on the part of the students do not speak much about the attainment of higher education in any stage. Pioneer work even on our literature, history, philosophy, etc., has been mostly done by Western indologists. Indian scholar-ship is still uncertain and our greatest achievements in the modern age have been in fields other than academic. Then, conditions, not only political but social, economic and cultural as well, are basically different in spite of their apparent similarity and it will be unwise to expect similar results from different circumstances.

We should realize that we have now to frame our own policy of education for a free country and keep constantly in mind our peculiar needs and requirements. It is time we gave higher education a chance to come by its own and helped to create conditions in these centres of learning for a disinterested pursuit of knowledge.

Nowadays a new danger in the shape of a popular demand for new universities is raising its head in different parts of the country. It is fashionable to cry for a new university for one's own province or even district town. For this purpose we sometimes indulge in statistical calculation to find out how many universities are there in the United Kingdom or the United States on the basis of their population and cry for more universities just because by foreign standards our ratio is not adequate. But we forget that this comparison stretched further will go against us and that the establishment of new universities will almost inevitably mean a repetition and perhaps a perpetuation of the same folly. The expenses of a full-fledged university may maintain about a hundred schools of different kinds and there is no denying the fact that at the present moment they will be more useful than new universities of the existing type. The ones that we have will easily serve our need if they prefer to become true centres of higher knowledge.

Whatever be the system or medium of instruction, so long as the purpose is not defined and the ideal is vague, nothing substantial is going to be gained. But when we know what we want and need, our ingenuity will not fail to devise methods or systems to achieve it.

# MAHARSHI DEBENDRANATH TAGORE

By SUDHANSUMOHAN BANERJI

RABINDRANATH TAGORE once said :

"I love India not because I cultivate the idolatry of geography, nor because I have had the chance to be born in her soil, but because she has saved through tumultuous ages the living words that have issued from the illuminated consciousness of her great sons—Satyam, Jnanam, Anantam, Brahma—He is Truth. He is Wisdom, He is Infinite. Santam, Sivam. Advaitam. Peace is in Him, Goodness is in Him, He is the Unity of all beings. Thus we have come to know that what India truly seeks is not a peace which is in negation or in some mechanical adjustment but that which is in goodness, in the truth of perfect union. She does not enjoin her children to cease from Karma but to perform it in a spirit of detachment with the pure knowledge of the spiritual meaning of existence. This is the true prayer of Mother India and

He is who is one, who is above all colour distinctions, who dispenses the inherent needs of men, who comprehends all things from their beginning to the end, let him unite us to one another with wisdom which is the wisdom of goodness."

This is the message we are in need of today in an age of inward as well as outward crisis, in every department of our life, mental, moral, social, political, religious and economic. In these days of storm and stress, chaos and confusion we stand to gain, by a revaluation of values which we can only achieve with reverence, questioning and service, the messages and the great lives of the Masters before us. These great teachers are beacon lights to a storm-tossed world and let us in all humility take refuge in them. In these days of scientific and rationalist outlook on life we need not perhaps be dogmatic or pragmatic but the eternal values, the fundamentals are the same and do not change. It is the words that count, the way of life that counts, not the particular 'ism or creed.' It is reverence that counts. What have we done to keep the torch burning, we who are the common inheritors of a fulfilled renown Year in and year out we may have met on occasions like this and waxed eloquent over his greatness and his towering personality, but have we searched our hearts for a skeleton in the cupboard or paused to stay for an answer unlike a Jesting Pilate?

In the inevitable collapse of creeds we need not perhaps be keen about sounding a new scheme of the Universe, a new dogma of philosophy or policy but about reaching a new sense of duty, an inward change of the heart, a system of self-culture which will not demand an evasion or ambiguity which will reconcile the ideal with the real, satisfy our whole being, our critical intelligence as well as our active aspiration which will impart a gentle quality of equilibrium in our mental and spiritual make-up and poise. Mankind today in one of its rare moods is shifting its outlook. The mere compulsion of tradition has lost its force. It is our

business not only to recreate and re-enact a vision of the world including those elements of reverence and order without which society lapses into riot but to pursue it with unflinching rationality.

Before we take stock of what Maharshi Debendranath stood for and his contribution to it, it has to be realised that he belonged to an epoch in Bengal when old ideas and ideals were having its first shock from the impact of Western civilization and it was Rammohun's and then Debendranath's and their followers' greatness that while accepting the change they irradiated it with a genuine Indian touch and rediscovered its greatness. Though new wine was being poured into old bottle the stirring within was transmuted mainly through a progressive outlook towards a creative idealism not divorced from the basic trend of old achievements yet accepting the new. That was the great contribution which the nineteenth century Bengal made under the inspiring guidance of its stalwarts. Though as a movement it reached the intellectual classes only the fundamentals it preached, the aspiration it brought about, the inspiration it gave, the unity in outlook it forged among the progressives, the bulwark it framed against a complete sweeping and swamping by a vigorous and dynamic West, gave breathing time to India to rethink and to reshape herself.

Maharshi Debendranath stands as one of the beacon lights of this torch race of Indian renaissance. His father Prince Dwarkanath was a name to conjure with in his days. He was a real aristocrat in taste, in intellect, in equipment and when he died young abroad leaving a huge debt, it was young Debendranath who took upon himself voluntarily all his father's debts more than sixty lakhs of rupees and scrupulously repaid every pie of it though not legally required to do so. He stinted himself, the big joint family lived like commoners, simple, austere and resolute. It was in these days when he was mentally unhappy he came across that famous text of Upanishad in a torn leaf :

"God pervades everything. It is by renunciation that you can enjoy. Don't be greedy. Don't hanker after others' wealth."

That was the great Mantra which he got and which he realised in his life.

In more than one sense his great son Rabindranath was not merely a chip of the old block but was a real fulfilment of the Maharshi in a more spiritual and aesthetic way. Maharshi got this olympic torch from Rammohun and he handed it over to his great son in an inspirational way. We read in Abanindranath's "Story of Two Searchers" :

"It was a blazing hot summer noon. Maharshideva was proceeding along Birbhum uplands in a palanquin. The bearers had got tired. They placed the palanquin at a particular spot. Maharshideva

found before his eyes a vast rugged expanse of a prairie-like meadow. We do not know what he saw under that spreading Chatim tree. Did he see the one who stands alone like a giant tree? From his innermost depth came the words which are inscribed on the multi-coloured glass temple which he erected there: 'He is the comfort of my life, the solace of my mind, the peace of my soul.'

The second searcher also strove through verse and rhyme, through song and deed to find the same synthesis—where the world becomes one nest, and the abode of peace Santiniketan flowered into Visvabharati with arms:

"To study the Mind of Man in its realisation of different aspects of Truth from diverse points of view, to seek to realise in a common fellowship of study the meeting of the East and the West . . . free from all antagonism of race, nationality, creed or caste and in the name of the one Supreme Being who is Santam, Sivam, Advaitam, the All Peace, the All Good and the One."

Abanindranath the master artist gives us in his inimitable style pen-pictures of Maharshideva as he saw him from day to day. This intensely human document, interesting as it is, shows Maharshi the man. I quote Abanindranath's without embellishment (Translation published in the *Hindusthan Standard Annual*, 1950):

"I remember my great uncle sitting on a cane chair, his body taut and straight, a cane foot stool beside him, which he sometimes used and on a three-legged table a volume of Hatz and a *Brahmodharma*, a few sweet-scented white flowers on a saucer and a fresh white handkerchief. Whenever he drank a sip he would wipe his mouth with his handkerchief and drop it on the floor whence his servants would pick it up and put a fresh one in its place on the table."

In these few words we get the complete picture of the great man all at once and we can visualise him without a conscious effort.

We are reminded of Rabindranath's own description of his father when as a boy he accompanied him to Dalhousie:

"Stars in the dark dim-lit sky, faint flicker of a misty dawn silhouetted in the background, Maharshi in deep meditation facing the east seemed to be one with that serene atmosphere of calm and peace."

Again we learn from Abanindranath:

"Iswar Babu told me how once Maharshi became Kalpataru. The whole household gathered round him and he said to them, 'Take away from my possessions whatever you wish.' In no time the room was empty even the furniture. The Kalpataru sat alone deep in meditation in the empty room."

His last days were aptly described by him. It was a fitting epilogue to a great life. Maharshi's habit was to look at the morning sun and pray. Even on the day when life was ebbing away, his mental serenity and strength overcame his physical ailment, he walked to the terrace, sat erect, watched the sun and prayed softly. He came back, lay calm and quiet. I quote:

"He inclined his head as if he wanted something to be recited to him and Rabi-ka took *Brahmodharma* and read quietly and softly,

From Untruth unto the Truth  
From Darkness to Light  
From Death unto Life.

"He lay quiet, took in every word intently, his face lit up. Then suddenly he asked for more air and said, 'I am going home . . . I am going home . . . ' as if he was a small child whom the great Mother was beckoning and as the clock struck twelve he breathed his last and slipped into an ocean of peace, as fresh and serene as ever in his eternal sleep."

Though Maharshi did not actually discard ritualism as such and rather simplified and purified it, he believed that spiritual salvation lay more in those silent hours of self-communion which help us to control our character and build up our personality. By it we cleanse our thoughts, purify our emotions and let the seed of spirit grow in quietness, action in non-action. That is still the appointed way to close the gap of opposition between our conscious duty and our inclinations buried deep in the unconscious what the psychologists call conflict and complexes. Heaven is lost or found in the inner self. We brood and build. We energise and we create. *Tapo Brahma*. He believed that a dip into the Silence everyday was a great spiritual experience. As Sri Aurobindo says:

"Into the silence, into the silence  
Arise O Spirit Immortal  
Out from the Silence, out from the Silence  
Carrying with thee the ineffable substance  
Joy unimaginable, ecstasy illimitable  
Knowledge omnipotent, might omniscient  
Light without darkness, Truth that is dateless."

There are other aspects of this great life—the doyen of that great family which dominated the intellectual life of Bengal for more than a century. Ponce Dwarakanath, Maharshi Debendranath, Bardada Dwijendranath, Visvakavi Rabindranath, and his equally gifted nephews Gaganendranath and Abanindranath—you could get the history of a nation in making in that Dwarakanath Tagore Street, the pulsation of a resurgent national life which had its being there in art, literature, religious reform, social activities, intense nationalism, music and a realisation of a dynamic urge in a static society. The patriarch Maharshi Debendranath was the living embodiment of that urge but who had realised in his life a lofty spiritual detachment which did not mean this or that, not a maimed life of monastic seclusion but a living inspiration of *joint life* where each will meet with each, country with country, race with race, knowledge with knowledge, endeavour with endeavour.

Where the mind would be without fear  
And the head would be held high  
Where knowledge would be full  
When the world would not be  
Broken into fragments by  
Narrow domestic walls.  
Where words would come from the depth of truth  
Where tireless striving would stretch its arms towards  
perfection  
Where the clear stream of reason would not lose its way  
into dreary sand of habit  
Where the mind would be led by thee into ever-widening  
thought and action  
Into that heaven of freedom my father let our country  
awake.



# Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

Editor, *The Modern Review*

## ENGLISH

**HOUSE OF SHIVAJI** (Studies and Documents on Maratha History of the Royal Period) *By* Sri. Jadurath Sarkar. Published by M. C. Sarkar and Sons, Calcutta-12. 1955. Third Edition. Greatly enlarged. Pp. iv + 343. Price Rs. 5.

When this *Modern Review* was born 49 years ago Prof. Jadurath Sarkar contributed a series of original sources on Shivaji, the great national hero from our very first number. Many of those articles have been preserved in book-form in this *House of Shivaji*. Our readers will probably smile to find that this book (in its greatly enlarged third edition now on our table), bridges the gulf of time from our first number, by including the aged author's latest reflections on the Maratha national character and the place of the Marathas in Indian history first printed in a daily paper in 1952, under the caption, "What Mahanastha Teaches Us."

Three other added chapters are: Why Shambhup rebelled against his father (a curious historical repetition of the story of Dushanatha declaring Bharat his heir); The Maratha Court and Government in the Eastern Kanthak under Rajaram (1689-1691), when Aurangzib was occupying and devastating Western India which was kingless; and How the Tantrik Cult from Bengal found a short-lived ascendancy and royal patronage in Maharashtra under Shambhup. This book, as its Preface claims, is an indispensable supplement to its author's standard biography *Shivaji and His Times* and a source book of original historical materials not available elsewhere in one place or in English.

J. C. B.

**THE GLAMOUR ABOUT THE GUPTAS** *By* K. M. Shembavkar, M.A., Professor, St. Xavier's College, Bombay. The Bombay Historical Society, Bombay, 1953. Pp. 72. Price Rs. 3-8.

This is a polemical work written with ability and originality and in a vigorous style to combat the generally accepted characterisation of the period of the Imperial Guptas as the Golden Age of Ancient Indian History. It consists of three papers entitled *Samghas in Panini and Kautilya: A Puzzle in Indian Epigraphy*, and *The Date of Kalidasa*, contributed previously to well-known Indological journals in this country and a new opening chapter called *A New Review of the Gupta Epoch* claiming to present "a comprehensive and radical survey of the whole epoch" (Preface, p. 1). In the space at our disposal it is only possible to offer a few remarks. In the first chapter the author pointedly refers to the significant silence of all writers of classical Sanskrit literature

(including even Varahamihira, admittedly a contemporary) about the Imperial Guptas, which is in striking contrast with the mention "from the earliest times down to the latest of the association of learning with royal patronage, wherever it was magnificent" (p. 10). We know, however, that the courts of the Gupta Emperors and their feudatories were graced by such accomplished poets as Harishena, the author of the *Allahabad Prasasti* of Samudragupta and Vatsabhatta, the author of the *Mandasari Inscriptions* and further that Samudragupta was sufficiently reputed for his poetic talents to deserve the title of "King of poets." The author (pp. 6-7) takes Alberuni's reference to the Guptas as "a wicked people" to be a clear proof of the fact that "the Guptas so far from being patrons or champions of a Brahminical revival, were only odious in the eyes of the learned men with whom the Arabian scholars came into contact." This statement not only lays undue stress on a general observation made by a foreign visitor five hundred years after the event but it also ignores such evidence as that of performance of the horse-sacrifice ceremony by Samudragupta and his grandson. According to the author, the view that the Puranas were finally recast in the Gupta period "can scarcely stand a critical scrutiny" (p. 12) and "the so-called Puranic Hinduism is considerably older than the first century of the Christian era, and therefore, *a priori*, much older than the Gupta period" (p. 23). We should, however, remember that Dr. R. C. Hazara has recently given good grounds for distinguishing between two main stages in the development of the Smriti material in the existing Puranas, the first stage (3rd-5th century A.D.) being occupied with the narratives of rites and customs after the early Smritis and the second stage (post 6th century A.D.) being filled with the addition of new material relating to pilgrimages to holy places, popular worship and religious vows and so forth. Again, the extreme antiquity claimed for Puranic Hinduism by the author is unwarranted by his evidence. As "a clear proof of the indifferent attitude of the Guptas towards the powerful sects and creeds of their time" the author (pp. 13-17) observes that while the Chalukyas and the Paramaras (of whom the first were "certainly as old" as and the latter were "even older" than the Guptas) are stated to have sprung from the sacrificial fire kindled by the sage Vasishtha on Mount Abu, "the Guptas, though their names appear in some Puranas, are not at all invested with any kind of glory." Now apart from the fact that authentic history does not extend the antiquity of the Chalukyas and the Paramaras so far back, it has to be remembered that even the Sungas and the Kanvas and the Satavahanas who were, according to the author, "far more favourably inclined towards

Brahmanism than the Guptas" are not credited in the Puranas with a superhuman origin. The legend of the four Agnikula Rajput clans to which the author refers does not occur in the Puranas but is found practically for the first time in the late (16th century?) work called *Prithviraja-raso*. The author's comprehensive survey of the Gupta epoch is completely silent about the development of art and architecture which is generally held to be one of its chief glories.

In the second chapter the author rightly rejecting the late Dr. K. P. Jayaswal's interpretation of *samgha* in Purana in the narrow sense of a republic, explains the term generally to mean "monarchic clans bound together by ties of federation" (p. 27). This ignores the clear evidence of the Pali and the Sanskrit Puddhist texts about which the author is completely silent. In the third chapter the author (pp. 32-36) has done a good service by correcting the mis-translations of the phrases *Malava-gandaditi* and *Mahataganamrata* used in the oldest records of the Vikrama era. But his argument to placing Vikramaditya, the founder of the era in the first century B.C., which rests upon the evidence of the late *Katha-satsangam* would have gained in weight by his mention of the valuable and much earlier Jama tradition on the point. In the last chapter dealing with the internal evidence for placing Kaldasa in the first century A.D. the author's arguments are ingenious and valuable but they are not always convincing, as in his explanation (pp. 67-68) of the river-name Vamk-lon and the ethnic name Humas mentioned in the story of Raghu's Digvijaya in Canto IV of Kaldasa's *Raghuvamse*.

C. N. GHOSHAL

#### THE ANNEXATION OF ASSAM (1824-50)

By Dr. Rohini Mohan Lahiri, D.Phil. Calcutta. Published by the General Printers and Publishers, Calcutta. Pp. 250. Price Rs. 12.

This monograph consists of five informative chapters besides a Prologue and an Epilogue. For the period of the history of Assam chosen by the author for his field of research this book is an improvement on the treatment of the same by Sir Edward Gait in his *History of Assam* though no novice can hope to excel the masterly presentation of that illustrious historian. Dr. Lahiri has corrected several errors of fact committed by Sir Edward Gait and supplied telling details missing in Gait's general survey.

The author has displayed commendable skill in making out a very readable narrative out of obsolete materials. His introductory sketches of character and institutions of peoples of Assam are graphic. The Patalanputra valley and the hills of Assam provide a museum of political institutions ranging from primitive democracy to constitutional monarchy, from federal republic to slave-owning oligarchies; and no less of religions too from Animism to Buddhism and Vaishnavism. Dr. Lahiri brings home to the students of history that the annexation of Assam to the British Indian Empire was no enslavement of a free people but then only escape from chaos and ruin. We fully agree with his conclusion "The dark age of trouble and violence was over and an era of peace and prosperity returned."

We regret very much that a detailed notice of the merits of this learned work is debared by the limit of space. It is sufficient to say that his method and approach have been scientific and that his style has a restraint and grace of its own.

K. R. QINUNGO

KASHMIR THROUGH THE AGES: By G. L. Kaul, Chronicle Publishing House, Srinagar. Pp. viii + 287. Price Rs. 10.

The above monograph is a hand-book that offers a sketch of the Kashmirian history from remote antiquity to the present times. The author who is a journalist introduces the book by quoting the pleasing lines—

"Welcome to the Happy Valley where the world comes to an end and the paradise begins . . ."

and evokes the readers' interest in the first two chapters by an engaging chapter on the early history and Kashmir's contribution but the account of the medieval and modern times is anything but a bald list of kings and their regnal years. In such a design of Kashmirian history, the citation of the full text of the President's Order on Kashmir under the Delhi Agreement of 1952, and the Text of Agreement on the Loche of Gilgit entered into between the British Government and Maharaja Han Singh, appears to be a very curious insertion and renders a portion of the account incoherent.

The author loves Kashmir with all the ardour of a native of the land and perhaps intended to produce such an impression in the readers' mind. Such a purpose has failed altogether, because of the lack of any plan in the preparation of this work.

N. B. ROY

CENTURY DIGEST OF STATUTORY NOTIFICATIONS, 1854-1954 (in 3 Volumes). By B. L. Gokarnay. Justice Publications, Delhi. Vol. I. Price Rs. 21-8.

The volume of legislation both Central and State, has increased of late, and is increasing. Besides the legislation by the Parliament and the State Legislatures, there is an ever-increasing mass of what is called subsidiary legislation by rules, regulations, bye-laws and notifications. We read the Act, and it is stated there that it shall come into force on such date as the Government by Notification in the official Gazette may put into force. Has it been brought into force? The Indian Trade Unions Act of 1926, for example, has been extensively amended by Act XLV of 1947. But the amending Act is to come into force on such date as the Central Government by notification in the Gazette may appoint. Has it been brought into force? An interpellation in the Parliament was necessary to elicit the information that it has not yet been brought into force. Then again the rules are often amended piecemeal, and it is very difficult to find the amendments, or to know whether they have been amended at all. Rules were framed under the Defence of India Act, 1939, about requisitioning houses or parts of houses. A house was requisitioned. The owner of the house made a gift of it to his two sons. In the meantime a rule was added that any transfer of such houses without the permission of the requisitioning authority shall be void. It came into force only a day before the execution of the deed of gift. The defect being noticed later on the gift had to be re-executed. The loss and trouble to the parties can be imagined. What would have happened if the parties were strangers or if the father had changed his intention in the meantime.

Sir A. N. Bhandari Chief Justice of the Punjab High Court in his Foreword, has justly noted that: "It is often a matter of some difficulty to find one's way through the mirrate mass of statutes repealed, partially repealed and re-enacted in whole or in part,

but this difficulty is accentuated a hundred-fold when a person is called upon to trace a particular notification out of the myriad of notifications which have been issued under the various enactments—notifications “as multitudinous as the sea and as numerous as the leaves of the tree.”

In the volume under review Mr. Goswami has endeavoured to put systematic references to all the notifications which are likely to be required by the members of the legal profession. The author has placed the legal profession under a deep debt of gratitude by digesting not only very old notifications, but also superseded notifications since a few of them are revived later while a good few retain a posthumous importance for a long time since litigation regarding them drags on in Courts for several years. Rights have to be determined as on the date of cause of action or when an alleged offence was committed. For these a reference to the superseded notification is necessary.

The scheme of the book is to digest Central Government Notifications in 3 volumes. Every year a new part will be added to each of the 3 volumes, and a revised consolidated index shall replace the one in use. State supplements will give notifications issued by those States under the Central laws as also under the State laws.

The printing of the book is good; the types are clear and easy to read even under an oil lamp. The binding is of the loose-leaf system of the latest and most suitable type so that Parts and Indexes subsequently issued may be easily accommodated. This will keep down costs and permit easy manipulation.

We hope every bar-library, every busy lawyer, every big company or firm should purchase a copy. It will amply repay the investment.

JATINDRA MOHAN DATTA

**SWADESHI AND SWARAJ** By Bipin Chandra Pal. Published by Yugayatri Prakashak Ltd., 41-A, Baldeopara Road, Calcutta-6. Pp. x + 295. Price Rs. 6.

The publication of this volume containing selected writings and speeches of Bipin Chandra Pal, one of the foremost leaders of the Swadeshi Movement, will be welcomed by all interested to know the great awakening and birth of Nationalism in India as a result of partition of Bengal by the Government of Lord Curzon. Bipin Chandra was not only a great fighter for Indian independence but a philosopher with a vision and a man of literature whose contribution to Bengali prose is considerable. As an orator he was a worthy lieutenant of Surendranath Banerjee. But as a speaker in Bengali he was second to none in his time. He was no visionary and his speeches and writings will show that his ‘Swaraj’ was complete independence for India and not ‘Dominion Status’ desired and advocated by Moderates of his days. Bipin Chandra suffered for his views and extremes. His differences with Gandhian methods in politics cost him loss of leadership. He stood alone in his brilliance and never submitted to anything short of his ideal.

These speeches and writings during 1902–1907 cover one of the glorious periods of the rise of ‘New Patriotism’ as Bipin Babu called it. His fine Madras speeches on ‘The New Movement’ republished in this volume were first published in 1907. We congratulate the publishers for bringing out this inspiring volume which is bound to find its way to every public library for benefit of its readers.

A. B. DUTTA

## SANSKRIT

**KRITYAKALPATARU OF BHATTA LAKSHMI-DHARA** (Vol. VI, Vratakanda): Edited by K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar. Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. CXXIII, Oriental Institute, Baroda. Price Rs. 17.

The present volume brings to light a very important and interesting section of monumental work, which was practically unknown to the world of scholars. It is edited on the basis of two manuscripts belonging to Junior Bhonsle Raja's Library at Nagpur and the Scindia Oriental Institute of Ujjain. Much help has also been derived in this connection from the Vratakanda, of the *Chaturvarga-chintamani* of Hemadri which has a good deal of matter, common with the Vratakanda of Lakshmidhara. The publication of the volume under review finishes about three-fourths of the entire work. We hope the remaining portion will come out soon completing the huge and valuable work running through the press for the last fifteen years or so, the first part being published in 1941 (noticed in these pages in December 1946). The volume deals with 175 vratas most of which are unknown in this part of the country. All-India festivals like *Jannastana* and *Sivaratri* are, however, conspicuous by their absence here. A comparative study of the festivals as mentioned here along with those found in works of other parts of the country will be helpful in investigating the history of the religious and cultural life of different parts of this vast land.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

## BENGALI

**JATIYA ANDOLANE NARI** (Women in Our National Movement): By Jogesh Chandra Bagal. Visva-Bharati Granthalaya, 2, Bankim Chatterjee St., Calcutta. Price eight annas.

Here is another important addition to the Visva-Vidya-Samgraha Series. Sri Bagal has been compiling, with singular devotion, the history of our national progress in all spheres since the beginning of the Nineteenth Century.

This brochure competently deals with the contribution of Bengali women to the Indian National Movement. The first Bengali women to attend the National Congress as delegates were Swarnakumari Devi and Kadambini Gangopadhyaya. They had first attended the Congress as visitors in its fifth session in Bombay in 1889.

Since that time till the August Movement of 1942 many women dedicated themselves at the altar of Freedom during the different phases of our political struggle. The author has carefully collected all available materials and presented them in a compact form. The young heroic souls of the Chittagong Armoury Raid and Matangini Hazra, the brave old lady of Midnapore, find their deserved place in this short but interesting chronicle. The presentation is attractive and thoroughly systematic. The alphabetical index at the end will prove helpful to the readers.

D. N. MOOKERJEE

## HINDI

**MUDRA-SHASTRA AUR BANK SHASTRA**: By Kedarnath Prasad. Pp. 295. Price Rs. 6.

**VYAVASAK SANGATHAN**: By the same author. Pp. 338. Price Rs. 6.

Both available from Pustak Bhondar, Patna-4.

The author, who is a Professor of Economics, has to be congratulated on the writing of these two books which deal with the complex subjects of Money and Banking and Business Organization respectively, informatively and lucidly. He has drawn upon a large number of standard works in English on these subjects thus carrying to the very door of the Hindi-knowing reader factual wealth from far and near. His is, indeed, a highly commendable venture.

**SANTATI NIGRAH:** By Raghunath Prasad Pathak. Arya Sahitya Sadan, Shahdara, Delhi. Pp. 112. Price Re. 1-4.

In these days when so much propaganda is being carried on in the country, in favour of contraceptives as a desirable check on the population-pressure, the author has done well to present the other side of the shield and to lay rightful stress on the ethics of self-control for achieving the same purpose. He has written both with courage and conviction.

G. M

### GUJARATI

**NADIO ANE NAGARO (Rivers and Towns):** By Yashodhar N Mehta. Published by the Gujarat Sahitya Sabha, Ahmedabad, 1950. Illustrated. Paper cover. Pp. 64. Price Re. 1.

The son of a distinguished writer, the late Diwan Bahadur Narmadasankar Mehta, Shri Yashodhar has sprung into literary fame first by his *natak* called *Ranchhodlal* and then by this little book which des-

cribes the course and career, so to speak, of the four largest rivers in the world, the Danube, the Tiber, the Nile and the Saraswati. They were radio talks, but with a leaning towards literature and imagination. The Tiber, for instance, has been immortalized by Macaulay in his *Horatius* thus:

"O Tiber, Father Tiber, to whom the Romans pray,  
A Roman's arms, a Roman's life, take thou  
in charge today."

While the Romans worshipped their Rivers as Father, we worship our Rivers as Mother. We call our rivers as Loka-Mata. The last article in the book is a first-hand description of the Kumaon Hills, the Kumauchal or Uttar Pradesh, of our ancient books. It is a most interesting and informing little book.

**SAHITYANE CHARANE:** Addresses delivered by the late Dr. Hariprasad V. Desai. Published by the Gujarat Sahitya Sabha, Ahmedabad 1950. Paper cover. Pp. 338. Price Rs. 2-8.

The late Dr. Hariprasad filled many parts in his life-time. A keen follower of Gandhiji, with whom he went to jail, a Doctor, a Congressman, a Legislator and a public citizen of Ahmedabad, a Municipal Councillor and last but not least a lover of literature, which he has enriched by his writings and addresses, he was the life and soul of the Gujarat Sahitya Sabha. The Sabha has done the proper thing, in discharge of the debt it owed to him in publishing this collection of his addresses, which range over a variety of subjects, spiritual, material, scientific and social.

K. M. J.

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# INDIAN PERIODICALS

## Possible Links Between Indian and African Cultures

In an article in *The Aryan Path* N. Court puts forward an extremely interesting thesis, the first part of which is given below :

Many of the happiest years of my life were spent in missionary labours among Indian and African peoples. I have then been in the favourable position of one able to glean first-hand information in a native environment. Add to this two decades of very close study of history, ethnology, philosophy, mysticism and comparative religion, and it will be appreciated that what I am about to put forward as a theory is the outcome of careful and deep research and not mere guess-work or wishful thinking.

Students of Indian sacred literature are more or less agreed that there are points about the *Illiad* of Homer and the *Ramayana* which indicate a common source for both. The same applies to the *Odyssey* and the Northern European mythologies. We cannot deny the fact, now generally accepted, that the Aryan culture, which had both an Eastern and a Western (European) aspect and manifestation, is responsible for the cult of the great nature gods of sky and sun, fire, wind, storm and water, of which Thor, the Nordic god of thunder, and the Roman and Greek deities were developments. India is sufficiently akin to be grasped by the English mind and at the same time possesses enough of the elements of another and alien mystic system (of Dravidian and pre-Dravidian origin) to be a source of fascination to us.

Satisfied in my own mind that Western Europe and India are akin not only linguistically and racially, but culturally as well, I now turn to a deeper and far more subtle relationship, that between India and Africa—not yet fully recognized or appreciated as the European-Indian kinship is, but nevertheless, in the face of the facts, as real and as tangible. This relationship between Africa and India has been the subject of years of painstaking research and, as a result of it, I am firmly convinced that the African culture generally, and the Bantu culture in particular, have both an Aryan-Dravidian and a pre-Dravidian background on which is superimposed a Hamitic and possibly, even probably a Semitic culture.

To make such a sweeping statement needs substantial proof and the proofs are not lacking. Let us set out on an imaginary trip down the continent from Cairo to the Cape and conduct an investigation of its peoples.

North of the Sahara Africa is inhabited by peoples not markedly different from the South Europeans and the Levantines. The North African may safely be included in the Mediterranean group, a branch of the great white race which is often referred to by the designation, "Caucasian or Aryan." When we reach the Nubians, however, and enter Egypt, the land of the Copts, and also both Ethiopia and Abyssinia and pass

through Somaliland, the ethnic group we come across is hybrid—a mixture of Hamitic or Caucasian and Negro elements.

To the south and west of these peoples are the woolly-haired group, which includes the Negro, the Bantu, the Hottentot and the almost extinct Bushman. Incidentally, the woolly-haired people are not all black—coloration ranges from the deepest and bluest ebony to light brown and yellow.

The little yellow man, the Bushman, was at one time the unchallenged master of all Africa. His race is the only one that has the right to proclaim itself aboriginal. All the rest, including the Negro and the Bantu, were immigrants, although much Bushman blood flows in their veins and the early animist religion of the Bushmen and the Hottentots became absorbed by the new arrivals. As in India the Aryan culture took unto itself, as it were, most, if not all, of the earlier civilization, so in Africa Semitic and Hamitic, and, as I believe, Dravidian and pre-Dravidian, influences became superimposed upon the religious beliefs of the autochthonous inhabitants.

We have now reached the area known today as the Central African Federation and we are in the heart of the Bantu world. Here we find the Mashona, Matabele and Basuto nations. The Zulus further south in Natal are an offshoot of the Matabele people even as the Xosas, further south still, are a branch of the Zulus considerably modified as a result of the absorption of Bushman and Hottentot blood, as their language clearly indicates.

In this region are the ruins of the Great Zimbabwe, a prominent structure in the Sabie Valley where over 400 other ruins are to be discovered. Somehow or other it seems to be connected with Mesopotamia, Phoenicia and Palestine. The writer is quite convinced, as a result of personal research work over many years, that Semitic culture is also responsible for structures such as Stonehenge on the Salisbury Plains of Wiltshire; the quoits and cromlechs of Lanyon and Penzance in Cornwall; the Great Zimbabwe in Rhodesia and the ruins at Tiahuanaco in Bolivia. Professor Frobenius, in his investigations in 1929 came to the conclusion that these ruins have a remarkable resemblance to those at Hampi in Southern India, which, together with Zimbabwe he ascribes to Mesopotamian culture. It is also of interest to note that the whole structure and layout of the buildings in Rhodesia very much resemble those of certain ruins to be seen in ancient Syria, the combination of place of worship and fort being manifest in both instances and this fact seems to strengthen the belief which some hold that Zimbabwe was the citadel of a Hebrew colony, and the old mines in the vicinity are thought to be the source of King Solomon's wealth. Reflecting on these old mine workings, which have within living memory been reopened after possibly millenniums of disuse, reminds me that not so many years ago a bronze image of an Indian

deity was ploughed up in the Waterberg district in Southern Africa.

The Zimbabwe ruins were probably built c. 1000 B.C., so we must not be tempted to look upon them as the work of the Bantu as these latter were at that time nowhere in the vicinity and probably not in Africa. It is thought by some that the Bantu people found their way as far south as Rhodesia only about 1500 A.D., by which time the structure was already in ruins, and the newcomers considered it to be the work of the Devil.

The Bantu race spread right into Cape Colony, now the Cape Province of the South African Union and its territory includes practically all Africa from Kenya southwards.

It must be remembered that, although the Bushman and the Bantu share a common continental home, they differ from each other a great deal physically. The Bantu and the Negroes are on the whole a tall race, black-skinned and physically well-proportioned. The Bushmen, on the other hand, are a very short, yellow-skinned race, with very broad noses and high cheekbones, and then short hair, which the Negro-Bantu immigrants either acquired from them through interbreeding or else received as a heritage from their Melanesian adventures, grows in tiny woolly tufts, often of a rusty hue, here and there on the skull, giving it a patchy appearance. The Bushmen are often characterized by Mongol-like features (the face in many cases having a flat appearance commonly observed among the Chinese) and by their hands and feet, which are of a peculiar smallness and gracefulness. The eyes of these people are often small, deep-set, black and beady. They are long-skulled, as all Africans are. Today the remnants of this people are estimated to number less than 3,500 in all Africa. They are fast dying out.

It is a most suggestive fact—to those concrete thinkers who demand a physical proof of Karma that the lowest races of men are now rapidly dying out; a phenomenon largely due to an extraordinary sterility setting in among the women, from the time that they were first approached by the Europeans. A process of decimation is taking place all over the globe, among those races, whose "time is up" among just those stocks, be it remarked, which esoteric philosophy regards as the scum representatives of lost archaic nations. It is inaccurate to maintain that the extinction of a lower race is invariably due to cruelties or abuses perpetrated by colonists. Change of diet, drunkenness, etc., etc. have done much; but those who rely on such data as offering an all-sufficient explanation of the crisis, cannot meet the phalanx of facts now so closely arrayed.

Thus writes Madame H. P. Blavatsky in *The Secret Doctrine*, Vol. II, pp. 779-780. Then she quotes the materialist Lefevre as saying:

"Nothing can save those that have run their course . . . . It would be necessary to extend their destined cycle." . . . *The peoples that have been most spared Hawaiians or Maories, have been no less decimated than the tribes massacred or tainted by European intrusion.*" (*"Philosophy,"* p. 508).

As has already been hinted, the Bantu is certainly not African in origin. "What! The African not an African?" I hear you exclaim. But this ought not to surprise us. Europe today is inhabited by people whose original homes were in Asia. My British and Anglo-Saxon forefathers have been traierd to the Caspian Sea and the Black Sea areas. The Norwegians, Swedes and Danes are not aboriginals of Scandinavia. The true native of the North is the Lapp, a race short in

stature, with high cheekbones and snub noses, quite different from the tall, blond, blue-eyed Northerners. With regard to the Bantu people of Rhodesia and South Africa, who are also in the main the racial stock from which the American Negro traces his origin, the numerical factor alone in the populations is evidence against their long sojourn in that area. Anthropologists and statisticians recognize the people as the most prolific race on earth. Had they been in this area during all the centuries that are claimed for them, they would most certainly have been much more numerous. The average number of children five or six to each mother indicates a people who, if they had resided in a given area for 1,000 years, should number at least 80,000,000 in South Africa alone instead of around 8,000,000 as they do.

From where then came the ancestors of the Negro and Bantu peoples? Does tradition have something to say? What does history reveal? The voice of history supplies a valuable clue which is worthy of our consideration in this study. Abul Masudi, an Arabian traveller, who may with some justification be termed the Marco Polo of Africa, informs us in his travel records that by A.D. 900 (mark this date) the Bantu were spread as far south as Sofala, which is an area in the modern Portuguese colony of Mozambique (East Africa), a territory on a latitudinal level with the southern part of Southern Rhodesia. Another interesting point brought out in Abul Masudi's writings is that these Bantu were called Makalanga and were a people who had, during the course of their southward march, mixed with the Persians, Arabs, Indians and the Greeks. The true unmixed Bantu followed after them. From whence did they come?

These Makalanga possess an interesting tradition which may be the key to the riddle of the black man's past. They appear to have travelled to the Malay Peninsula from India which, according to Professor Schwartz, was their home land, and from there to the Pacific archipelagoes where they intermarried with the woolly haired Negritos and were the progenitors of the fuzzy-haired Melanesians. (Incidentally, many of the Cape coloured people, who are a mixture of Africans and Europeans, tend to have the same fuzzy hair.) Endeavouring later on to make their way back to India, they were forbidden, and then sailed along the Malabar coast, and finally down the African coast, eventually landing on the shores of that continent. Some settled in Madagascar, where they remained free from the ethnic

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influences and mixing with the Bushmen and Hottentots, who, both racially and linguistically, affected those who settled on the mainland.

Madame Blavatsky in Volume II, p. 328, of *The Secret Doctrine* says:

Funnily enough, Haeckel, in his fantastic *Pedigree of Man*, considers "the Australians of to-day as the lineal descendants, almost unchanged (?), of that second branch of the primitive human race . . . that spread northward, at first chiefly in Asia, from the home of man's infancy, and seems to have been the parent of all the other straight-haired races of men . . . . The one, woolly-haired, migrated in part, westwards" . . . . (i.e., to Africa and northwards to New Guinea, which countries had then, as said, no existence as yet) . . . . "the other, straight-haired, was evolved farther to the north in Asia . . . . and peopled Australia . . . ." (p. 81) . . . . Prof. Haeckel must also have dreamt a dream and seen for once a true vision!

It seems rather likely that this theory is the correct one when we consider Tasmania, whose almost extinct black people differed very little from the Negro and the Bantu. They may have been a branch of the race that made their way eastwards in those early days of our era.

### Background of the Split of Surat

Ramesh Prasad writes in the *History and Political Science Journal, Agra College*:

Crisis in political organisations is a natural phenomenon. Institutions, the creatures of human activities must suffer change; otherwise, they stagnate and die out. Whenever change is obstructed the inevitable result is a crisis. Organisations claiming a national character can ill-afford to neglect popular aspirations and reactions. The split which took place in the Indian National Congress at Surat in 1907 was one such crisis which mundane institutions have to face.

#### THE LEADERSHIP OF MODERATES

Ever after its inception in 1885, the Indian National Congress held its sessions from year to year in different cities for a score of years. The course of the Congress was a peaceful march devoted to the voicing of public grievances, suggestion of reforms and making entreaties and appeals to the British sense of justice and righteousness. The object of the Indian National Congress had been "to draw attention of both the people as well as the Government to all the grievances from which the country suffered, and which were its avowed objects to remedy by constitutional means and methods." (*Indian National Evolution*: A. C. Mazumdar, p. 98.) The Congress annual sessions, at different places, all over the country were like the sessions of a large annual debating society. Long speeches were made and the sessions adjourned after the adoption of numerous monotonous resolutions, copies of which were, however,

despatched to government for favourable consideration.

No effective campaign was organised and no remarkably constructive work was done during the twelve months of a year, on the expiry of which the Congress met for the next annual session. Even a moderate of Gokhale's brand was not fully impressed by Congress methods. "Very few of us" he observed, "have really faith in the work we are doing. When men take up work in a mechanical spirit, without believing in it, you should not be surprised, if no great results are achieved." (*Indian Review*, August, 1904, p. 550). Similar dissatisfaction was expressed by G. Subramania Aiyer. "To some extent," remarked he, "it has even departed from the features that marked it in the earlier days . . . . But it does little more than that at present. The fourth of the objects of the Congress, as stated by its first President, namely, 'the determination of the lines upon and methods which during the next twelve months it is desirable for native politicians to labour in, the public interests,' has now gone out of its sight." (*Indian Review*, December, 1905, p. 830)

Though the advent of the twentieth century witnessed a remarkable change in Congress attitude towards the government, the leadership of the Congress had remained the same and the men at the helm of affairs were fully confirmed in their favourable views towards the British character and their sense of justice. They tried to understand British character from British literary creations. These Indian leaders of the Congress, of whom history takes note as 'Moderates,' were the product of Western culture and education. "They had their Wordsworth and their Browning societies" (*Indian Unrest*: V. Chitral, p. 24). They went to all lengths in praising the British nation and British character. Muhammad Rahmat-ullah Sayani, President of the 12th Indian National Congress declared in unambiguous terms that "a more honest and sturdy nation does not exist under the sun than this English nation." (*The History of Indian National Congress*, Vol. 1, P. Sitaramayya, p. 61) Similarly, the announcement of the partition of Bengal "led to a gushing praise of the British Government, a renewed faith in its sense of justice and a sense of profound gratitude expressing itself in unmeasured flights of oratory" (*Ibid*, p. 62.) Thus, in spite of the repeated acts of injustice and atrocities, committed by the Britishers in India and the regular draining of its resources, the 'Moderates,' who had been nurtured by Western traditions never faltered in their professions of faith in the nobility of British character. Sir Pherozeshah Mehta was expressive enough when he remarked, "I have no fears but that English statesmanship will ultimately respond to the call." (*Ibid*, p. 103) and concede the Indian demands. S. N. Banerjee even declared, "We plead for the permanence of British rule in India." (*How India Fought for Freedom*: A. Besant, p. 357). They believed that to get redress for her grievances, "what India wanted was a lucid and balanced presentation of her case before Englishmen and their parliament." (*History of Indian National Congress 1885-1935*: P.



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Sitaramayya, p. 97). They even "loved to parade their loyalty." (*History of I. N. C.*, Vol. I: P. Sitaramayya, p. 62).

#### EXTREMISM IN MAHARASHTRA AND BENGAL

Opposed to this set of moderate leaders, were the patriots of Maharashtra and Bengal. The young men of Maharashtra and Bengal, well educated and fully conversant with Western education and culture were principally inspired by Indian ideals and were proud of their heritage. In an open letter to his countrymen, Aurobindo Ghosh proclaimed the superiority of Hindu over Western civilization. "We reject" he writes, "the claim of aliens to force upon us a civilization inferior to our own or to keep us out of our inheritance on the untenable ground of a superior fitness." (*Indian Unrest*, Note 2, p. 337).

Lokmanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak was the pioneer of this re-awakening in Maharashtra. "He was a born fighter and a typical Marahatta. The passion for freedom was the ruling motive of his life." (*Indian Politics Since the Mutiny*: C. Y. Chintamani, p. 81). He organised Ganpati festival in 1893 and Shivaji festival in 1895. He also started Hindu Lathi club and carried propaganda against cowkilling. Maharashtrian nationalism could be roused only by such activities. These festivals were utilised for political purposes. He also carried on vigorous propaganda against the British government through his organ, *Kesari*. In the eyes of the Moderates, his programme was dangerous. But the following of Tilak was increasing day by day. He was acting as a man of the land, to which he belonged, deeply touched by the sufferings and miseries of his fellow countrymen. He voiced what people felt. Maharashtra was ablaze.

In Bengal, the partition project led to a serious outbreak of public feeling, against the Government and dissatisfaction mounted with its repressive measures. *Yugantar*, *Sandhya* and other journals, preached revolutionary ideas and roused the public to action. Though they all acknowledged the debt of Tilak, local leaders of renown were not wanting in efforts. Men, like Bipin Chandra Pal, Aurobindo Ghosh and Ashwini Kumar Dutta, were actuated by the desire of liberating the country from foreign yoke. Religious feelings were roused in Bengal and Shakti-Cult was revived and popularised.

The Extremists were ardent and relentless. They "smarted under a sense of wrong and.....kept up an agitation through the columns of their papers as well as upon the platforms decrying the Congress and preaching the utter futility of Congress propaganda." (*Indian National Evolution*, pp. 103-104). They had devised new weapons of Swadeshi and boycott and they became very successful in Bengal during 1905-11. The Indian National Congress had also upheld the movement of Swadeshi in its Calcutta Session of 1906. (*Resolution VIII: How India Wrought for Freedom*, p. 460). It would not be judicious to call the work of the Bengal patriots as destructive. A. C. Mazumdar's statement that "theirs was apparently a work of destruction and not of construction" (*Indian National Evolution*, p. 104) is hardly based on justice. The political methods of the extremists were surely surcharged with religious fervour. But they were constitutional and peaceful in action. Mr. Pramatha Nath Bose observed in 1907 that "the Extremist is not such a dreadful creature after all, and so far as the safety of the British rule is concerned, is as prosaic and harmless as being as the orthodox congressman is now understood to be." (*Indian Review*, April 1907, p. 252).

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The growth of extremism was not an overnight phenomenon; it took years to mature and many factors contributed to it—the famine of 1896-97 and the plague of 1898; the Anglo-Indian feeling of racial hatred and their attitude of arrogance towards Indians, and the work of religious reformers.

#### THE VICEROYALTY OF LORD CURZON

But the immediate reason for the flaring up of national feelings was the Viceroyalty of Lord Curzon. He undertook feverish activities and suffered from a zeal for reforms. His hand was everywhere and there was hardly any department which did not feel the impress of his personality. The Calcutta Corporation Act of 1899 and the Official Secrets Act of 1904 were passed and adopted under this enthusiasm for reform, against popular protest. His Indian Universities Act of 1904 turned the universities of India into "the most completely governmental universities of the World." (*Life of Lord Curzon, Vol. II: Ronaldshay, p. 193*). The partition of Bengal proved to be the greatest blow to Indian sentiments. In spite of the clear manifestation of public opinion, Lord Curzon carried it through. But it released dormant potentialities and created a wave of indignation throughout India. "No other event in the history of national movement in India gave a more powerful incentive to her political consciousness and awakening than the partition of Bengal." (*The Muslim League: Its History, Activities and Achievements* by Dr. Lal Bahadur, published by Agra Book Store, 1954, p. 54). These and other official measures of Lord Curzon coupled with the expedition to Tibet and the policy towards Afghanistan gave rise to much popular resentment. Besides, Indian troops were also sent out to China and South Africa. "Indians strongly resented the employment of their troops to further British imperialistic designs." (*Landmarks in Indian Constitutional and National Development, Vol. 1: G. N. Singh, p. 144*). For all these acts of unpopularity Curzon paid the price. He "departed unhonoured and unsung." (*Indian Review, May, 1904, p. 308*).

#### EVENTS OUTSIDE INDIA

Moreover, continuous news of maltreatment of Indians in South Africa were pouring in the country. Mahatma Gandhi was waging a non-violent war against the atrocities and inhumanity of rules there. The Indian sense of self-respect was deeply wounded. The Indians felt that without independence at home it was not possible for them to get fair treatment at the hands of other people. Nor were other inter-national happenings wanting. The defeat of Russia at the hands of Japan in 1904-5 put self-confidence and courage in the hearts of the people of Asia. "Almost for the first time in the history of the world an Asiatic power, hitherto somewhat despised.....humbled a huge European power....." (*Indian Review, January, 1905, p. 1*).

#### DISCONTENT MANIFESTED

Therefore, when the twenty-first Congress met at Banaras on 27th Dec., 1905, the two wings of the Congress were sharply divided over the resolution of welcome to the Prince and Princess of Wales, which was ultimately carried, extremists absenting themselves from the meeting. The extremists were further disappointed by the absence of the word 'Swaraj' from the presidential address of Gokhale. Much disgruntled, they met in an open session (mostly young delegates) to form the New Nationalist Party, which, however, did not dissociate itself from the Congress.

The differences between the extremists and the moderates had become so alarming that an open breach was feared at the Calcutta session of 1906. To avoid this, Dadabhai who was 82 was invited from England to preside. When he accepted the invitation, the relief was so great that S. N. Banerjee wrote to him "you have saved us from a crisis." (*Dadabhai Naoroji: R. P. Mesani, p. 497*). Dadabhai could conciliate the extremists by declaring that "self-government is the only chief remedy. In self-government lies our hope, strength and greatness." (*How India Wrought for Freedom, p. 447*). A resolution on self-government, which extremists paradoxically called the Swaraj Resolution, although the word 'Swaraj' did not figure in it, was adopted. Such an attitude, however, saved the situation for the time being. But it could not save it permanently. The discontent was real and it made the split inevitable. What happened, therefore, at Surat in 1907 does not surprise us.

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# FOREIGN PERIODICALS

## Political Writing and Public Passions

In this essay, Sir Norman Angell reflects on his unusual career, which spans more than six decades and numerous countries. Sir Norman, of course, is the author of *The Great Illusion*, first published in 1908 and since then reprinted and translated into twenty languages. For his lifelong fight against war and militarism, he was knighted by King George V in 1931 and received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1933. Among his score of other books are *The Story of Money* (1929), *Preface to Peace* (1935), *Let the People Know* (1943) and *The Sleep Places* (1948). For a dozen years, Sir Norman was a member of the Council of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, and from 1929 to 1931 he also served in the House of Commons. This article reflects his painfully acquired distrust of nationalistic passions, more dangerous in the masses than among small groups:

Any man who has been writing on public affairs for more than sixty years, as I have, ought to take stock and ask himself what events have had to say to the ideas he has propounded. And if he has corrections or recantations to make, he should make them, as an obligation to those who may have read him. I undertook some such stock-taking a year or two ago in the form of an autobiography. But, since then, events have emphasized certain points and clarified others. Since both emphasis and clarification bear on today's most urgent problem, that of defense against Communism without atomic war, a word or two in that context may be in order.

What follows will be better understood if I explain that the sixty years just referred to have been divided about equally among the United States, France and Britain; that the twenty years in the United States included seven (the first seven) as a manual worker, farm hand and what not; that the French period included a year or two on the staff of a French paper, to which I contributed a daily article on international politics; and that the British period has included candidacy in four Parliamentary elections, membership in Labour party committees, and a year or two in the House of Commons on the Labour party benches. There were, of course, other activities, but they need not come into this story.

How does it all add up, in the light of subsequent events? The political and economic prognostications made in books, particularly in the matter of military victory as a means of solving our major problems, have generally stood the test of events. In that connection, there is not much to correct. Yet, I want to avow much failure in the main purpose I set myself more than half a century ago. The story and cause of the failure should be of service to younger political writers grappling with a task

upon the success of which our sheer physical survival now depends.

It was my early life in the United States, that is, among workers on farms and ranches in the West toward the end of the nineteenth century, which planted the seeds of the purpose I was later to follow. Leaving a Swiss university at 17, I became an emigrant to the United States. I had not been in the country long before I was the helpless witness of the beginnings of a lynching: the gathering of crowds, the rumbling of a vague, surly clamor, the increasing domination of the confused and uncertain mob by the most violent and least rational elements with it, the frightening process by which individuals, at other times decent and humane, shed those qualities and any sense of responsibility for the monstrous and evil thing about to be committed.

A year or two after that experience, I was to witness something similar on a national, and, still later, on an international, scale. President Cleveland's virtual threat of war against Britain in his Venezuelan message aroused a violent outburst of Anglophobia in the United States. The U.S., one learned from nearly all the big circulation newspapers and much of Congress, was suffering intolerable wrongs at the hands of Britain, and American freedom would be put in mortal jeopardy if a British colony in a South American jungle extended its frontier even a mile or two. (An unfortified British frontier, not in distant South America but right alongside the United States for 3,000 miles, had existed for generations without provoking any such fears). My fellow workers were as angry and passionate as the newspaper writers and Congressmen. But not one of them could tell me what the wrongs were, or in what way their country was so threatened by Britain as to justify war. This failure to find an answer made not the slightest difference to their angry patriotism, except, perhaps, to increase it. In a letter to a relative in England at the time, I wrote: "Here is the spectacle of a whole nation moved by sheer hallucination, by delirium."

True, the mood passed because an American ship was sunk in Havana harbor. Then, almost overnight, Spain became the malevolent enemy whose power had to be destroyed and the "British peril" was for a time completely forgotten in the passionate demand for war with Spain, which, in this case, duly came.

When the observer of these events found himself in a French newspaper office in Paris during the Dreyfus affair, he was confronted by what seemed to him a startling phenomenon. The French newspapermen wrote almost exactly as the Hearst newspapermen had written; the Deputies in French Chamber talked almost exactly as the Congressmen had talked. France, too, it would seem, was in deadly peril from the machinations of foreigners, particularly the British, who were plotting with the Jews to undermine the French Army. (French anti-Semitism then had a daily newspaper, *La Libre Parole*, anticipating Hitlerite Germany by thirty years or more).

How came this resemblance in circumstances which were so different? The French case concerned a mis-

carriage of justice. Such errors occur in every country. It was the business of the French judiciary to set things right. Why, then, did the affair dominate French politics for almost a generation? Because it precipitated collective passions of fanatical partisanship—passions which, whether they take the form of nationalism, race prejudice, ideological (i.e., religious) differences or party loyalty, can blind men to the simplest objective fact beneath their noses. In some respects, the emotional epidemics in France were more mischievous than the American kind, because they were much more destructive of Government stability. Political partisanship in France are such that the country is at times unable to agree on any government at all. Quite small groups, though unable to create a government themselves, can make it impossible for any other group to do so, all to the greater weakness and instability not only of France but of the West as a whole.

On the heels of the Dreyfus affair came the jingoism of the Boer War in Britain. The two little Boer republics had to be suppressed as a measure of security for the two British colonies of the Cape and Natal and for the British position in Africa generally. (He talked glibly then of a British railroad from the Cape to Cairo). There were a dozen good reasons for believing that the conquest of the two Boer republics would not add at all to the security of Britain's position in Africa. But to state these reasons in public was as much as a politician's life was worth, as Lloyd George, escaping in policeman's disguise from a Birmingham mob determined to have his blood, soon found out.

Time has now given its verdict on the policy so passionately demanded by the British electorate of that day. The two Boer republics were conquered and extinguished with the result that the whole of South Africa, including the erstwhile British colonies, has become a Boer republic—virtually so today, formally so tomorrow, as the Boer Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa has just announced. The emergence of a new republic might of itself be something at which we could rejoice. But the new republic not merely rejects the last vestige of British authority, but, as part of the heritage of bitterness left by defeat, it rejects also all that is best in the British tradition. And it is substituting a policy of ferocious racial discrimination that may result in the whole of Negro Africa being plunged into chaos and bloodshed.

Thus, at the turn of the century, the three great liberal powers of the world were caught in the grip of fierce, irrational emotions of the mass mind, manifested here as nationalism, there as imperialism, elsewhere as anti-Semitism or racialism or doctrinal fanaticism. This writer found the spectacle frightening. If such passions continued to dictate the policies of nations as politically mature as the United States, France and Britain, then it was the end of democracy or of much hope for any form of society which was stable, free and humane. Perhaps the most frightening aspect was the general unawareness of these forces which threatened to destroy us. The volcano of irrational passion rumbled deeply enough, but no one seemed to hear.

This writer gave expression to his fears in a book (his first) entitled *Patriotism Under Three Flags: A Plea for Rationalism in Politics*. Published in 1903, it had virtually no sale at all, though a good many reviews. Several critics took the line that a people ought to be irrational, impulsive and passionate in defense of its national interests, and that any nation that did not thus act inactively and "think with its blood" would almost certainly go down before more virile people. Others took the familiar line that there can be no such thing

as "general" madness. If it is general, it is not madness but normal human nature, and "you can't change human nature."

Thirty years after the publication of *Patriotism Under Three Flags* came events which threw light on its main theme and tragically confirmed it. By 1933, no non-German had any doubt whatever that a whole people could be seized by collective madness or hallucination. For by then we were witnessing the spectacle of the most highly educated, cultural nation in the world, one eminent in technology, administration, industry, philosophical speculation and music, preparing for the systematic, efficiently organized extermination of millions of men, women and children for the sole offense of belonging to the race of Jesus Christ, His mother and Apostles, to the people from whom Christendom has taken its religion and its ethos.

Now if we saw a benign, kindly *pater familias* pushing little children and old women into a gas chamber and cremating them for the kind of offense just described, we would have no hesitation in applying the appropriate term to the spectacle. We would say that here was madness, insanity, hallucination, delirium. We will miss the whole significance of the vast Hitlerian episode, the Nuremberg Laws, the Belsen and the Buchenwalds, unless we can face the fact that the individual German is, in the ordinary situations of daily life, as kindly, humane and compassionate as the members of any other nation. And that is precisely the kind of point we have systematically evaded in our interpretation of events of this last half century.

We in Britain usually explained those aspects of German policy which have cost Germany and the

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world such misery by saying that they are all due to "Germanism," that only Germans could be guilty of that kind of abomination, and that if we took measures to clip their power, to "destroy German militarism," disarm Germany, then the world would be safe.

But this conclusion itself involved closing our eyes to obvious objective fact. To the east of Germany there was a state more powerful than Hitler's building up a system as savage, cruel and inhumane as that which Hitler tried to build (the Arctic slave camps yield nothing in barbarity to Belsen and Buchenwald) and much more dangerous. For the Communist state has a weapon Hitler never had: a doctrine which has infected groups in every country of the world, which are prepared to act as the *avant-garde* of Moscow's domination. The arms used in Soviet conquests are not in the first instance military. Russia's conquest of China's six hundred millions has been achieved without the sacrifice of a single Russian division. She has conquered by the exploitation of just those irrationalisms and fanaticisms to which my book in 1903 tried to call attention, the self-same irrationalisms and fanaticisms which she is still exploiting and by which she hopes to triumph. For, of course, they are the source of that lack of unity in the West—the disunity within each nation created by the conflict of rival parties and the conflict between states provoked by the emotions of nationalism—which makes a common policy for Western states so difficult. This disunity arises from, and further stimulates, psychological forces with which military power cannot deal. If a French or Italian Communist party manages to block inter-Allied agreement, it is not going to help matters to drop American bombs on Paris or Rome.

We know from the facts of history that the psychological forces under discussion are neither inevitable nor unmanageable. The wars of religion between the Christian sects which once devastated Western Europe (they would have destroyed it utterly if the antagonists had possessed the nuclear weapons we possess) have come to an end. Heretic and orthodox have learned coexistence. The Christian churches now confer together to discipline, by understanding, the passions that once sent them at each other's throats. Other factors have entered, including the correction of the theologian by the layman.

As much can be done for the passions of opposing political ideologies. But the first condition of dealing with any problem is to recognize that it exists. The usual attitude in democracies is to deny even the existence of the destructive spiritual forces present within each of us—even within that Common Man whose century this is supposed to be. Yet, we flourish such slogans as "A hundred million people can't be wrong" and "The voice of the people is the voice of God." If we give such slogans the meaning so often given, then nothing more can be said or done. One does not presume to correct the voice of God.

We will never make democracy workable until we accept the hard truth (which we asserted often enough when we passed judgment on the voice of the German people) that the voice of the people can often be the voice of Satan. Then we may set seriously to work in the radio.... to overcome the Satan of modern politics and improve the character of those collective judgments upon which our future depends.—*The New Leader*, February 14, 1955.

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## Nylon and Perlon

Walter Theimer writes the interesting history of the invention of the above-mentioned two substances in *Deutsche Korrespondenz*, March 19, 1955, as follows:

"Nylon" and "Perlon" are world words. No politician and no ideology can dream of ever equalling them in popularity. These synthetic fibres are now the principal materials for ladies' stockings, often just termed "nylons" or "perlons" but men's socks, shirts, and many other things are made of them likewise. Production value in this field has reached astronomic figures. And yet it is only a short time ago that the ideas which gave rise to this colossal industry sprang from the brains of a few research chemists, in part almost simultaneously in Germany and in America—and that is the story we are going to tell. Scarcely one among the fair wearers of "nylons" and "perlons" is aware of the dramatic battle that was fought at the cradle of perlon, fortunately ending in reasonable compromise.

Du Pont, the huge American chemical manufacturers, launched nylon about 1935. Chief chemist Carothers, one of the world's leading authorities on synthetic fibres, had invented it. Dr. Carothers was the first man to make fully synthetic fibres. Rayon had dominated the scene before. But rayon is still a semi-natural product; it is processed cellulose, coming from wood. Its real home is in the forest. The truly synthetic fibre, however, is born in the factory. It is made from chemicals. Carothers synthesized the "polyamides," which are compounds with a structure remotely resembling proteins and, therefore, natural silk (which is a protein). The principal polyamide, nylon, was tremendously successful.

### STAUDINGER AS PIONEER

As most synthetic fibres and plastics, nylon is based on the theories of macromolecular chemistry, the new science pioneered by Professor Staudinger of Freiburg, who was awarded the Nobel Prize for it last year. Small molecules are synthesized and joined together to form larger ones, known as macromolecules. The processes of uniting them are known to scientists as "polymerization," "polycondensation," etc.

Now the same ideas guided Dr. Paul Schlack, a German research chemist then with I.G. Farbenindustrie, the chemical combine dissolved after the war, and led him to discover a process known as lactame polymerization about 1937. From a simple cyclic hydrocarbon, cyclohexane, a compound named caprolactame he made. When heated under some pressure, the molecules

of this substance polymerize. They link up to form perlon. The treasured stocking material is a "high polymer" of caprolactame, which in turn may be made from a hydrocarbon found in petroleum. Perlon is a polyamide and, therefore, a relative of nylon.

### PATENTS EXCHANGED

Hence it is not surprising that American chemists had in the meantime developed a similar process. It turned out that Du Pont had filed a patent for perlon one nose-length earlier than the Germans. It was not for the first time that an important invention was made in several countries simultaneously though independently. This was not a question of national pride, but millions of dollars were at stake. An ugly patent dispute raised its head between the two chemical giants on either side of the Atlantic. Yet reason won the day, and shortly before the last war the two companies agreed to exchange their patents. I.G. Farben was authorized to make both nylon and perlon in Germany. Nylon was at the time,

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called "Perlon T" by German makers, a name dropped long since. "Perlon proper was known as "Perlon L". The general licence agreement is still valid, and German makers of perlon pay a small licence fee to America. The successor companies formed from I.G. Farben after its dissolution continue to make the fibres.

As materials for hosiery, nylon and perlon keep competing with each other, but their makers no longer compete. They have reached agreement long ago, and leave it to the ladies to decide which fibre they will choose. Perlon is of even greater tensile strength than nylon, but the latter is said to possess some other advantages. Elastic "curled" variants of nylon seem on the advance at the moment, at least in the German market. On an overall evaluation, both fibres may be regarded as equals. Men's socks made of these materials, such as 100 per cent perlon socks, rarely need darning, and have almost done away with an age-old problem that has vexed countless generations of housewives and bachelors, the latter even more so. There are other uses for perlon, incidentally: ship's ropes are made from it, for example.

#### THE SUIT WAS GONE

Perlon had a German precursor, known as perloran. Like perlon, it was resistant to acids, but sensitive to high temperatures. A young chemist of Hamburg, just working on his doctor's thesis, ordered a lab. suit of perloran, and was delighted to be spared acid splash holes in his trousers henceforward. But one winter day, when he was leaning against the radiator and talking to his colleagues in the lab., he saw their eyes widening. He looked down his body the fine perloran suit was gone! The young scientist was standing in his undies. The heat of the radiator had quietly melted the perloran which had agglomerated into a few small balls. Today's perlon will stand 220 degrees centigrade, and there is no need to fear a repetition of such pioneer-day incidents.

Experts know a group of plastics which used to be called "Perlon U." It is no real perlon. The habit of calling three quite different classes of substances by the common name of perlon and distinguishing them by initials has been abandoned. It was again German-American patent rivalry that stood at the cradle of "Perlon U." I.G. Farben resolved to make something far outside the patent province of Du Pont's in order to avoid further patent quarrel. Professor Otto Bayer, today a leading chemist in a large successor company to I.G. Farben at Leverkusen, synthesized a new class of compounds known as the polyurethanes. These substances are chemically very different from both nylon and perlon, and are made by quite different processes. These "little brothers" of perlon quickly grew into fairly big brothers. They are industrial

materials rather than textile fibres, their domain being plastics, aerogels, rubber-like materials, varnishes, and adhesives.

#### NEW PLASTICS

Urethanes are chemical compounds akin to urea. Production starts from de-isocyanates, a class of compounds little used in industries before. In Professor Bayer's process, these compounds are reacted with various alcohols. By suitable choice of the other reagent, the properties of the resulting compound may be controlled. Long, chainlike macromolecules may be made—these straight-chain compounds are like fibres. By changing the other reagent and altering the conditions of the reaction, interlacing macromolecules may be made. These are very strong, owing to their net-like structure, and give good resins, varnishes, and adhesives. The degree of interlacing, and hence strength and elasticity, may be chosen at will. So hundreds of different substances are made by applying the same basic principle. The new class of plastics has proved extraordinarily versatile.

The initial materials are mixed at a temperature of 260 degrees centigrade. Urethane molecules form, and immediately polymerize at this temperature. No fewer than 10,000 of them link up to form a macromolecule. Interlacing polyurethanes are known as "Desmophen" and "Desmodur" respectively, and much used for industrial purposes. They do not melt at any temperature and are not dissolved by any solvent. Desmophen varnish solidifies so fast that the usual process of "shooting" the varnish on to the object cannot be applied. It would harden in the air. So the appropriate chemicals are placed on the object, and the varnish is synthesized in position by heating. It is practically indestructible. The new varnishes form hard, soft, or elastic covers on the objects, and other materials can be impregnated with them. Adhesives made from mixtures of the new synthetics are extremely strong. They will cement metals and rubber. One interesting polyurethane is "Vulcollane," a highly elastic, rubber-like substance differing in chemical structure from both natural rubber and "Buna" the well-known synthetic.

#### World Bank Grants \$10 Million Loan to Indian Corporation

Washington, March 15—The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank) yesterday entered into a formal agreement to lend \$10 million to the Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation of India formed to assist India's industrial growth.



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The new corporation, sponsored by private investors of India, the United Kingdom and the United States, will make long and medium-term loans to industrial enterprises; purchase shares of industrial enterprises; underwrite new issues of securities; guarantee loans by other investors; and help industry to obtain managerial, technical and administrative advice and assistance.

The loan documents were signed for the bank by Eugene B. Black, its president. G. L. Mehta, India's Ambassador to the United States, signed for his government.—*USIS*.

### Conquest of the Desert

The 15th March, 1955 will certainly be remembered as a red-letter day in the history of Sind as on this day the Governor-General, Mr. Ghulam Mohammed, performed the opening ceremony of a prize project which is destined to turn some three million acres of waterless waste of the province into smiling fields.

The construction of this gigantic barrage, which is now known as Ghulam Mohammed Barrage was taken in hand on 12th February 1950, and Pakistan engineers and workers deserve full credit that within a short span of five years in spite of the hindrances caused by unforeseen events, this barrage which is a vital link of a bigger project, has been successfully completed.

The advantages accruing from this Barrage project are manifold. It will provide assured, adequate and timely supply of water to the districts of Hyderabad, Dadu and Thatta. With this uninterrupted supply not only an area of 1,650,000 acres which is receiving uncertain supplies of water through the inundated canals will be continuously irrigated but also an additional area of about 1,100,000 acres waste land will come under cultivation.

Another important benefit of this project will be that for the first time in the history of the tract, an appreciable area will come under Rabi crops—vegetables, tobacco, sugar-cane invited the attention of authorities concerned to the important point that in distributing the land great care should be taken to give these lands to those who have small holdings and to refugees who have elected to make Sind their home. He uttered prophetic warning that if we will repeat the mistake of distributing these lands among the big landlords, we will be only adding to our difficulties.

"The common man whether the refugee or a local," he said, "is the core of our nation and all our schemes and projects must aim at ameliorating the hardships of his day-to-day life."

It is in the fitness of things that this gigantic project which is bound to contribute abundantly to the prosperity and welfare of the common man has been named after the Head of the State who holds the welfare of the nation's downtrodden millions very dear to his heart.—*Pakistan Today*, April 1, 1955.

### WHO Develops Exchange of Medical Publications

Medical libraries throughout the world, which previously offered their surplus publications to other medical institutions for free distribution and exchange through UNESCO, will now offer them through the agency of the World Health Organization's Headquarters, in Geneva.

According to information received this week from Geneva, WHO will inform medical libraries in its Member States concerning the availability of medical books and periodicals offered by libraries. It will not itself collect and make shipments of such material, but will act as a central information service for medical libraries wishing to exchange and distribute material.

All shipments of publications will be made directly from one medical library to another, after agreement has been reached on the exact items required and on the question of transport costs.

WHO, through its Library and Reference Section, is already in touch with a great many medical libraries throughout the world, but will be glad to receive from new medical libraries offers of exchanges, accompanied by lists of the most-needed books and particulars of periodicals.—*WHO Press Release*, February 7, 1955.

### Paul Claudel

The great French writer Paul Claudel died in Paris recently.

He was born in 1868 and belonged to that generation of Frenchmen which has given to the world such writers as Paul Valéry, André Gide, Romain Rolland and Colette, such painters as Henri Matisse, such politicians as Jaures and Leon Blum and such scientists as Pierre Curie and Paul Langevin.

In his youth he was a great admirer of Rimbaud in whom he found the master enabling him to escape from a materialistic world. Suddenly, he awoke to the consciousness of his Catholic faith, which he professed to the day of his death.

He had taken up the diplomatic career (he was Consul in Shanghai, Minister Plenipotentiary in Rio, and later Ambassador in Tokyo and in Washington), and he composed most of his works in the course of his stay abroad: *l'Otage* (1911), *L'Annonce faite a Marie* (1912), *L'Echange* (1912), *Le Soulier de Satin* (1929).

His full and impetuous lyricism is free from all the constraint of classical French poetry: he has preferred to express himself by means of the verse imitating the verse of the Bible.

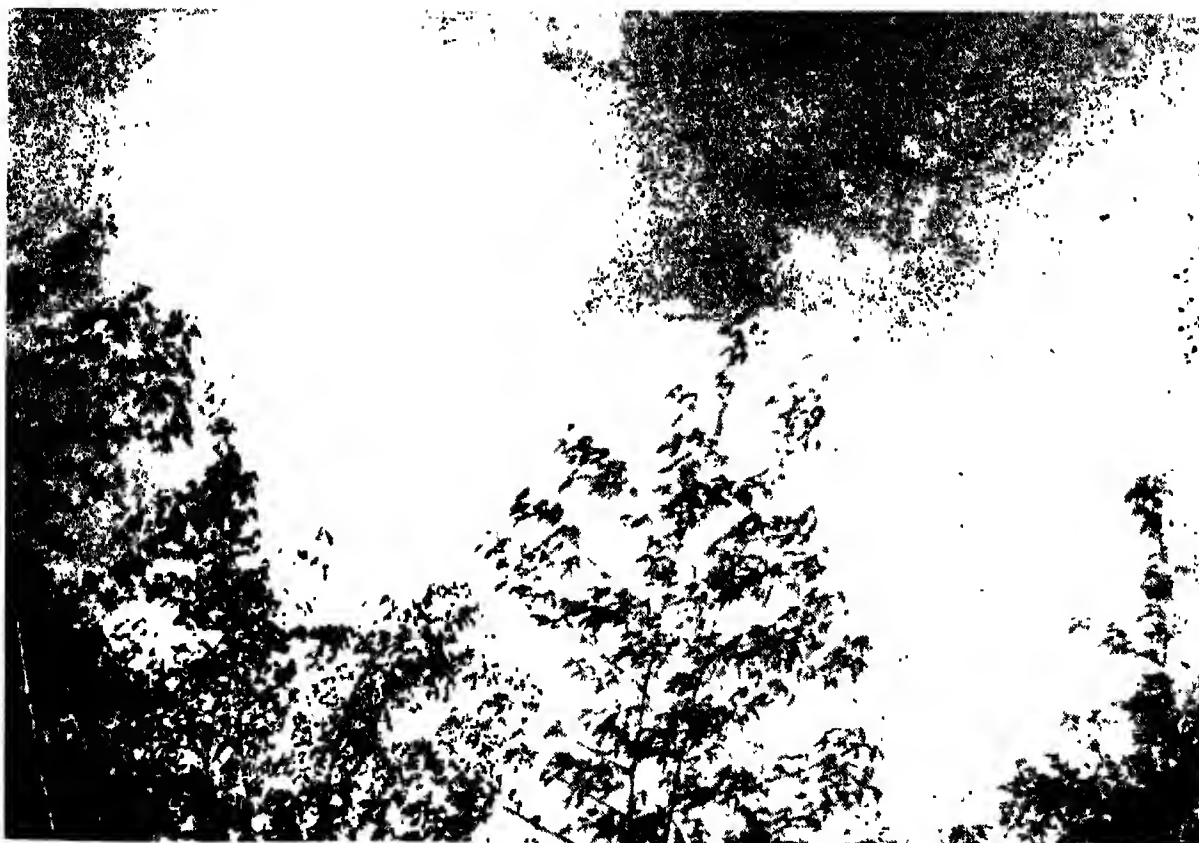
All his writings, whether poetry or drama, are guided by his Christian mysticism, in regard to which he chooses his subjects, and it is the conclusion of *L'Annonce faite a Marie* which seems to be the key to his work: "The aim of life is not to live but to die, it is not to shape the cross but to ascend it and to give what we possess with a smile."—*News from France*.





Tree in the park in Chat, Calcutta

Photo: Miron Allicker



Mid-summer noon

Photo: Benoybhushan Das



WINTER IN ST. MAUR  
BY ALBERT R.

# THE MODERN REVIEW

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## NOTES

### *Scape-Goats and Escapism*

Sixty-four amiable members of Parliament sent a representation to the Congress Working Committee regarding the desirability of stricter censorship of Indian and foreign films. Cinema, they said, was a "social industry"—whatever may that connote—and if it tended to create an anti-social atmosphere "something would have to be done about it." Evidently by "something" was meant this representation and that having been done, the sixty-four *incognitos*, or it may be *incognitas* as well, went back to their quarters, well-satisfied at the fruits of their labours and well-content that they had earned the lasting gratitude of the forty-eight millions that had provided them with the sinecures at New Delhi.

We give the newspaper report that appeared in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* elsewhere, but here we have to address a few words to Shri Shriman Narayan, the Congress General Secretary.

We do not know anything about the sixty-four members of Parliament. For aught we know they might be as wise as Solomon or Chanakya, or again they might be of the average run, that is to say the usual lazy yes-man and woman of no consequence beyond party representation. We have still less to say about Dr. Keskar as we have not been able to make up our minds, as to whether he is in charge of the departments concerned or whether those departments have taken charge of him.

But Shriman Narayanji has grown in stature in the shadow of Bapu. He might not be a super-Brahmin of Sarvodaya, with all its austerities, fanticisms and shibboleths, but all the same he has breathed the incense and drank the *madhu-parka* at Gandhiji's feet for years. He has listened to the sermons and has served at consultations with the Father of the Nation. And therefore we expect that he would at least keep the Congress, weak, effete

and infested with profit-seekers as it is, reasonably free from attempts at cheap publicity. For that is what we see in every line of the subjoined report. If it be incorrect, then it should be corrected.

Does Shriman Narayanji really believe that any Censor-Code imaginable would really improve matters? There were laws in England which punished smoking and tobacco-chewing by chopping the culprit's limbs off. Did that stop it? Is there no drunkenness in Bombay, where a mother with an ailing child has to move heaven and earth to get an ounce of absolute alcohol to sponge the child's sores? In the United States of only a few decades back, women used to be fined ten dollars if they exposed a few inches of their legs above the ankle, while getting down from the bus or the tram. What was the effect?

Can the sixty-four members name a dozen or even a half dozen films, produced in impeccable taste and free from all the carnal evils, that have not been financial failures? We can name a dozen that were impeccable, but totally unprofitable.

Does Shriman Narayanji know that sublime passages and ennobling scenes from the pens of Rabindranath and Saratchandra have to be bowdlerized and totally inverted in places before the public would take it?

We know that the Cinema today is a social problem. But that problem is not so easy of solution as the dauntless sixty-four or Shri Shriman Narayan imagine it to be. The real trouble is with the total loss of moral values amongst the majority of our people, cinema-goers and others. The Congress has done nothing and is doing nothing about it. It is useless making a scape-goat of the cinema, for in the book-trade and in fiction magazines we have the same shameful story. Shriman Narayanji should cry *Peccavi* with all of us and then proceed with such conferences.

We are not going to give a detailed criticism of

the Working Committee's opinions or of the representation of the sixty-four guards. They are too absurd for detailed consideration, in the form we have perused. We append the extract from the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* below:

The Congress Working Committee has expressed the view that rules and regulations regarding censorship of films should be more strictly enforced to check degeneration of public morale and prevent exhibition of unhealthy films.

The Committee expressed this view at its meeting on May 4 after considering a representation by 64 Members of Parliament regarding the desirability of stricter censorship of Indian and foreign films together with a note on the subject by Dr. B. V. Keskar, Union Minister for Information and Broadcasting.

Communicating the views of the Working Committee in a letter to Dr. Keskar, the Congress General Secretary, Mr. Shriman Narayan, has said it was also suggested at the meeting that censorship should be appointed at the script stage to avoid unnecessary complications and wastage of money at a later stage. It was also pointed out that members of the Censor Boards should be selected more carefully so that they might constantly keep in view the probable effect of films on the morale of the people, particularly those of young-men and women.

The Members of Parliament in their representation had stated that in India and America the tendency of film producers appeared to be to try to exploit films for the greatest amount of profit regardless of social consequences. The result had been that a deliberate programme of preparing films extolling crime and sex incitement was going on. 'The effect on impressionable young minds of over-sexed stories or crime pictures depicting bloodshed, brutality and violence need not be described. It will not be an exaggeration to say that present-day cinema has been one of the important unsettling factors of our school and University student's life.'

Cinema, the representation said, was a social industry and if its activities tended to create an anti-social atmosphere, something would have to be done to check it. 'There is an overwhelming public opinion that the cinema, more especially in a country like India with an objective of a Welfare State based on socialistic pattern should be controlled and guided more effectively so that it serves the purpose of social and artistic progress.'

Dr. Keskar, in his note, was understood to have generally agreed with the views of the M.Ps. Certain types of films he felt had 'definitely anti-social aspect'. Preparation of such films in increasing numbers had posed a very ticklish problem both from social point of view and from the point of view of national solidarity and security. Dr. Keskar said.

### *The Kashmir Princess*

The world knows now about the Bandung Afro-

Asian Conference. And it also knows of the narrow escape of Chou En-lai and party who were to have flown in the ill-fated Air-India Constellation plane. 'Murder will out' is a cliché, but fairly true nevertheless, at times.

It is no secret that a great many Americans did not like the Conference. That was well-understandable. But what is un-intelligible to most sane persons is the vicious attitude of some reputed journals of the U.S. to all matters pertaining to India.

In this matter of the *Kashmir Princess* crash the *Time* of Chicago, U.S.A., in its April 25 issue came out thus:

"Murder!" cried the Red Chinese government. "Murder deliberately engineered by secret-agent organizations of the U.S. and Chiang Kai-shek!" Retorted the U.S. State Department: "Preposterous."

The Chinese Communists had chartered an Air-India plane (fee \$20,000) to take part of their delegation to the Bandung Conference in Indonesia. The four-engined Constellation flew in to Hong Kong from Bangkok on a regular flight, disembarked its passengers, and refueled. During the 80 minutes it stood on the airfield, it was ringed with security guards. Then the charter passengers were whisked in past customs directly to the plane. Chief among the three Chinese delegates were Huang Tso-mei, head of the official New China News Agency in Hong Kong and rated one of the Communists' top agents by Hong Kong police, and Shih Chih-ang, No. 2 man of Peking's chief foreign purchasing agency. Among other passengers five listed as Chinese newsmen were actually (according to Western intelligence) unsung but important Communist propaganda and intelligence agents.

The plane took off. A few hours later, it crashed into the South China Sea 250 miles east of Singapore.

Without waiting for details, India's Prime Minister Nehru despatched a message of concern to Peking. "This disaster has some very unusual features. Something must have happened suddenly. There must be a full inquiry." Peking did not wait, either. Even before the delegation left, said the Foreign Ministry, the government had learned of a "sinister plot . . . to assassinate the members of the Chinese delegation, headed by Premier Chou En-lai and to sabotage the Afro-Asian Conference," and had warned the British to take special precautions. The Communist government charged the British with "heavy responsibility." The British formally rejected the charge, insisted that they had been warned only against the possibility of Nationalist demonstrations, not sabotage. Therefore no special measures had been taken to guard the plane itself, which was serviced by the regular Chinese crews at the airport. But, the British contended, the possibility of sabotage was "extremely remote."

Only three survivors, all Indians, were fished out of the sea. Engineer A. S. Karnik, taken aboard the British frigate *Dampier*, gave the first authentic explanation of

the crash: a hydraulic fire in the port wing. The plane broke into three pieces when it hit the sea.

This sounded more like a common accident than sabotage. In their first broadcast, long before any survivors had been picked up, the Communists had said that the plane exploded in mid-air—the same kind of wild report that crash investigators on the world's airlines encounter after most crackups. But Peking, which knows a propaganda windfall when it sees one, grabbed its chance, without even waiting for the facts to be established." Thus far the *Time*.

It will be noted that actual facts have been distorted. Of course there is no expression of sorrow at the loss of life of innocent people. That would be too much to expect of the filthy newshound who wrote that propaganda splurge.

We append the communique and news reports that followed the enquiry.

"New Delhi, May 27.—The explosion of 'a timed infernal machine,' placed in the starboard wheel-well of the aircraft, resulted in the crash of the *Kashmir Princess*, which was carrying Chinese delegates to the Bandung conference on April 11, according to the findings of the committee of inquiry appointed by the Indonesian Government. A summary of the report, released simultaneously in New Delhi and Djakarta today, says there is positive indication of an explosion having occurred in the wheel-well of the starboard undercarriage. This evidence consisted of—

- 1 The bulging outward of the skin and strut members in the immediate area;
- 2 Deep pitting by shrapnel of the skin and structural members facing the explosion; and
- 3 A hole blown inwards into the No. 3 fuel tank.

"The recovery of four parts of a twisted, burnt and corroded clockwork mechanism, which has no relation to any equipment or structure of the aircraft, found in the same area where the explosion took place, 'provided irrefutable evidence of an infernal machine having been placed in this area.'

"The findings of the committee are as follows:

1. The aircraft was airworthy and properly certified;
2. The crew was experienced and held valid licences;
3. The aircraft was properly loaded and had sufficient fuel for the flight;
4. The take-off from Hongkong was normal and the flight uneventful for the first five hours;
5. An explosion occurred on board the aircraft when cruising at 18,000 feet over the sea. A fire broke out in the starboard wing and spread rapidly, causing failure to the hydraulic and electrical services;
6. A rapid descent for ditching was immediately commenced and the emergency procedures were carried out efficiently and calmly by the crew members under extremely difficult conditions;
7. The aircraft hit the water with the star-

board wing-tip while under partial loss of control and broke up on impact, and

8. An inspection of the wreckage revealed positive evidence of an explosion in the starboard wheel-well of a timed infernal machine, parts of which were still in the wreckage. This explosion caused puncturing of the No. 3 fuel tank and a fire which spread rapidly and could not be controlled.

"The Constellation took off from Hongkong under the command of Captain Jutar. Routine messages were exchanged by the aircraft with ground stations and the flight was entirely without incident until approximately five hours later, when the aircraft was cruising at 18,000 feet over the sea. At this stage a muffled explosion was heard on board. Smoke began entering the cabin through the cold air ducts and a localized fire was detected soon after on the starboard wing behind the No. 3 engine nacelle.

"Rapid descent for ditching the aircraft was resorted to and distress signals were broadcast. In spite of the fire-fighting action, during which the No. 3 engine was feathered, the fire spread very rapidly and caused failure of the hydraulic system, followed by failure of the electric system as well. During the final stages of the descent, executed in extremely difficult circumstances, dense smoke entered the cockpit, reducing visibility to almost nil.

"Only three crew members survived the accident. The aircraft was destroyed.

"Salvage operations to recover the wreckage from the sea-bed were begun on April 25, 1955, and lasted for ten days, during which period nearly 90 per cent of the wreckage was recovered. An inspection of the wreckage revealed confirmatory evidence of a fire having started in the area referred to by the surviving members of the crew."

"New Delhi, May 27.—A search is now being made for a man in Formosa who, according to irrefutable circumstantial evidence, is believed to be responsible for the destruction of the *Kashmir Princess*. It is learnt on excellent authority that the alleged saboteur, a K.M.T. Chinese, is closely implicated in the planting of the time-bomb in the ill-fated Air India International plane and that he has escaped to Taipei.

"Meanwhile, the Government of India is refusing to say anything in the matter beyond the statement that those found guilty must be punished. The full report of the inquiry is still awaited."

The Hongkong Government made the following statement to *Reuter*:

"The report of the Committee of Inquiry appointed by the Government of Indonesia establishes that an explosion in the wing of the Air India International aircraft *Kashmir Princess* which caused the plane to crash into the sea on April 11 whilst on a flight from Hongkong to Djakarta was due to sabotage.

"It seems probable that the explosive device employed was placed in the aircraft at Hongkong. Although it would not be in the public interest at this stage to publish results of the Hongkong police investigations so far made, the Hongkong Government is determined to make every effort to ascertain the facts. If it is established that the outrage was committed at Hongkong it is determined to do all in its power to bring those responsible to justice.

"In a statement issued by the Hongkong Government on April 13, it was stated that it had been informed that the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs had received information that trouble might be made by Chinese Nationalist sympathizers for a group of journalists leaving for the Bandung conference by an Air India International aircraft on April 11 and it had been asked to take appropriate precautions.

"There was no suggestion in the message from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, or from any other source, of possible sabotage of the aircraft. *The precautions taken were therefore directed to protection of the passengers from molestation at the airport. Had the possibility of sabotage been mentioned, specified action would have been taken for its prevention, including detailed search of the aircraft, and, if necessary, its detention for a suitable length of time.*

"Immediately after news of the crash was received, inquiries were begun as soon as possible. These covered a wide field, including arrangements made for the transport of passengers and their baggage, servicing and fuelling of the aircraft and interrogation of all those that had been in any way connected with the arrangements in Hongkong.

"More than 100 persons were interviewed by the police and statements were taken from all of them. Although there was no evidence at that time to point to sabotage, the investigation was carried out on the assumption that sabotage had taken place.

"As soon as the wreckage of the aircraft had been raised from the sea and had been examined by technical experts, including the Director of Civil Aviation, Hongkong, and the Chief Investigating Officer of Accidents of the British Ministry of Transport and Civil Aviation, the Hongkong Government was informed that the crash had almost certainly been caused by an explosion in the starboard wing and that this had been caused by a device placed in the wing behind No. 3 engine.

"In view of the time factor (that is because the normal type of time-bomb is set to go off within 12 hours), it seems most likely that this device had, in fact, been placed in the aircraft during its stay in Hongkong.

"This information enabled the field of inquiry to be narrowed, and it was therefore possible to concentrate investigations on those persons in Hongkong

who might have been in a position to place such a device in the Indian aircraft.

"This investigation has been and is still being pursued with the utmost vigour."

According to a message from London the Foreign Office said that the statement issued in Hongkong had the full authorization of the British Government.

### *The A.I. Radio*

In the April Lok-Sabha reports, we had the following item. We are putting it on record.

New Delhi, April 4.—Encouraged by weak criticism in the Lok Sabha's debate on the Information and Broadcasting Ministry's demands, Dr. Keskar today proceeded not only to defend Ministerial interference in the working of A.I.R. but made it clear that there would be "more and more" of it in future.

An officer who wanted no interference, he stated repeatedly, had no place in the organization.

Dr. Keskar said it was the Ministry which was responsible to Parliament for the working of A. I. R. and not the Director-General or any other officer of the organization. It "was utterly presumptuous" for any officer to believe that his work was not open to interference.

He saw no reason for A.I.R. to be treated differently to other departments and failed to make any distinction between supervision and interference.

The importance Dr. Keskar gave to A.I.R. was evident from the fact that he devoted 50 minutes of his own's speech to it.

It was proposed to distribute 25,000 community listening sets in rural areas in the next two years. The range of medium-wave transmitters had been increased so that they would be picked up by small sets over a wide area.

The reorganization of permanent staff was practically complete. Questions of permanency were being taken up urgently with the Home Ministry.

A. I. R. was giving patronage to more musicians since he had taken over. Songs produced by the light music unit were proving popular.

The quality of programmes had improved and more variety provided. Specialists were being appointed to effect further improvements.

### *The Akali Morcha*

"Ludhiana, May 22.—While the Akali morcha may continue in Amritsar, the chances of its intensification in or extension to other parts of the Punjab appear remote. With most of their leaders and organizers arrested or under detention, there is now an unmistakable sense of bewilderment among the mass of Akali workers. The few leaders who have not been detained are mostly theoreticians with only a limited capacity to organize a movement.

"The Punjab Government's swoop last Sunday in which over 60 Akalis were detained was most unexpected. Not many Akali leaders anticipated that the State Government would act so quickly and firmly."

This seems to put a period to Master Tara Singh's dreams.

### *Krishna Menon's Mission*

We put on record the progress of the mission of hope, so far.

Peking, May 20 -- The Chinese Prime Minister, Mr. Chou En-lai, and Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon concluded their talks on Formosa tonight on a note of optimism, cables PTT's special correspondent in Peking. Earlier in the evening, the Chairman of the Chinese People's Republic, Mr. Mao Tse-tung, received Mr. Menon. Present at this meeting, which lasted half an hour, were Mr. Chou and the Chinese Vice-Premier, Mr. Chen Yi.

"After tonight's talks Mr. Chou said: 'We can look to the future with hope.' Mr. Menon said: 'I have spent a useful time here.' No communique was issued at the end of the talks, which lasted about 30 hours, spread over 11 days."

### *India's Balance of Payments*

In 1954 India's exports and imports were higher in volume and value than those of 1953. The total value of exports was Rs. 563 crores, which was Rs. 31 crores higher than in the previous year. The volume of exports of practically all commodities was higher in 1954 than in 1953, the only major exceptions being in the case of manganese ore and tea. But in the case of tea, although the volume of exports declined by 51 million lbs., the value of exports was higher by Rs. 28 crores than that of the previous year. In the case of cotton textiles and jute manufactures, there was a fall in export prices; but the increase in the volume of exports more than compensated the decline in prices, and the total value of exports was higher by Rs. 10 crores than in 1953 in each case.

In 1953 the total value of imports stood at Rs. 587 crores and this was higher by Rs. 6 crores than in the previous year. While the import of foodgrains declined by Rs. 31 crores than in the previous year, the bulk of the increase was industrial raw materials like metals, mineral oils, dyes, chemicals, cotton, etc. Further, the prices of imports were generally lower than in 1953. The volume of imports was, therefore, greater than the figures of value would indicate. Owing to the comparatively stable foreign exchange position reached during the previous year, it was found possible to continue and expand the policy of removing or reducing the restrictions on the import of several essential commodities and to diversify the pattern of the import trade. As a result the import of a large range of industrial raw materials and semiprocessed goods increased considerably in value and volume.

The adverse balance of trade was reduced in 1954 to Rs. 22.35 crores from Rs. 54.26 crores in 1953. In post-war years, chronic deficits have been a feature of our foreign trade, the year 1950 being an exception. The foreign exchange position had shown an improvement; sterling balances stood at the end of March 1955 at Rs. 732 crores. Import licences were liberalised and 33 new items of import were added to the liberal licensing scheme. Imports of industrial raw materials rose from Rs. 288 crores to Rs. 329 crores in 1954. Essential consumer goods cost Rs. 159 crores of foreign exchange in 1954 as against Rs. 188 crores in 1953. The import of plant and machinery declined in 1954 by Rs. 8 crores to Rs. 76 crores. Notwithstanding a liberal import policy, the import of essential consumer goods declined in value by Rs. 29 crores. Although lower prices are partly responsible for this decline, the pattern of trade is being shifted towards an increase in imports of industrial raw materials and plant and machinery.

The United Kingdom and the USA continued to be India's principal buyers and suppliers. In 1954, the distribution of India's imports by countries of origin were as follows (1953 percentage being within brackets): UK 24.5 per cent (15.7 per cent); USA 12.5 per cent (15.7 per cent); Burma 7.5 per cent (3.2 per cent); Egypt 1.3 per cent (3.8 per cent) and other countries 51.2 per cent (52.6 per cent in 1953). The decline in imports from the USA, Canada and Australia are on account of greatly reduced imports of wheat from these countries in 1954. The distribution of India's exports by countries of destination was as follows: UK 31.7 per cent (28.2 per cent) and USA 15.3 per cent (16.2 per cent). While exports to Burma and Japan declined in 1954, exports to West Germany and Australia increased considerably.

In 1954 the balance of trade with the dollar area improved by Rs. 4 crores to Rs. 21 crores in India's favour. The export of tea, jute and cotton piece-goods accounted for 58 per cent of India's export earnings. Tea tops the list bringing in Rs. 117 crores on an export of 459 million lbs against Rs. 102 crores on 471 million lbs in 1953. The export of jute goods increased by 71,000 tons to 852,000 tons; earnings rose by Rs. 10 crores to Rs. 124 crores. The export of cotton piece-goods increased by 45 million yards to 815 million yards. Exports of raw cotton were permitted to the extent of 3 lakh bales as compared with 1.75 lakh bales in the earlier cotton season. Exports to South-East Asian countries fell sharply from Rs. 129 crores in 1952-53 to Rs. 72 crores in 1954-55. Although there was a higher level of production in the light engineering and chemical industries, export earnings declined from Rs. 70 crores to Rs. 61 crores.

The Reserve Bank of India's figures for our exports and imports are different. It places India's imports in 1954 at Rs. 624.5 crores and exports at Rs. 548.8 crores, leaving an adverse trade balance for Rs. 75.7

crores. The higher imports in 1954 were entirely on account of commercial imports, since those on Government account declined considerably. After taking into account of Official Donations and Government and Private Invisibles, there was a surplus of Rs. 4 crores on current account. But it should be remembered that official donations and invisibles are by way of compensatory official financing which constitute mainly loans and grants and they are not strictly speaking export earnings. Therefore, the current account surplus is apparently a misleading figure, the adverse trade balance being a recorded fact. A happy feature of our foreign trade in 1954 was that India had a surplus of Rs. 4.7 crores in her trade with Pakistan. In 1953, India had a current account deficit of Rs. 2.2 crores with Pakistan. Invisible receipts fell in 1954 by Rs. 18.4 crores to Rs. 79.4 crores. This was mainly attributable to the decline in official donations (*i.e.*, mainly aid received under the Indo-American Technical Cooperation Agreement, the Colombo Plan and the Ford Foundation) by Rs. 13.4 crores to Rs. 5.0 crores.

### *Second Five-Year Plan*

With the first Five-Year Plan drawing to its close, the second Five-Year Plan is being envisaged. The outlines of the second Five-Year Plan still remain undelined, but its overall objectives have been clearly stated to be as follows: (1) An increase of 25 to 27 per cent in national income during the five-year period, or about 5 per cent per year, and (2) provision of employment for 10 to 12 million people during this period. The detailed Plan is yet to be drawn out. The broad outline is based on three papers prepared by economic experts. Briefly, there will be a total outlay of Rs. 6,300 crores, of which the share of the public sector will be Rs. 4,300 crores and that of the private sector Rs. 2,000 crores; in the public sector is included an expenditure of Rs. 900 crores on non-development purposes. Importance will be given to the development of basic heavy industries for the manufacture of producer goods to strengthen the foundations of economic independence. The development of heavy and capital goods industries will reduce India's dependence on foreign countries for the supply of essential machinery. Emphasis will also be laid on small-scale, cottage and home industries, in order to increase the output of consumer goods and provide employment in rural areas. Large-scale factories producing consumer goods will not be given much importance. Irrigation and agriculture will receive due prominence, but the emphasis will be on medium-sized projects and regional balance. Rural electrification, community projects and National Extension Services will be rapidly expanded.

The second Five-Year Plan will aim at obtaining a rapid growth of the national economy by increasing the scope and importance of the public sector and in this way to advance to a socialist pattern of society. The Joint Paper of the experts makes the following observations: "The economic development of the country

must conform to the broad social objectives in hand. The development of a socialist pattern of society has already been enunciated as a basic objective before the country. In formulating the second plan emphasis must be placed on the extension of public ownership or control over the strategic means of production, on greater equality of opportunities, on bringing the gap between the haves and the have-nots and on the protection and enhancement of the well-being of the weak and unorganised sections of the society. Men do not give of their best in the absence of a secure and fair share in the fruits of their labour and achievement of social justice is a necessary condition for releasing the productive energies of the people."

If the first Five-Year Plan was mainly agricultural, the second Five-Year Plan is rightly going to be mainly industrial. The Russian economic plans give emphasis to the development of heavy industries and the recent struggle for power in that country accused the opponents, now displaced, of having indulged in the development of consumer goods industries. The authorities in India seem now to have realised that Industrial development is the *sine qua non* of economic planning. Special attention is therefore to be given to the production of machinery to be employed in the other producer goods industries. India possesses the richest iron ores in the world and there is no reason why India should not try to develop herself as one of the foremost countries in the production of machinery. With the establishment of three new steel plants India's capacity of steel production will be expanded to 30 million tons in next 10 to 15 years. Emphasis should also be given for the development of synthetic petrol and this would reduce imports and serve as a nucleus for the development of several other industries.

A suggestion has been made that to increase the production of consumer goods, the household or hand industries should be utilised as far as possible. This is said to attempt at a nice balance between the labour-intensive schemes that constitute household and hand-industries and the capital-intensive schemes that comprise the heavy industries. While recognising the labour-intensive aspect of small-scale and village industries, the experts make it clear that once the economy gets going, employment opportunities become more plentiful and investible surpluses increase, it would be possible and also desirable to introduce more efficient methods of production in the consumer goods industries as well. Indeed, the ultimate justification for developing producer goods industries lies in the need for modernising the production of consumer goods and making it more efficient. Although part of the output of capital goods may be exported or used for further expansion of producer goods industries, a part must be absorbed in the modernisation of consumer goods industries. Thus, the development of heavy capital goods industries is consistent with and requires modernisation of methods of production in other sectors over a period of time. The strategy of balancing the develop-

ment of producer goods industries at one end with encouragement of capital-light methods of production at the other end is justified in the immediate future only because it is hoped that at a later date our savings would rise sufficiently to permit the adoption of capital-using methods over a large area without starving the rest of the economy for capital and without creating unemployment.

In the opinion of the experts, it should be possible to obtain a rise in national income of 5 per cent per annum, with a wise planning and an investment of Rs. 5,600 crores (excluding obviously the non-development expenditure). Doubts are being cherished whether it would be possible for the authorities in this country to raise such a huge amount for the next plan. It may be pointed out that in the first three years of the first Five-Year Plan, only Rs. 860 crores, or 40 per cent of the expenditure proposed over the Five-Year Plan period, were invested. In the last year of the first Plan, a sum of Rs. 710 crores is proposed to be spent, while in the fourth year Rs. 541 crores were scheduled to be spent. It is to be seen whether this large amount could be spent in the last year of the Plan. If the proposed expenditure under the second Plan is to be realised, it will be necessary for the State alone to make investment at the rate of Rs. 860 crores per annum on an average, which was done in three years under the first Plan. To accelerate the rate of expenditure, technical knowledge and strategic materials must have a continuous flow, otherwise the pace of expenditure will be halted. India lacks technical knowledge and for that she has to depend on foreign experts whose supply is limited.

In the second Five-Year Plan, 10 per cent of India's national income will be invested. In the first five-year Plan, 4 per cent of the national income was saved and invested on an average. Therefore to achieve the target of 10 per cent saving, larger efforts have to be made both by the State and the people. At the end of the first Plan, our national income will come to nearly Rs. 11,000 crores. Ten per cent of this will mean Rs. 1,100 crores per year and this will aggregate about Rs. 6,000 crores over a period of five years, assuming a progressive increase of 5 per cent per year in our national income. The policy of heavy taxation which is being followed by the State will discourage private saving and as a result the State shall have to take upon itself the sole charge of creating savings in the public sector. The private sector will be assigned with the task of raising Rs. 2,000 for investment during the five years of the second Plan. This is too optimistic an estimate. During the first Plan, the private sector could not raise by way of saving more than Rs. 20 annually and to jump from this paltry sum to the height of Rs. 400 a year requires too bold an imagination. The private sector will hardly have capacity to invest Rs. 400 a year in the immediate future. The scope of foreign aid is limited and although larger sums have

been estimated on account of foreign aid to be available during the second Five-Year Plan, India shall have to depend mainly on her internal resources for the successful operation of the second Plan.

Another point should not be lost sight of. It is good that the authorities are giving greater prominence to heavy industries. But heavy industries by themselves alone will be fruitless if simultaneous efforts are not made to establish and encourage those industries which can use products turned out by the heavy industries. Consumer goods industries must simultaneously be established so as to absorb the output of the heavy industries. It would be a folly to give too much prominence to heavy industries and ignore the consumer goods industries, leaving them to be developed by small-scale and cottage industries. That would create a condition of unbalanced economy.

### *Trend of Banking in 1954*

Expanding resources and greater activity were, according to the Reserve Bank's latest Annual Report on the Trend and Progress of Banking in India, the main features of banking in India in 1954 in contrast to the relatively quiet year that preceded it. The higher level of banking activity arising mainly from the broadening of overall economic activity was reflected in the rising trend of bank deposits, on the one hand, and of advances and investments, on the other. The increase in advances was particularly noteworthy as it occurred in the wake of declines in the previous two years. Bank credit recorded an expansion of Rs. 57 crores in 1954, as against a fall of Rs. 66 crores in 1952, and Rs. 10 crores in 1953. Though credit demands were at a higher level in 1954 and though the credit contraction in the slack season was not commensurate with the seasonal expansion in 1953-54, there was no reason to believe, states the Report, that speculative influences were significantly at work; the expansion in bank credit is to be related to the sustained increase in production and business activity, though with a generally declining wholesale price level.

In meeting the increased credit demands, banks had to supplement their increased resources by availing themselves in substantial measure of the facilities for borrowing from the Reserve Bank and in fact, in 1954, the financial assistance provided by the Bank stood at a record level. The annual volume of the Reserve Bank's advances to scheduled banks at Rs. 148 crores under the Bill Market Scheme, whose scope was enlarged during the year 1954, was well over double the 1953 total, while the volume of advances for general purposes was also the largest to-date at Rs. 189 crores.

In 1954, deposits of scheduled banks recorded a sharp rise of Rs. 91 crores, compared with the relatively small increase of Rs. 8 crores in 1953. The rising trend of deposits, the Report points out, confirms the observation made in the Report for 1953 that the post-Partition decline in deposits has been arrested and

that, in fact, a phase of deposit expansion seems to have begun. The rise in deposits consisted of an increase of Rs. 80 crores in deposits with Indian scheduled banks and of Rs. 11 crores with exchange banks.

The trends in investments of commercial banks also indicated, as in the case of advances, a greater utilisation of bank resources in earning assets. Despite the sizeable accretion to the total, the distribution pattern of scheduled bank investments at the end of 1954 hardly showed any change as compared with a year ago. Investments in Government securities formed 86.4 per cent. of the total investments as compared with 86.7 per cent in 1953 and the small rise in the proportion of Central Government securities was offset by an almost equal decline in State Government securities. Among other domestic investments, fixed deposits showed a small rise. Foreign investments accounted for 5.8 per cent. of the total, of which a little over one-third was held in Pakistan.

The distribution of scheduled bank advances under the main groups does not indicate any marked changes over the year. Industry continues to claim a little over one-third and commerce about one-half of the total. Production credit for agriculture which was at Rs. 12 crores at the end of 1953 declined even further to Rs. 5 crores at the end of 1954; exchange banks, the major purveyors of credit for this sector (which includes plantations), accounted for the largest decline; personal and professional and unclassified advances registered a moderate increase. The profit and loss account of 18 larger Indian scheduled banks (each with deposits of Rs. 5 crores and above) reflects the increase in the turnover of banking business in 1954. Gross earnings of these banks registered a rise of Rs. 2.6 crores to Rs. 31.2 crores, over two-thirds (Rs. 1.8 crores) of this being accounted for by the rise in interest and discount earned. The rise in total expenses of Rs. 2.2 crores was made up of an increase of Rs. 1.2 crores in interest paid on deposits, borrowings, etc., Rs. 0.7 crore in establishment expenses and Rs. 0.3 crore in other expenses. Consequently, net profits went up by Rs. 0.4 crore to Rs. 5.3 crores in contrast to the fall of Rs. 0.3 crore in 1953.

In 1954, 17 banks went into liquidation or were ordered to be wound up. All of them were non-scheduled banks. Of these, 8 banks went into voluntary liquidation; 4 of them in the Bombay area, 3 in the Madras area and one in the Trivandrum area. Some of the more prominent defects in the working of the banks, as observed by the Reserve Bank during inspections of banks, have been inadequate reserves, meagre liquid assets, over-extended advances, relatively large unsecured advances against immovable property and a large proportion of bad and doubtful debts. It will be realised that the process of developing sound banking methods has not been an easy one, since there were no indigenous traditions in regard to modern banking

methods, and a large number of mushroom banks were started by persons who had no experience of banking whatever during the years 1942-47, when ample funds were available. As a result of the guidance and the instructions given by the Reserve Bank, most of the banks have begun to take steps for the realisation of unsatisfactory investments and the recovery of doubtful advances. The Report also makes a reference to the steps taken by the Reserve Bank in assisting co-operative credit institutions and augmenting industrial credit facilities. In conclusion, the Report draws attention to the role of banking in the process of development. While credit expansion to meet the growing needs of the economy would be permitted and encouraged, the Reserve Bank, states the Report, would necessarily have to keep the situation under observation to prevent any undue credit inflation and to ensure the goal of development with stability.

### *India and Foreign Aid*

For some time past controversy is going on whether India should accept foreign economic aid. Foreign aid is provided in the form of outright grants or as loans at low rates of interest to the underdeveloped countries for the purpose of raising their living standards. In the post-war period the USA emerged as the generous donor to the war-devastated and economically underdeveloped countries. Originally Marshall Aid was given to European countries ravaged by the second World War. Now there has come a shift in outlook and the American aid is being directed towards the underdeveloped countries of Asia. Mr. Eisenhower pointed out that free Asia contains 770 million people, one-third of the world's population. He said:

"Most of them are citizens of newly independent States. Some have been engaged in recent war against Communists. All are threatened. Capital is very scarce. Technical and administration skill is limited. Within the area, however, abundant resources and fertile lands are ready for development."

He however stressed that the major responsibility for economic progress must lie with the countries themselves and foreign aid and capital can only launch or stimulate the process of creating dynamic economies. Describing the economic philosophy of the aid, he observed:

"The other free nations need the US and we need them, if we all are to be secure. Here is a clear case of inter-woven self-interest."

Mr. Eisenhower adds that the US economy cannot be strong and continue to expand without the development of healthy economic conditions in other free nations and without a continuous expansion of international trade. He concludes:

"Neither can we be secure in our freedom, unless elsewhere in the world, we help to build the

conditions under which freedom can flourish by destroying the conditions under which totalitarianism can flourish—gross poverty, illiteracy, hunger and disease.”

During the first three years of the Plan period, that is, 1951-54, the total foreign aid received by India amounted to Rs. 131.9 crores, and in 1954-55, the budget figure for external aid was placed at Rs. 48 crores. These include loans from the International Bank, Technical Co-operation Assistance Scheme, grants under Colombo Plan, Ford Foundation Scheme, etc. For the year 1954-55, a sum of \$60.5 million was authorised by the US Government as development assistance to India. About 50 per cent of this assistance is being utilised in obtaining agricultural commodities like wheat and cotton. Out of this sum of \$60.5 million, the Government of India agreed that a sum of \$45 million or its rupee equivalent should be a loan.

The Government of India is now hesitant to accept loan from the USA in view of the critical attitude taken by the American public of the foreign policy pursued by India. Of course, the American opposition to loans being given to India is not general but limited to some sections among the people. In view of this opposition from the American people, India voluntarily reduced free gift to about 25 per cent, treating the balance as loan. The sum provisionally earmarked by the USA for India to be given in 1955-56 is \$85 million. Out of this sum, \$70 million are for economic development and \$15 million for technical assistance. Pakistan, which is only one-fifth of India, has been allocated a higher sum of \$92 million, that is \$7 million more than the sum allocated to India. The sum earmarked for Pakistan is divided as under: \$63 million for defence (economic) support, \$20 million for direct forces support; and \$9 million for technical aid.

Outright grants by the USA for the economic development of India have been very limited. The total of such grants utilised during the first three years of the Plan being only Rs. 22.6 crores, including the money allocated by the Ford Foundation Schemes. The total sum allocated for this purpose was, however, higher at Rs. 84 crores. The total outright grants utilised by India comes to only 2.6 per cent in relation to the sum of Rs. 860 crores spent during the first three years of the Plan. The foreign aid issue is being viewed in a different perspective by a section. In the early period of colonial development, India, China and other colonial countries were exploited by their Western masters for their own industrial development. The pounder of Bengal helped the industrial revolution of Britain and the cost of transformation of the British mercantilist economy to a highly industrialised one was paid mainly by the people of India in the form of famine and death and unemployment. It is now suggested that

the Western nations, including the USA, have now a moral obligation to redeem their debt to the Asian countries, and this view finds a supporter in Mr. Chester Bowles, the former US Ambassador to India.

India has not much objection in principle to receive foreign assistance provided it comes without any political strings. For an underdeveloped country like India, foreign aid brings plant and machinery and technical know-how from industrialised nations of the West. Barring the question of moral obligation of the Western world towards the underdeveloped countries, it may be asked whether India can afford to dispense with outright grants and gifts. In the second Five-Year Plan, the help from the USA will form an insignificant percentage of the total outlay and India will not be a loser if she refuses such grants. Sri Rajagopalachari poses the question that in time of war, India shall have a moral obligation to side with the benefactor countries. Outright grants are to be viewed as aids in the preparation for cold war among the big powers and the receipt of such grants may entangle India in the power politics of the world. Although this point need not be overlooked, it need not be, in our view, much enlarged.

### *Rashtra Bhasa*

New Delhi, May 5.—The Home Minister, Sri G. B. Pant today announced in the Lok Sabha the appointment of Sri B. G. Khur as Chairman of the proposed Hindi Commission.

One of the terms of reference of the Commission would be the preparation of a time schedule according to and the manner in which Hindi may gradually replace English as the official language.

Sri Pant was making a statement on a motion of Sri S. N. Das calling attention of the Government to the provision in the Constitution for appointment of a Commission for the official language. This is mentioned in Article 341.

Sri Pant said the Government of India proposed to constitute a Commission on Hindi consisting of a Chairman and other members representing different languages specified in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution.

It was hoped that the Commission would be able to make their report as soon as possible within a year, the Home Minister added.

In making their recommendations the Commission shall have due regard to the industrial, cultural and scientific advancement of India and the “just claims and interests of persons” belonging to non-Hindi speaking areas in regard to public services, Sri Pant said.

The Home Minister said the terms of reference of the Commission were likely to be to make recommendations as to (1) progressive use of Hindi language for the official purposes of the Union (2) restriction on the use of English language for all or any of the purposes of the Union; (3) language to be used for all

or any of the purposes mentioned in Article 348 of the Constitution; (4) the form of numerals to be used for any one or more specified purposes of the Union; (5) the preparation of a time schedule according to which and the manner in which Hindi may gradually replace English as the official language of the Union.

We would lay special stress on the *just claims and interests of non-Hindi-speaking areas*, which the protagonists of Hindi are so eager to violate.

### *English vs. Hindi*

Surat, May 1.—Mr. S. K. Patil, President of the Bombay Pradesh Congress Committee, said here today that the study of English should not be hindered, in the interest of international good, greater knowledge and progress.

Declaring open the new building of the Preparatory English School of the People's Education Society here, he characterized the Bombay Government's policy regarding English as foolish.

"The national language cannot be improved by suppressing English or any other language," he said.

"Every one should be compelled to learn the national language and education must be as far as possible in the mother tongue. But to suggest suppression of English for improving Hindi is an argument that could come only from the uneducated."

Mr. Patil was of opinion that English was not a foreign language. "Like the English system of judiciary, the English language is an asset we have acquired. We have to be thankful to the English for these two legacies as well as the democratic thinking they inculcated into Indians," he said. Indians need not be ashamed of these assets.

Mr. M. K. Dixit, President of the Education Society, said, neglect of English would mean destruction of a national asset.

Sri Patil has not understood the real urge behind all this outcry for the suppression of English and the immediate substitution of Hindi for it in all fields. It is that the Hindi speakers would gain an immediate and immense advantage over the non-Hindi speakers.

### *Untouchability*

Delhi, May 2.—With rare unanimity, the Rajya Sabha on Monday agreed to the Home Minister's Bill to prescribe punishment for the practice of untouchability, as passed by the Lok Sabha.

The Bill which is a penal measure, will now go to the President for his assent.

The Deputy Home Minister, Sri B. N. Datar, who piloted the measure said that even now there were people who believed that untouchability was a part of the religion. Scheduled Caste people were not still allowed to enter some of the sacred Hindu temples.

Later, replying to the debate, he assured the members that the Government would take strong action against public servants who would be found guilty of discrimination in the discharge of their duties.

During the debate, members stressed the necessity of economic upliftment of the Scheduled Caste people. The Government were also requested to make distinction in the matter of punishment between those who practise untouchability not so much from the consciousness of a wrong doing and the landlord classes who tried to perpetuate untouchability for exploiting the poor.

Moving the Bill, the Deputy Home Minister Sri B. N. Datar, said it was a penal measure and not one for the purpose of giving rights, as such, because all including the Scheduled Castes have been given rights under the Constitution.

Sri Datar said the offences under the Bill were made cognizable as otherwise it might lead to results that would make the provisions negative.

At long last the Government has taken a firm step in this matter.

### *Buddhism and Ambedkar*

Poona, May 13.—An all-out bid to lead en masse his scheduled caste followers in the country to embrace Buddhism, on the occasion of the 2,500th birth anniversary of Lord Buddha, which will be celebrated all over the world in July next year, will be made by Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, President of the All-India Scheduled Castes Federation.

It will be recalled here that only recently Dr. Ambedkar has announced his decision to embrace Buddhism on the occasion of the 2,500th birth anniversary of Lord Buddha next year.

Work on the Marathi translation of the tenets of Buddhism from the original in Pali is being done in Poona. A Marathi Press has also been set up to print the copies.

It is understood that Dr. Ambedkar is planning to undertake a country-wide tour to preach and propagate and persuade and prepare his followers for embracing Buddhism next year, when he himself will embrace the religion. An organisation, called the Bodh Jan Sangh, has already been formed for the purpose.

And thus it may be that millions whose forefathers were penalised by the Brahminists for their faith in Buddhism, would go back into the fold.

### *Telephones and Democracy*

It seems telephones are a source of worry and anxiety even in the U.S.A., as the following extract from the *Woolfover Press* shows:

"Telephone talk has never been completely private. This reporter has been in foreign areas where you have to shout so loudly into the mouthpiece that if the person you're talking to is no farther than 20 miles away, you might as well go out into the street and bellow. And if you're on a party line in some sections of the United States, you know that the juicier morsels of conversation are likely to become immediate topics for kitchen conferences throughout the neighborhood.

"Actual wire-tapping, as we have come to know about it, is, however a very different thing. If it can't be stopped by legislation—which seems rather doubtful—the best alternative might be to have the telephone companies fix things up so any of us can listen in at any time on anyone we want to. Then at least we'd all be more discreet.

"Laws will not work unless those charged with enforcing them set an example by scrupulous obedience. Yet everyone understands by now that the Department of Justice at Washington, aware that wire-tapping is criminal, can't go after the wire-tappers because it has been violating the law itself for many years. It can't bring into court the findings from its wire-tapping because the illegality would ruin its cases. It does, nevertheless, wire-tap to secure leads that can be followed up by a search for evidence more legally found.

In a democracy this has a startling sound. We know how Hitler played back recordings of private conversations to a flustered British diplomat. We've heard the story of the American delegation settling into a Moscow hotel and commenting upon the cleanliness of everything except the corners of the meeting room—whereupon, in less than 20 minutes, in came an agitated maid to attack those corners with a broom.

"What you say may not matter. Many of us are so openly outspoken there is no gulf between what we'd say with the world's ears to hear. But can you control what someone may say to you? If the talk at the other end of the wire should be of a suspicious nature, you yourself are apt to be involved. The first sentence ever used over his experimental wire by Alexander Graham Bell was a somewhat peremptory order to his assistant: 'Mr. Watson, come here, I want you.' If we can't stop this sneaky, anti-democratic wire-tapping somehow and soon, a summons almost like Bell's may one day reach your eardrums from some Commissar-like Big Shot. For along with suspected thieves, race track touts and subversives, thousands of innocent people, somewhere between Satan and Santa Claus, have already been made victims."

We are somewhat safe in this matter. Not that our official sleuths would stop at wire-tapping. On the contrary. Our safeguard lies in the difficulty of obtaining a telephone connection and maintaining an undisturbed talk of over a minute.

First of all the telephone directories are so designed as to be of minimum service to any one below the rank of a super V.I.P. Then the question of getting the number is complicated where there is a dial system, and a total gamble where it is manual. If you get the number you may find three others have also joined the party.

### *Hindu Marriage Bill*

At long last this bill was passed. It is curious that in the public opposition names came out which showed that mere rank, position, political record, or

University education is no guarantee against mediaevalism of the most degenerate type. All's well that ends well, however, and we put the news on record:

"New Delhi, May 5.—The Hindu Marriage Bill was passed by the Lok Sabha today with a degree of unanimity which contrasted sharply with the controversy it has raised in recent years. When put to vote, only one lonely 'no' from the Hindu Mahasabha member, Mr. V. G. Deshpande, could be heard among the chorus of 'ayes'. Since the Bill was adopted in the same form as it was passed by the Rajya Sabha, it now requires only the President's assent to become law.

"As expected from his unrelenting support to the Hindu Code, Mr. Nehru made it a point to take part in the third reading. He saw the Bill as the first attempt to shake up the rigid structure of society and said it was essential for social freedom to be integrated with political and economic freedom.

"The Prime Minister paid high tribute to the women of India. He was very proud and had faith, he said, in their 'sense of duty, grace, charm, shyness, modesty, intelligence and spirit of sacrifice.' He was not afraid to allow them to go forward.

"Earlier, the House passed the clause giving the right to claim alimony to husbands as well as wives following an assurance by Mr. Pataskar that he would review it at the first suitable occasion."

### *Freedom for Austria*

We have given a detailed editorial elsewhere. We append below the comment that conveyed the news:

"Vienna, May 15.—Austria became a free independent nation today for the first time since Nazi troops goose-stepped in her territory in March, 1938.

"Church bells pealed the liberty message in every town and hamlet, calling on seven million citizens to pray in thanksgiving before rejoicing with music and flowing tankards.

"The Foreign Ministers of the U.S.A., Russia, Britain and France closed a turbulent era in Austrian history by putting their names to the long delayed State treaty restoring Austrian sovereignty. Their occupation troops will withdraw from landlocked Austria within 90 days of ratification and in any case not later than December 31 this year.

"Soviet concessions after ten years of intermittent argument enabled the four Powers to reach agreement on the State treaty last Thursday. In return for the concessions Austria will follow a neutral path in the East-West conflict."

### *Eden back in Power*

The subjoined news-item was the first communique on the victory of the Conservative Party in Britain:

"London, May 27.—Sir Anthony Eden was firmly back in power as Britain's Prime Minister tonight

with the strongest House of Commons majority a Conservative Government has commanded for a quarter of a century. His party, pledged to 'prosperity through free enterprise,' won a solid vote of confidence in the General Election held yesterday.

"The nation's verdict means that the Conservatives can govern for the next five years, secure in a majority over all other parties of at least 54. For the past three and a half years since they scraped into power in 1951 they have never had a bigger margin than 18.

"Sir Anthony Eden told cheering supporters in London that he believed that the younger generation had influenced the result. 'There is no doubt that younger people felt there was a national job to be done for their country and they were not much in sympathy with the class hatred on which some people have fought the election. We shall do everything within our power to fulfil worthily the trust of the country, which has treated us with such generosity and also with such confidence'."

### *The British Labor Party*

The Conservative Party of Britain has won the Parliamentary elections with a far more comfortable majority than in the last elections.

The abject defeat that Labor has suffered is explained by various commentators in various ways, the most common being the success of the Tories in the building of a real Welfare State, and the intransigence of the strikers in essential spheres. The following comments, taken from the *Worldover Press* for April 8, gives a vivid background to the Labour debacle:

London (WI).—The British Labor Party has entered the most critical phase of its existence. The immediate threat is not of lost votes, and recent maneuvers—such as Clement Attlee's vote in the Executive that barely kept Aneurin Bevan from utter Party banishment—have postponed any final split. But the whole Party has been made aware of inward and spiritual disintegration. Mr. Bevan has done nothing more effectively than demonstrate how delicate is the substance which holds the labor movement together.

The British labor movement has always contained a contradiction. The most numerous element in it, led by the trade unions, has never been keen on socialism. It has only wanted to get the best for the working class members of a capitalist society. The most vocal element, dominant in constituency parties, has wanted to get rid of capitalism and introduce socialism. These two groups could work together well enough until 1950; then the very success of the Labor Government brought the conflict to the front.

The trade union element now wants no more socialism at any price. The other element does not quite know what it wants. The whole Party was in

fact profoundly relieved when the Tory Government succeeded it, and since 1950 it has failed to agree upon, or even to discover, a vital program for the next election.

Bevan had what looked like a program. On the home front he demanded more socialism. What he meant by "socialism" was not clear, but the emotional appeal of his eloquence covered that up. On the foreign front he had a more definite policy, neutralism. It is still neutralism of sorts which holds together the so-called "left wing" of *The New Statesman*, *Tribune*, *Crossman*, *Driberg*, *Foot* and the rest.

But even neutralism has come to seem like a molli-eaten policy since Sir Richard Acland broke away on the hydrogen-bomb issue. Acland has a policy that is a straightforward moral repudiation of the Bomb. But what must still be called the "Bevanite" policy is not at all straightforward. It is based on a dislike of the United States, coupled with a fear of Russia, and it recalls the quasi-pacifism fashionable in the 1930's—a refusal to prepare for war combined with a refusal to accept the full implications of non-violence.

The Attlee policy is a more rational one: that of full alliance with America. The trouble is that the Attlee policy is identical with the Conservative policy, and the Conservatives have shown themselves more accomplished in its execution. What is even more awkward for Attlee is that the Conservatives have also shown themselves, to many liberal-minded people, more skilled at administering a welfare state than the Labor Party was.

A majority in both parties now stand for the welfare state, the mixed (part capitalist, part socialist) economy, and the alliance with America; and although the Labor Party introduced the welfare state and the mixed economy, it can no longer offer them as its own platform to the electorate. It has got to persuade people it can run a mixed economy better than the Conservatives or invent a new platform—which it has not yet succeeded in doing.

The repudiation of Bevan is a repudiation not only of a "demagogue," but a repudiation of socialism. The left wing of Labor is no longer the most optimistic. Fabians like Crossman are disillusioned with the Civil Service state, because it has decayed into a form of technocracy. The old moral spirit has gone. Ten years ago it would have been unthinkable that trade unionists should try to introduce a color bar, but this is now happening in several places. Gambling, once condemned, is now an accepted source of Party funds.

It is very conceivable that the British labor movement may develop a future on American lines; many trade unions are as pro-capitalist as the big U.S. unions, and the Labor Party may forget socialism as the Democratic Party has forgotten states rights. The machine of the Party is more powerful and efficient than it has ever been. But it has never been so destitute of policy.

### *Literature, Films and Society*

The *Statesman* reports on May 22 that the Government of India had decided to ban the "horror comics." Although the Government already had powers under the Press (Objectionable Matters) Act to take action on the matter, yet, with a view to placing the matter beyond dispute, the Union Government was reportedly considering legislation on the lines of the recent British Act to ban the "horror comics."

This is a very welcome news. The harmful effect such literature exercised over the adolescents is pointedly exposed by the following news from New York *Reuter* reports: "A 14-year-old boy accused of hatching his seven-year-old playmate with hatchet and knife, said, he got the idea from reading those horror comics," police alleged here.

"Dr Douglas Kelley, a psychiatrist said, the accused boy, David Drew, was avidly fond of comic books that depicted torture and throwing people off cliffs." Police at Oakland, California, said on May 19 that Drew admitted intentionally killing Stanley Frank there on Tuesday. Earlier he had claimed the killing was "accidental."

### *M.P. Anti-Corruption Board*

The Government of Madhya Pradesh recently announced the setting-up of a Complaints Board for the purpose of enquiring into complaints of corruption against Government servants. If the Board found *prima facie* grounds for further enquiry, it would either undertake an enquiry itself or forward the complaint to the head of the Department for making an enquiry and communicating the results thereof to the Board. The Board would then submit its report to the Minister-in-charge of the Board, the *Hindustan* reports.

In an editorial article on the 11th May on the constitution of the Board, the *Hindustan* writes that the notification announcing the setting up of the Board was one of the "most curious which we have read in the *State Gazette*." The preamble of the announcement was not well-worded or sufficiently explanatory.

The newspaper writes that while a case of a policeman taking a few pice from a rickshawpuller in exchange for condoning the latter's breach of traffic rules might be termed technically as corruption it was not that kind of corruption that caused public concern. "It is the corruption in high circles that has spread an eizenmatic sun on the face of public life in Madhya Pradesh." In this perspective the decision to exclude Ministers from the purview of the Anti-Corruption Board is regretted by the newspaper according to which, without the power to investigate cases of corruption among Ministers "the Board will be ineffective and will be regarded by the public as simple white-wash."

The Central Government bill for the amendment of Indian Penal Code to give protection to Government servants in the matter of defamation was so worded as to give protection to the Ministers also. The *Hindustan* writes: "Ministers cannot have both ways; they cannot claim protection as public servants in one sphere but in the matter of inquiries into corruption claim that as they are not Government servants they should be immune from the investigation of any special machinery set up to investigate cases of corruption."

The newspaper also criticizes the composition of the Board which was proposed to consist of four persons chosen from retired high ranking Government officers to be appointed by the State Government. "There is strong and wellfounded objection to any retired officer being appointed whether he is high ranking or low ranking. The retired official hankering after jobs has become a pathetic spectacle, courtesying and flunkying to all and sundry for a job which may help him to augment his slender pension such men, as a general rule, not taking exception into consideration, will not have the courage to stand up to the Ministers or take an independent line which might place their chances of continuing and fruitful employment in jeopardy."

The newspaper suggests that the Board should be composed of a functioning District Judge as the Chairman who was to be appointed on the recommendation of the High Court, another judicial officer chosen by the chairman, and two police officers still in service.

The suggestion for inclusion of two police officers is explained by the fact that they as police officers could take suitable action against persons bringing false accusation against Government servants. The judicial members of the Board would function as the committee authority with the help of the two police officers.

The newspaper writes that every year a full summary of the Board's recommendations in every case of corruption against Government servants must be placed on the table of the Vidhan Sabha for the scrutiny of the members and if there was a case of corruption against a minister, "it should be obligatory on the ministry to publish in detail the results of the investigations conducted by the Board together with a report on the action taken."

We are in full agreement with the *Hindustan*. The same remarks, re corruption, would apply to almost all States.

### *India-Pakistan Talks*

A delegation of the Government of Pakistan led by the Prime Minister, Mr. Mohamed Ali, visited New Delhi during the middle of May for talks with the Government of India over the solution of the Kashmir problem. The Pak Premier was accompanied

by the Minister of Interior, Maj.-Gen. Iskander Mirza. Details of the talks between the representatives of the two Governments were not published. The communique issued after the conclusion of the talks said that the talks were "cordial and full" and would be continued "at a later stage after full consideration has been given by both Governments to the various points that had been discussed in the course of these meetings."

Discussing the motives of the Pakistan Prime Minister in visiting New Delhi now, the *Vigil* writes in an editorial article on May 21 that the Pakistan Government, least of all, could have any illusions about the practical use of the talks in moving the Kashmir question from its present position. The necessary initiative lay with the Pak Government. But the Pakistan Government, the newspaper continues, could not take any step, whether it be forward or backward, because "in either case the hazards would be too great for the present Pakistani Government to incur in view of the precariousness of its own moral and political position internally." The Pak Government could not endanger the position by taking a forward step which would necessarily exacerbate their relations with India. Neither they could take any backward step which might look like giving up any previous stand or claim. "So the talks," writes the *Vigil*, "could be nothing more than an operation of marking time. The concurrence of the talks between the two countries' Education Ministers on the disposal of the India House Library and those between the Indian Home Minister and the Pakistan Minister for the Interior on steps for the protection of temples and shrines in both countries and for the prevention of border incidents has somewhat served to hide the emptiness of the note which was allotted to Shri Mohammed Ali to play."

Yet, the newspaper holds, the "play" was not without a purpose inasmuch as it yielded some prestige to the tottering Pak regime. The situation was rather paradoxical. "It is because the position of the Pakistan Government has become politically insecure and that of the Pakistan Prime Minister especially so that the honours of a foreign visit were so desperately sought." In view of the uncertain future of the Pak Government it was not wise to any Government to make any far-reaching agreement or settlement with Pakistan depending on the word of its present Prime Minister who had no popular backing and might lose his present titular position any day in a political reshuffle. "But in a situation like this a show of being received with honour in another country, of carrying on important discussions, etc., is expected to be an aid and a prop to tottering prestige. To impress public opinion at home proofs of being respected and taken seriously by other countries are assiduously sought. It was possibly for this reason that the Governor-General of Pakistan was himself

so anxious to visit India sometime back and would certainly have come if illness had not intervened."

Referring to the political-constitutional tangle in Pakistan the newspaper remarks that the Pakistan Prime Minister's position was the most ludicrous one. "The Constituent Assembly was dissolved on October 24 last on the ground that it had lost its representative character and could no longer function and on the night before the Prime Minister had stated that the Constituent Assembly was functioning quite satisfactorily and was to pass the Constitution of Pakistan by December 25. So much for Mr. Mohammed Ali's authority and sense of responsibility. What prestige can accrue to Pakistan through a channel like this?" the *Vigil* concludes.

We would ask another question. What useful purpose do such talks serve, beyond giving scope to the rulers of Pakistan for bluffing their own people. After every such talk all reports and remarks in the Pakistani press vary from the official hand-out in India, to an astonishing degree.

### *Nekowal Incident*

Twelve persons—six army-men and six civilians—were killed on May 7 when Pakistani police opened fire from across the Jammu border without the slightest provocation from the Indian side. According to a spokesman of the Indian Ministry of Defence, the incident was one of the most serious since the ceasefire in 1948. Most of the horrifying details of the incidents were deliberately withheld from the public by the Government of India. But whatever little was known left no doubt the hideous nature of the crime committed by the Pakistani police.

Major S. R. Badhwar, a spokesman of the Government of India, said, they had been supervising the ploughing of land in Nekowal—a village on the Indian side of Jammu-Sialkot border which was surrounded on three sides by Pakistan territory—accompanied by five civilian tractor drivers and four other civil employees when Pakistani police had opened fire from all sides using a variety of weapons including light machine guns. In self-defence, the Indian Army escort had then returned the fire. After the arrival of the local UN observer team, the firing had stopped at about 5-30 p.m. resulting in twelve deaths. This had happened on May 7.

The Government of India immediately on receipt the news of the incident lodged a strong protest with the Pakistan Government over the incident. The Pakistan Government, at first, though not denying responsibility, attempted to put the blame on the victims themselves. However, Mr. Mohammed Ali, on his arrival in New Delhi, fully regretted the incident and assured of ample steps for the punishment of the guilty and for the prevention of the recurrence of such incidents. The UN observers' team also reportedly put the blame on Pakistan authorities.

The *Vigil* in an editorial note says: "One of the

ready benefits, for the Pakistani Government, of Mohammed Ali and his party's visit to New Delhi was the curb it induced on the expression of Indian feeling over the ghastly affair of Nekowal."

Referring to the initial Pakistani complacency, the newspaper expresses some doubt if the Pakistan Government would accept adverse report of the UN observers' team as final. It fears that no action would be taken unless India pressed for it with vigour and determination. "Speedy action in this matter is necessary not only for the redress of a past wrong but for the prevention of incidents like this in future which spell a grave menace to the people on both sides of the border. If nothing is done about the Nekowal affair soon enough there will be little confidence felt in the agreement just concluded between the Home Minister of India and his Pakistani counterpart on steps to minimise chances of border clashes."

### *India Blamed for Dispute*

Interested quarters in Pakistan are, apparently, trying to put the blame at India's doors for Pakistan's trouble with Afghanistan. This, however, is no departure from customary practice of the rulers of Pakistan. A news-item published on May 23 in the *Star*, a weekly news magazine published from Lahore is significant. The newspaper reports:

"*Star*-man reliably understands that the trouble in Afghanistan has been fomented by Britain and India as a counterblast to American influence in this region. The anti-Pakistan propaganda is being conducted under the joint auspices of these two countries who have in recent months toed the same line and showed unanimity on a number of international problems. This war of nerves, it is understood, is part of a cold-war to weaken U.S.-Pakistan front recently forged for certain common purposes. The suggestion that Soviet Russia is backing Afghanistan is ruled out by the experts as, according to them, it is unimaginable that Kabul rulers who dread even a semblance of political democracy and social justice should flirt with a rabid Communist country."

The Id message of Miss Fatima Jinnah may also be construed to be in harmony with the above. Only she goes further and even accuses her own government.

### *Sino-Indonesian Treaty*

One of the most notable by-products of the Afro-Asian Conference at Bandung was the conclusion of a treaty between the People's Republic of China and the Republic of Indonesia on the dual nationality of the Chinese in Indonesia (already briefly reported last month). In this treaty, signed at Bandung on April 22 by Mr. Chou En-lai and Dr. Sunario, "the basis has been laid for a better understanding between Indonesia and the Chinese People's Republic and several other South-East Asian countries with a large Chinese population," writes *Antara*, the Indonesian

news agency. *Antara* adds: "The coincidence of the signing of this treaty and the Bandung Conference has been generally seen as a demonstration of China's desire to establish and maintain good relations between that country and its neighbours."

The Agreement contained a preamble and fourteen articles a summary of which is given below:

By the treaty the two countries agreed that a person possessing at the same time the citizenship of the Republic of Indonesia as well as the citizenship of the People's Republic of China should choose between the two citizenships on the basis of his or her free will in two years' time after the coming into force of the agreement.

"Persons considered of age under this agreement are those who are full eighteen years of age, or those who are not yet full eighteen but already married."

Anybody with dual citizenship wishing to retain his or her citizenship of one of the two contracting countries should under the agreement notify his or her desire to abandon the citizenship of the other country to the Government of the country whose citizenship he or she wished to retain.

"Provisions for choosing the citizenship laid down under this Article (3) basically also apply to persons with dual citizenship as mentioned under Article 1 residing outside the territory of the Republic of Indonesia and the People's Republic of China."

A person who once indicated his or her choice of the citizenship of one of the two countries would automatically lose his or her citizenship of the other country.

Anybody with dual citizenship who did not express the choice of citizenship within two years would be "considered to have chosen the citizenship of the Republic of Indonesia when his or her father's side is of Indonesian descent and shall be considered to have chosen the citizenship of China when his or her father's side is of Chinese descent." When the relation of such a person with the father was uncertain the citizenship of the person would be determined by the descent of his or her mother from the mother's father's side, *i.e.*, if the mother of such a person was of Indonesian descent from her father's side, the person would be deemed to be of Indonesian citizenship and vice versa if the mother from her father's side was of Chinese descent.

Persons not yet of age at the time the agreement came into force should choose their citizenship within one year after coming to age. If within that time such persons failed to express their choice they would be considered "voluntarily to have chosen the citizenship hitherto adopted while still under age."

If a person after adopting the citizenship, say, of China, left that country and settled permanently outside its borders and regained the citizenship of Indonesia then that person would automatically lose

under the M.S. Program, approximately one-half or \$1717.2 million was intended to be used directly to maintain and build up the military forces of Governments friendly to the USA. In addition to that a further sum of \$1000.3 million, about a quarter of the total, was designed for what was called "defence support."

"By direct military aid and 'defence support'," Mr. Dulles said, "there is made available for the defence of the free world far larger military forces than would be available if the same amount of money was spent on our own military."

Direct military aid and "defence support" thus accounted for approximately 75 per cent of the total fund. The remaining 25 per cent, or \$812,500,000 was designed "for programs unrelated to military purposes." The principal items were: \$337,000,000 for economic aid to Asia, of which \$200 million was for "special fund for regional development." There were funds for technical co-operation in the amount of \$172 million. And \$100 million was designed as a contingent fund for the President. Distribution of the non-military aid would be as follows: Europe (chiefly West Berlin) \$21m., Middle East \$179m., Asia \$337.5m., and others including contingency \$222.5m.

Mr. Dulles said that there was a shift of emphasis from Europe to Asia in the proposed program. "In addition to continuing and in some case increasing present programmes in the free countries of Asia, particularly, the technical assistance programmes, the President has requested a special fund for discretionary use in Eastern and Southern Asia," he added. The United States had joined the sessions of the consultative committee of the Colombo Plan for Co-operative Economic Development in South and South-East Asia but Mr. Dulles made it clear that "the United States would retain full control over the use of the fund just as we do in the case of the country programmes."

In a question and answer period following his above testimony, Mr. Dulles told the committee that the U.S. Government had abandoned an earlier policy of earmarking funds in advance on a country-by-country basis. He reminded the committee of the necessity at times to meet acute unforeseen needs.

Mr. Harold E. Stassen, Director of Foreign Operations Administration, in his testimony before the committee on May 6, pointed to the "basic shift of emphasis away from the highly developed areas of the world towards other critical areas," in the programme.

He said: "Asia is the focal point of present Communist pressure and the area whose future direction, either towards domination by Communism, or freedom and independence, will be crucial in the long-range struggle of freedom, against oppression. In

addition to direct military assistance in the form of weapons and training, funds are requested in the Mutual Society Program in the amount of \$1,317,000,000 to meet the defence support and direct forces support needs of countries in the area which are under the constant threat of overt Communist aggression as well as internal subversion. A major part of these funds is proposed for programmes in Korea, Formosa, Cambodia, Laos and Viet Nam, all of which are confronted with situations of extreme crises. Funds are also included within this amount for similar types of support to Pakistan, Thailand, and the Philippines, who have firmly and courageously taken their stand on the side of freedom against aggression and are members in the Manila Pact Organisation."

Mr. Stassen said: "An important new element in the proposed Mutual Security Programme for the coming year is the President's Fund for Asian Economic Developments, a new concept of assistance towards helping to meet the critical needs of all of free Asia for orderly, long-range economic growth."

\$200 million was earmarked for the President's Asian Economic Development Fund. Funds were also provided for the continuation of development assistance to other Asian countries principally India.

India was to get aid totalling \$85m.—\$70m. being earmarked for economic development and \$15m. for technical assistance.

Recently a ten-nation conference of Asian members of the Colombo Plan consultative committee was held at Simla at the invitation of the Government of India "to consider certain aspects of the problem of utilization of external aid, notably U.S. aid," the participating countries being Cambodia, Indonesia, Japan, Laos, Nepal, Pakistan, Thailand, Viet Nam and India. Malaya, Singapore, North Borneo and Sarawak had a common representative. Ceylon refused the invitation to attend the conference. Burma did not attend.

The conference after discussion of a Japanese proposal rejected the idea of an intermediate regional organization for the utilization of foreign aid and recommended that all additional foreign aid, including U.S. aid, should continue bilaterally as at present and strengthened as far as possible.

The suggestion for the creation of a regional organization for the utilisation of U.S. aid, it may be remembered, was originally put forward by Mr. Harold Stassen during his Asian tour a few months ago.

The conference also pointed to some, mainly procedural, difficulties which had arisen in the utilization of foreign aid. "The aid has to be used within a specified period, but there are problems of the aid not being sanctioned in time or difficulties created by shifting conditions and regulations, on account of which the aids lapse."

Regarding the question of setting up a special regional fund to meet balance of payments difficulties and promote intra-regional trade on the model of the European Payments Union, the conference, while recognising that counteracting the instability of export prices of the products of the region was one of the basic problems, "considered that action can usefully be taken to solve it only when there are clear indications that substantial sums required for the purpose of setting up such a fund are forthcoming."

The rejection by the Asian nations of the suggestion for an intermediate regional organization for the utilization of foreign aid resulted in a hardening of the opposition in U.S. Congress to President Eisenhower's \$200 million Asian Economic Development Fund, *Reuter* reports. According to Senator John Sparkman, a democratic member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee it was possible "that Congress will either eliminate this fund or cut it substantially."

### *East European Treaty Organisation*

An East European Treaty Organisation formally came into being on May 14 with the conclusion of a Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation and Mutual Assistance by eight European nations supported by the People's Republic of China.

In November-December, 1954, a conference of the eight European nations with an observer from China was held in Moscow to consider their attitude to the Paris Peace Treaties. The Moscow conference opposed the ratification of the Paris Treaties, and declared that in the event of their ratification the participating countries would adopt joint measures of defence. It was further declared that the conference nations would meet again to consider concrete measures for a joint defence command.

Accordingly, after the ratification of the Paris Treaties, the eight countries—Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Eastern Germany, Hungary, Poland, Rumania and USSR—which took part in the Moscow Conference, met in Warsaw, capital of Poland, for four days from May 11 to 14, and after discussions concluded a Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation and Mutual Assistance and decided to set up a joint command of the armed forces of the State signatories of the treaty. Each country's delegation was headed by its Prime Minister. Mr. Peng Te-Huai, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Defence of the People's Republic of China, attended the conference as an observer from China.

The unified command of the armed forces of the eight countries would have its headquarters in Moscow and would be headed by Marshal of the Soviet Union, I. S. Konev, whose name became famous during the Second World War. The Defence Ministers or other military leaders of the signatory countries were appointed Deputy Commanders-in-

Chief and given command of the armed forces assigned to the unified armed forces by each respective signatory country. The question of participation of the German Democratic Republic in measures pertaining to the armed forces of the unified command would be considered later on.

The Treaty made in four languages contains eleven articles and a preamble.

The preamble while reaffirming the desire of the contracting parties "to establish a system of collective security in Europe based on the participation of all European States" states their conviction of the necessity of taking measures "to safeguard their security and maintain peace in Europe" in view of the ratification of the Paris agreements envisaging the formation of Western European Union and remilitarization of Western Germany.

By Article 1 the parties undertook "to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force" and to solve their problems by peaceful means.

The countries declared their readiness sincerely to co-operate in all international actions aimed at safeguarding international peace and security and at the general reduction of armaments and production of atomic, hydrogen and other weapons of mass destruction.

They would discuss among themselves matters of common interest and would hold mutual consultations for joint defence and the maintenance of peace whenever there was a threat of armed attack on one or more of the signatories.

In such cases of armed threat the signatories would render all help including military help individually and jointly to the State or States thus threatened and would immediately hold mutual consultations regarding the joint measures necessary to be taken to restore peace. The measures thus taken would be communicated to the UN Security Council and would be terminated immediately upon the adoption of any measures by the Security Council for the restoration and maintenance of international peace and security.

Under Article 5, the parties "agreed to set up a unified command of their armed forces," and would also "take other co-ordinated measures necessary to strengthen their defence capacity" for protection against aggression.

Article 6 provides for the setting up of a "political consultative committee, in which each State signatory to the treaty will be represented by a member of the government or another specially appointed representative to effect the consultations" between the signatory States under the treaty and to discuss problems of implementing the treaty.

The parties undertook not to join any coalition, alliance or treaty which ran counter to this treaty and declared that none of their international commitments were against the treaty.

They would promote mutual co-operation for the consolidation of economic and cultural relations among them.

The treaty was open for accession to other States "irrespective of their social and State systems which will express readiness through participation in the present treaty to promote the pooling of efforts of the peace-loving States in order to safeguard peace and security of the nations," says Article 9.

The Treaty would come into force when all the signatory States had deposited their instruments of ratification with the Government of the Polish People's Republic.

The Treaty would remain in force for twenty years at the first instance and, unless notice of denunciation was given by any party to the Polish Government one year prior to the expiry of that term, for another ten years.

Article 11 adds, "In case a system of collective security is established in Europe and a general European treaty of collective security is concluded to this end, for which the contracting parties shall steadfastly strive, the present treaty shall lose its validity on the day when the general European treaty enters into force."

All four texts—Russian, German, Polish and Czech—would be equally valid.

At the time of the signing of the Treaty, the Prime Minister of the German Democratic Republic, Herr Otto Grotewohl said that the conclusion of the treaty would help the German people in their struggle for the peaceful and democratic reunification of Germany which he declared to be the main task of his Government. "In signing this Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation and Mutual Assistance," Herr Grotewohl said, "the Government of the German Democratic Republic proceeds from the premise that a unified Germany would be free of the objections assumed by one or the other part of Germany under the military-political treaties and agreements concluded before its reunification."

*Tass* says, "The conference received with full understanding and took note of the aforesaid declaration of the Government of the German Democratic Republic."

The observer from China, General Peng Te-Hwei endorsed on behalf of China the decisions adopted by the conference and said: "I declare on behalf of the Government of the People's Republic of China that the Government and the six hundred million people of China fully solidarize themselves with and support the newly signed Treaty . . . We are convinced that the success of the present conference will promote the further unity of the peace-loving countries and peoples and will make a substantial contribution to strengthening peace and security both in Europe and throughout the world."

The Soviet newspaper *Pravda* editorially writes

on May 15 that it was difficult "to overestimate the positive influence which the decisions of the Warsaw Conference exert and will be exerting on the international situation." According to the newspaper, the treaty was a defensive one. The setting up of the political consultative committee envisaged in the treaty would be an important step towards strengthening friendship and mutual understanding. It also provided for increased economic and cultural co-operation among the parties.

"In contrast to the closed military alignments formed by the imperialist powers, the eight-power treaty is open to other States regardless of their social and political systems. This feature of the treaty also testifies to its defensive nature as well as to the defensive nature of the organisation which is created on its basis," remarks the *Pravda*.

The London *Times*, in an editorial article on the eve of the Moscow Conference writes that the meeting was political rather than military.

Discussing the implications of a unified command of the armed forces, the newspaper writes that the immediate purpose of unification appeared "to give legal standing to the presence of Russian troops in the satellite countries to allow the East German police to emerge openly as an army, thereby producing a reply to West German rearmament, and to provide the Russians with a diplomatic bargaining counter."

"Now that the West has ratified the Paris agreements, Russia can say, as Marshal Zhukov has already said, that extra steps to guarantee the security of Russia and her allies have to be taken. The Warsaw meeting is, indeed, political rather than military." (10th May).

The *Manchester Guardian* of the same date writes: "The conference at Warsaw, like that in Paris, stands outwardly for the division of Germany and of Europe. Marshal Bulganin will be there to dot the 2's of the 'division.'"

"Yet a new Eastern alliance may also enable M. Molotov to make concessions of the great powers ever got down to real bargaining over the mutual withdrawal of power from Central Europe. The proposal might run: 'If you will dissolve West Germany's military alliance with you, we will dissolve East Germany's military alliance with us,' and so on."

"So far as formality went, both sides would then be able to give up equivalent positions of strength. Of course, formality does not mean much. A settlement, if it comes, must make for a real withdrawal of power, not the tearing up of pieces of paper. But formality sometimes helps, especially when prestige is at stake."

Speaking about the significance of the Warsaw Conference one might refer the fact that it was the first occasion since the Potsdam Conference of 1945 that a Soviet Prime Minister travelled out of his country to attend an international conference.

# THE EDUCATIONAL MOVEMENT IN INDIA

By RAJANI KANTA DAS, Ph.D. and SONYA RUTH DAS, D.Litt. (Paris)

THE most important social movement in modern India is that of education. Education attained a very high degree of development in the Vedic, Buddhist, and early Hindu periods. But with the decline of Hindu civilization and especially during the periods of foreign invasions, conquests, pillage, and destruction, there reigned chaos and confusion in the country. Most of the educational centers and universities declined and deteriorated and were even destroyed by the invaders. With the rise of Moghul rule, there was a general revival of culture, especially in arts and crafts, architecture, painting, dancing and music. But between the decline of Moghul rule and the rise of British rule there was another period of chaos and confusion which was followed by the decline of both Hindu and Moslem educational systems. "At the beginning of the 19th century, after a long period of foreign invasions and internecine wars, Indian learning was at low ebb, . . . and there were hardly any printed books either in the classical languages or in the vernaculars."

## ENGLISH EDUCATION

The elevation of the educational system from this low level became an outstanding problem of India in the very beginning of British rule. Attempts were made by several organised bodies, especially the Orientalists, the Missionaries, and the Anglicists, to reconstruct India's educational system on a sound and solid basis:

*The Orientalists:* In spite of great external changes, there had still existed in India a network of indigenous educational institutions coming down from time immemorial, such as the *Tols* or higher Sanskrit institutes for education of the Brahmin students in philosophy, science, and literature and also the *Pathshalas* or elementary schools for the education of the lower castes. Similar educational institutions also developed in India under Moslem rule, especially during the Moghul period, such as the *Madrasahs* for higher education of the Moslems, including Arabic and Persian languages and the Koran, and the *Makhtabs* or the lower schools for the education of the masses. Some of the higher educational institutes in the north are still to be found in Nabadwip, Mithila, and Banaras for the Hindus and in Murshidabad, Patna, Agra and Delhi for the Moslems. After the victory at Plassey in 1757 and the assumption of the Dewany of Bengal in 1765, the East India Company practically acquired the economic control of Bengal and did everything possible to win the goodwill of the people, both Hindus and Moslems. Warren Hastings founded a Madrasah at Calcutta for the Moslems in 1781 and Jonathan Duncan, the British

Resident, founded a Sanskrit College at Banaras in 1792 in order to secure trained Moslem and Hindu scholars to serve as assistants to British Judges. Moreover, the East India Company's Act of 1813 provided Rs. 100,000 a year for education, which the Governor-General could spend for the revival of the old learning in Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian.

*The Missionaries:* Several groups of Christian missionaries have made great contributions to the development of education in modern India. The first group to visit India was the Roman Catholic Missionaries under the leadership of Francisco Xavier (St. Xavier, 1506-52), collaborator of Ignatius Loyola (1491-1556), founder of the Jesuit Order (Society of Jesus), who followed the Portuguese military forces, traders and settlers, and founded schools for Portuguese and Eurasian children. With the decline of Portuguese military power and influence, their settlement and educational influence also declined. The second important group of missionaries were the Danish Settlers at Tranquebar near Madras, who learned Tamil and other Dravidian languages, translated the Bible in Tamil, and opened schools for the children of their converts. They were also the first to introduce teaching in English. Early in the 19th century, their schools came under the control of the Church Missionary Society. The third and the most important group of missionaries were the Baptists at Serampur, especially those under Carey and his colleagues, who introduced popular education and vernacular language, though English was also taught. The missionaries were responsible for introducing a new system of teaching with broader curriculum including grammar, history, geography and other subjects; printed text-books for the various classes; well-defined hours and days of instruction, including Sundays and holidays; and also education in religious tenets.

*The Anglicists* The most earnest group of advocates for English education was, of course, the Anglicists including such historical personages as David Hare, the humanist and founder of Calcutta High School, which still stands in the centre of Calcutta University buildings; Rammohun Roy, the founder of the Brahmo Samaj and father of modern India; and Radhakanta Dev, a progressive Hindu reformer. They also took the lead in founding the Hindu College in 1817, which was followed by the foundation of the Serampur College in 1818, and the Bishop College in 1820. That the Orientalists were still very influential was indicated by the fact that a Sanskrit College was founded in Poona in 1821 and another in Calcutta in 1824. For this Orientalistic policy, Rammohun Roy made a bitter attack, in a letter, on Lord Amherst, the Governor-General of India, for his retrograde step of founding a Sanskrit

1. *Interim Report of the Indian Statutory Commission*, September, 1929; Cmd. 3407, p. 9.

College, which was calculated to keep India in darkness. The country as a whole followed, however, the policy of the Anglicists, who established Elphinstone College at Bombay in 1827, Wilson School (now College) also at Bombay, in 1834, and Madras Christian College at Madras in 1837. In the meantime, professional schools began to rise and Lord Bentinck himself established the Calcutta Medical College in 1835 and similar institutions were also established in other provinces later on. English education was thus well-established through private efforts in different parts of India early in the nineteenth century.

The controversy regarding the medium of instruction between the Orientalists and the Anglicists required the decision by T. B. Macaulay, the legal member of the Executive Council, who sided with the latter and submitted the famous Minutes to Lord William Bentinck in 1835 and also to Lord Auckland in 1839, endorsing his policy, *i.e.*, "to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern, a class of persons Indian in blood and colour, but English in tastes, in opinions, and in intellect." Lord Bentinck accepted the Minutes of Macaulay and made the following proclamation in 1835:

"His Lordship directs that all the funds which these reforms leave at the disposal of the committee be henceforth employed in imparting to the native population a knowledge of English literature and science, through the medium of the English language."<sup>2</sup>

The most important step in the establishment of English, especially as the medium of instruction in India, was the parliamentary enquiry undertaken as a preliminary condition to the renewal of the Company's Charter in 1853. The evidence submitted to the committees of the Houses of the Lords and Commons formed the basis of Sir Charles Wood's Educational Despatch of 1854, which imposed upon the Government of India the duty of laying down a solid foundation of education in India from the primary school to the university. The despatch prescribed the following measures:

- (1) The constitution in each presidency and lieutenant-governorship of a separate department of education with an adequate system of inspection;
- (2) The institution of a university in each Presidency town;
- (3) The establishment of institution for training teachers for all classes of schools;
- (4) The maintenance of the existing government colleges and high schools, and the increase of their number whenever necessary;
- (5) Increased attention to vernacular schools,

both for secondary and primary education; and

- (6) The introduction of a system of grants-in-aids.

The despatch was immediately followed by the establishment of Departments of Public Instruction, the founding of the Universities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras in 1857, and the rapid growth in number of schools and colleges, governmental and private.<sup>3</sup> The Secretary of State for India sent a despatch in April 1859, which made possible the establishment of Canning College, Lucknow (1864); St. Xavier's College, Bombay (1869); Oriental College, Lahore (1870); Muir College, Allahabad (1872); Metropolitan Institution, Calcutta (1873); and Anglo-Mohammedan College, Aligarh (1879). The Punjab University was established in 1882 and the Allahabad University in 1887.

The Education Despatch of 1854 by the British Government to the Government of India formed the corner-stone of India's intellectual development in modern times. English language and literature opened for the first time the vast cultural heritage of the West in general and of England in particular. While India's younger generations began to receive education and training in the newly established colleges and universities for various professions and services, some talented and enterprising young men joined Oxford and Cambridge and Inns and Courts and achieved learning and recognition. Coming in close contact with a young and virile nation in its various administrative and cultural aspects, India found her own self, and began to evaluate her glorious past and to realize the potentialities of still more glorious future. To awaken India into her own self or to help her to do so, was the greatest contribution of England to India. India has thus become the mistress of her own destiny and begun to reconstruct herself in the light of modern science, philosophy, art and technology on the basis of her own intellectual, aesthetic, ethical and spiritual values. The most important part played in this national awakening is the higher education as imparted by the universities. Although rather few in number and limited in scope at the beginning, these universities widened their cultural interests and gradually introduced almost all the branches of learning in art, literature, philosophy and science, and have now become great intellectual and educational centers. Advanced learning has liberated the mind of the people from the thralldom of antiquated traditions and helped in the rise of new social values, ideals, aspirations, and aims.

#### RISE OF THE VERNACULARS

The rise of the vernaculars or languages of the people, on whom depends the stability and develop-

2. *Selections from Educational Records*, Part I, pp. 107-17 and p. 130.

3. *Interim Report of the Indian Statutory Commission*, 1929, Cmd. 3407, pp. 12-23.

ment of modern democracy, is still another important factor of India's cultural development. Vernaculars in India are very many, but only a few of them have reached the literary stage and may be classified under the following groups:

- (1) The Indo-Aryan, consisting of Sanskrit, Hindi, Bengali, Bihari, Marathi, Rajasthani, Gujarati, Kashmiri, and Oriya;
- (2) The Dravidian, consisting of Tamil, Telugu, Kanarese, and Malayalam; and
- (3) The miscellaneous, consisting of Assamese.

A most important factor in the development of vernacular languages and literatures in India is the religious movement. In ancient times, Buddhism and Jainism, both of which are proselytising religions, utilized the dialects of the people and developed them as languages and literatures. In the Middle Ages, when these religions lost their vitality and spirituality, Vaishnavism took their places and supplied the needs of the people for personal God, such as Rama and Krishna, reincarnations of Vishnu, to whom they could offer their love and devotion. Vaishnavism flourished through the teaching of Ramanuja in the eleventh century, of Ramananda in the fifteenth century, and of Chaitanya in the sixteenth century. All of them utilized the languages of the people for the propagating of their creeds. During the period of from the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries, Moslem rule became predominant and oppressive, Hindu civilization declined, and Sanskrit was discouraged and suppressed. The vernaculars found ample opportunity for development. Some Moslem rulers even encouraged the growth of popular languages for the benefit both of Hindus and Moslems. Nasir Shah, King of Gauda for instance, patronised the translation of the Mahabharata into Bengali.

In modern times, there have appeared several new factors in favor of the vernaculars: First, the rise of Christianity, which undertook pioneer work for the development of the vernaculars in most of the provinces. As in the case of the Buddhist and Jain missionaries, the Christian missionaries were interested in reaching the masses, for whom they not only translated the Bible and the hymns into popular languages, but also developed these languages by establishing public schools, writing their grammars, compiling their dictionaries, and founding printing presses. Second, the foundation of the Fort William College in Calcutta in 1800 for teaching British civil servants the history and languages of India which gave a new impetus to the learning of the languages of the people. Third, the founding of the Hindu College in Calcutta in 1816 which became a centre of culture. Young Bengalis began to learn the principles of Western civilization, including its social values and social institutions under such distinguished persons as William Carey, David Hare, and Rammohun Roy, already

mentioned, as well as professors H. L. V. Derozio and D. L. Richardson. They all realized the need of social and religious reforms in India and utilized vernaculars to bring their ideas to the people.

Among the more immediate factors of the development of the vernaculars must be mentioned: First, the conferment of the freedom of the press in 1835. The vernacular press which, in spite of the restrictions put on it afterwards by the British Government, thrived rapidly and, with its journals, periodicals, and annuals, not only helped in the dissemination of knowledge and information, but also in the development of their languages and literatures. Second, the Renaissance and other social movements, such as those relating to religion, reform, education politics and industry have also served as driving forces for the development of the vernaculars, both as languages and as literatures. Finally the substitution of the vernaculars for Persian in lower courts in 1837 and the introduction of vernaculars as the medium of instruction not only in the primary and secondary schools, but also in high schools, colleges and even in universities. That the mother-tongue should be the medium of instruction stands to reason inasmuch as it facilitates the understanding of the deeper meaning of a subject and assimilates it into the personality of an individual much quicker than a foreign language. Moreover, the vernacular adds to the dignity and prestige of a group of people who feel proud that they can derive their knowledge through their own mother-tongue.

The last, but not the least important factor in the development of modern vernaculars is their contact with European, and especially English, languages and literatures. Their contact has been established in several ways: First English as the official language and medium of instruction and the predominance of English in the public press in British India. Second, most of the vernacular writers are well-versed in English language and literature, the style and idioms of which they have introduced in their mother-tongues. Finally the translation and adaptation of European and especially English classics and other works in literature, science, philosophy and art into vernaculars. As a result of this close contact, all forms of the English language, such as essays, poems, dramas, novels, short stories criticisms and even punctuation have materially influenced practically all the vernaculars of India. Moreover, new social values, such as nationalism, social justice democracy, and social progress, have also been permeated through these vernaculars. In short, in contact with the languages of modern and progressive nations of the West most of Indian vernaculars have attained a high degree of excellence both in style and literature.

A most important step in the development of the vernaculars is recognition by the new Constitution of fourteen languages, including two classics,

Sanskrit and Tamil, as national and State languages. Sanskrit is extremely rich in vocabulary and grammar as well as in literature, and serves as the source to all Indo-Aryan languages. Sanskrit may thus help in the co-ordination and integration of most of the Indo-Aryan languages into one or two great national languages, such as Hindi and Bengali. In spite of the 24.8 million population of West Bengal, it must also be pointed out that Bengali remained the mother-tongue of 42 million people of East Pakistan. Tamil may help similarly in the co-ordination and integration of all Dravidian languages into a second great national language. They may thus simplify the problem of the multiplicity of languages.

The rise and growth of important vernaculars in India may be described as follows:<sup>4</sup>

*Hindi:* India's premier vernacular is Hindi, both because it is spoken by the largest group of the people, and because it has been selected as the national language. The origin of Hindi has been traced back to the Apabhramsa, a common language of the people in the second century B.C. It derived both its grammar and vocabulary from Sanskrit. But it took its literary character from the lays of the bards maintained by the Rajput chiefs at their courts to chant the poems about the glorious deeds of their patrons as well as of their clans. The earliest Hindi author was Chand Bardai known for his famous poems on Prithvi Raj Raso. He was followed by Sur Das, the blind poet of Agra. But its greatest contributor was Tulsī Das who translated the Ramayana into Hindi in the seventeenth century bringing new outlook into Hindi literature. Another important writer of Hindi was Kabir, a weaver of Banaras who attempted at the unification of Hinduism and Mahomedanism. Among other writers mention must be made of Dayananda Saraswati, the founder of the Arya Samaj, and B. H. Chandrai, who wrote as many as 175 books and treatises in Hindi. As the national language, Hindi has the best chance to develop both as a language and literature, representing about one-seventh of the world's population.

*Bengali:* Bengali is spoken by the second largest group of Indian people (before Partition) and is India's most highly developed language and literature. The origin of the Bengali language has been traced back to Magadhi Prakrit in the eleventh century. The earliest writers of Bengali were the Buddhist priests, but the founder of Bengali poetry was Chandi Das in the fourteenth century. Bengali literature began with the translation and adaptation of Sanskrit literature. The modern period in Bengali language and literature began in 1800 when Fort William College was founded for training Indian Civil Servants in Indian history

and languages. Of the various factors leading to the development of Bengali, both as a language and literature are, first, the Renaissance and other social movements since the beginning of the nineteenth century; second, the rise of the Bengali Press, especially such periodicals as the *Tattabodhini* of Akshoy Kumar Dutt and *Bangadarshan* of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee; and Sanskrit grammar and vocabulary, with which it is closely related.

Among the founders of Bengali, mention must be made of Rammohun Roy, the founder of Bengali prose, who translated the Upanishads into Bengali and used Bengali for the propagation of the Brahmo Samaj and other social reforms. Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, the founder of classical Bengali prose, and author of many Bengali text-books for higher education, who also used Bengali for the propagation of his widow remarriage reform; Madhusudan Dutt, who introduced blank verse into Bengali poetry and modern drama; Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, who introduced a new concept of novels into Bengali; Rabindranath Tagore, one of the greatest literary geniuses of modern times, who wrote his short stories and novels and his immortal lyrics, the *Gitanjali*, and won the Nobel Prize in Literature in 1913; and lastly, also Sarat Chandra Chatterjee, another great Bengali novelist.

*Tamil:* Tamil is a classic rather than a vernacular, rendering the same service to the Dravidian culture as Sanskrit to the Aryan culture. It developed as a language long before the Christian era and there were three *Sangams* or academies of scholars and critics devoted to literature at Madura, the capital of the Pandya Kings, in the second century B.C. Like Sanskrit, Tamil grammar is highly synthetic, but its literature is more virile and responsive to foreign influences. Tamil grammar *Tol-Kap-Piyam*, appeared in the first century A.D. But Tamil literature began with Kural, didactic poems and sacred books in the South like the Vedas in the North, which appeared in the fifth century A.D. Tamil also made considerable progress in religious literature for recital in the temples in the Middle Ages. The European contact with Tamil began in the seventeenth century, when the Christian missionaries learned Tamil and brought the gospel directly to the people. The Reverend Robert de Nabile (1606-56) published several prose works in Tamil; Father Gonsalvez of the Spanish mission printed the first book in Tamil in 1677; and Father Beschi (1680-1742) contributed several works of high rank both in verse and prose. They were followed by Indian authors some of whom began to translate famous works of literature, science and philosophy into Tamil and others made original contributions. Revitalized in contact with Western languages, especially English, Tamil has made great progress in prose, poetry, drama, fiction and vernacular press.

4. Of all the references consulted on the subject, the most important are: O'Malley, L.S.S., Editor: *Modern India and the West*, New York, 1941; Carratt, G. T.: *Legacy of India*, Oxford, 1937.

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**Marathi:** The origin of Marathi language and literature has been traced to the twelfth century, when they consisted mostly of poems ballads and chronicles. It attained the literary value through the composition of illustrious songs by Tukaram in the seventeenth century some of which are sung in many parts of the country even today. The most important factors in the development of Marathi are, first the work of the Christian missionaries who established primary schools, translated the Bible into Marathi compiled Marathi grammar (1805) and helped in the growth of Marathi prose. Second, the translation and adaptation of European especially English classics into Marathi (1810-74). Third the publication of a series of essays entitled *Nibandh Mala* (1875) by V. S. Chiplunkar, who entreated his countrymen to love their country, history, religion and language. He was followed by a number of other writers, such as B. G. Tilak and N. C. Kelkar in different branches of modern Marathi language and literature.

**Urdu:** Urdu has its origin in a dialect of Western Hindi spoken near Delhi and Meerut for several centuries. It has been based on Hindi grammar, but the vocabulary has been derived mostly from Persian. Other languages, such as Arabic, Portuguese, French and especially English have also contributed to its vocabulary. It began to develop its prose by the middle of the nineteenth century. Dr. John Gilchrist, Principal of the Fort William College at Calcutta, wrote

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**Miscellany:** Of other vernaculars, mention must be made of the following:

(1) *Gujarati* is derived from Prakrit and is an intermediate language between Saurastri and Sauraseni. There is no dialect of Gujarati, but there is a gradation in pronunciation of the languages spoken by different classes of the people. It attained its literary character through the works of Narasinha Metha and the translation by Rewa Sankar of the Mahabharata.

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(3) *Malayalam* was originally derived from Tamil in the ninth century, and differs from it now both in idioms and pronunciation. It appeared in 1150 A.D. and the inscriptions of the rulers of Kerala from Travancore derived their literary character from *Ramcharitam*, written in the thirteenth century, and the oldest poem. Another important old publication is a collection of 1000 proverbs in 1868.

(4) *Kanarese* is another language of the Dravidian people. It was represented in the sixth century by the Bijapur inscription written in an alphabet similar to that of the Telugu language and is a highly developed language of an ancient civilization.

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#### REVIVAL OF ART AND MUSIC

From the earliest time, India has devoted herself to the development of architecture, sculpture, painting, dancing, and music. Under the influence of the Indian renaissance, some of the arts, especially painting, dancing, and music have been revived; they have made considerable progress almost all over the country.

Since the beginning of the present century, there has arisen a new school of painting under the leadership of Abanindranath Tagore, a Vice-Principal of the

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From the earliest time, India has devoted herself to the development of architecture, sculpture, painting, dancing, and music. Under the influence of the Indian renaissance, some of the arts, especially painting, dancing, and music have been revived; they have made considerable progress almost all over the country.

Since the beginning of the present century, there has arisen a new school of painting under the leadership of Abanindranath Tagore, a Vice-Principal of the

Calcutta School of Art and founder of the Indian Society of Oriental Arts. Tagore picked up "the broken threads of Indian Pictorial tradition" and gave "true interpretation of Indian spirituality" (Havell). Other prominent members of this school are Gaganendranath Tagore, Nanda Lal Bose, and Surendranath Ganguly. Among its outstanding productions "The Flight of Lakshmi Sen" and "Exiled Yaksha" (the hero of Kalidasa's *Meghaduta*) are regarded as masterpieces both in India and outside.

The revival of dancing is still another achievement of the Indian renaissance. Dancing was practised by respectable women in ancient times but in the course of time, it was taken up first by Devadasis or the women of questionable character in Hindu temples and then by professional women of loose morals, and hence lost its respectability. Rabindranath Tagore took the lead in restoring dancing as a respectable art and it has already become popular. Dancing in modern times has taken three different forms:

- (1) Classical dancing, for which there are special schools both in North and South India;
- (2) Folk dancing, which has been revived by Gurn Saday Dutt through what is called the Bratachari movement in Bengal and other provinces;
- (3) Ballet dancing, a combination of Indian classical dancing and music under the influence of the Russian Ballet, which Uday Shankar, a former pupil of Madame Pavlova, has introduced in India with great success.

Music has always been a part of Indian life, both spiritual and recreational. But Rabindranath Tagore gave a new turn and a new meaning to Indian popular music. He combined the lofty divine concept of the Upanishad with the deep devotional love of Vaishnavism, first in his lyrics, such as *Gitanjali* and *Gardener*, and then in his songs, both patriotic and divine, including the present national anthem and some of the congregational prayers. Since the beginning of the present century India has passed through such revolutionary changes as the partition of Bengal, the struggle for national liberation, partition of India, achievement of national independence, and establishment of a democratic republic, all of which affected national emotion and gave rise to patriotic and other songs in the various languages all over the country.

#### MISCELLANEOUS EDUCATION

Closely connected with institutional education mentioned above, there have also developed other educational systems, both organized and unorganized, by which dissemination of knowledge has been taking place among the people. Of those systems, the most important are the following:

- (1) Scientific and educational organisations, such as those of physics, chemistry, biology, economics, politics, medicine, agriculture,

and education, which meet annually in different centres of the country and discuss various problems on the basis of expert knowledge;

- (2) Social, political, industrial, labor, agrarian, and similar movements that carry on propaganda work in regard to their special interests;
- (3) The press, both English and the vernacular, since the beginning of the nineteenth century;
- (4) The libraries, both circulating and otherwise, which have been increasing in number;
- (5) Theatres, moving pictures, and the radios that have also been reaching an increasingly large number of people all over the country; and
- (6) The platform and the pulpit, which have been propagating various doctrines and ideals to an increasingly large number of population.

#### GENERAL CONCLUSION

In conclusion, it may be pointed out that as the prime factor of mental development, education has rendered an immense service to the progress of modern India: First, as the medium of instruction, the English language has educated India in modern science, philosophy, art and technology and opened to her the vast resources of Western civilization in general and British civilization in particular and helped India to find herself, which is the greatest contribution of England to India. Secondly, the establishment of various universities and of other higher institutes of education has prepared Indian people in the social, political, and economic thinking and reconstruction, the best example of which is India's Constitution, a monumental edifice to popular democracy. Thirdly, secondary education, both academic and vocational, as supplemented by high schools and similar other institutions, has begun to stabilize the rising middle classes in modern social order as the custodian and carrier of cultural heritage from generation to generation. Finally, free and compulsory education for all children up to the age of 14, instead of a few scattered primary schools as at present, is a measure of supreme importance for developing the literate electorate and intelligent citizens of India's democratic Government. It must also be added that India must also preserve the legacy of the English language, which the British introduced over a hundred years ago for imperial purposes and which has now become the most important international language. Like her State-language and the national language, India needs also her international language so that she may perform her duties and responsibilities in the international organizations,\* the number of which has been increasing as the time passes on.

5. Cf. "Language and literature in India" by Sonya Ruth Das, *The Modern Review*, May 1949, pp. 403-404.

# VIVEKANANDA—HIS INFLUENCE IN THE AWAKENING OF MODERN INDIA\*

By G. L. MEHTA,  
*Ambassador of India to USA*

THERE is, indeed, urgent need today for a better appreciation of the ways of life of different countries, for tolerance between peoples and for mutual recognition of our common aspirations. But in no case is such understanding more essential than between India and the United States as on their co-operation and harmony depend the future of democracy in the East and the peace of the world.

The Ramakrishna Mission which conducts several Vedanta Centers in this country is a vital institution that seeks to combine the religious and cultural tradition of India with the gospel of social service of modern times. This Mission was established in Calcutta in 1897 by Swami Vivekananda to honor the memory of his *guru* or preceptor and master Shri Ramakrishna Paramahansa.

In order to evaluate the contribution which Swami Vivekananda has made to the evolution of New India, it is necessary to remind ourselves of the times in which he lived and worked. India was then in a state of ferment. Vivekananda was born only six years after India's first revolutionary movement of independence in 1857. The national upsurge, however, was much wider than the political struggle. The second half of the nineteenth century was marked by activities of social and religious reform. Some reformist movements like the Brahmo Samaj in Bengal had emphasis on the unity of God and discarded idol worship; it carried on a crusade for removal of social evils and for elevating the status of women. Others like the Arya Samaj in the north sought to go back to the pristine purity of the ancient scriptures and strove to attain the ideal of an Indian nationality. The Indian National Congress which became the spear-head of the national struggle for independence was also established during these days.

It was in these times of turmoil and unrest that Vivekananda came under the influence of Shri Ramakrishna Paramahansa, a poor priest in a temple near Calcutta, and became in due course the standard-bearer of the master's teachings. Shri Ramakrishna had scarcely any formal education and led an intensely spiritual life in splendid isolation. He had deep faith in the inherent truth of all religions and tested his belief by performing religious exercises in accordance with the practice and usage not only of different

Hindu sects but also of Christianity and Islam. His broad catholicity, mysticism and spiritual ecstasy attracted considerable attention of the people. But he lived and died a lonely spiritual devotee, unknown except to small groups of disciples and followers.

But Vivekananda was not only a disciple, he was an exponent and interpreter. His learning, eloquence, zest and energy and his wonderful personality gathered round him a band of followers which included the rich and the poor, intellectuals and the illiterate, his own countrymen and foreigners.

Sixty-two years ago, when America was still an unknown land to most people in India and India seemed a distant, perhaps a semi-barbaric country to many in the West, Vivekananda overcoming all the hardships of travel and without adequate financial support came to this country and, indeed, to this city, where on September 11, 1893, he addressed the World's Parliament of Religions. His speech, extempore and brief as it was, created a profound impression on the audience; overnight, he became a celebrity in this country. The keynote of his address was universal tolerance and human brotherhood. Indeed, Vivekananda was the first spiritual and cultural Ambassador of India to America. Sister Christine who heard Vivekananda for the first time in a Unitarian Church in Detroit in 1894, says:

"The power that emanated from this mysterious being was so great that one and all but shrink from it. It was overwhelming. It threatened to sweep everything before it. This, one sensed even in those first unforgettable moments. . . . He was barely thirty, this preacher from far away India. Young with an ageless youth and yet withal old with the wisdom of ancient times."

And, in parenthesis, may I mention what impression Vivekananda himself had of America. In a private letter from Chicago, dated 2nd November, 1893, Vivekananda wrote:

"There is a curiosity in this nation such as you meet with nowhere else. They want to know everything, and their women—they are the most advanced in the world. The average American woman is far more cultivated than the average American man. The men slave all their lives for money, and the women snatch every opportunity to improve themselves. And they are a very kind-hearted, frank people. Everybody who has a fad to preach comes here and I am sorry to say that most of these are not sound. The Americans have their faults too and what nation has not? But this is my summing up. Asia laid the germs of civilization, Europe developed men, and America is developing women and the masses. It is a paradise of the woman and the laborer."

\* This is the text of a speech delivered by Ambassador Mehta at the First Annual Vivekananda Memorial Lecture in a series designed to promote the fostering of cultural relations between India and the United States of America, at the University of Chicago, on Wednesday, 20th April, 1955. The lectures are provided for by a fund at the University of Chicago, established by Taraknath Das Foundation.

minating reformatory ideas and engaging itself in social service. It has placed in the forefront of its program the idea of social work not as mere charity or philanthropy but as an essential discipline for religious and spiritual life, as a social obligation which we all owe to those less fortunately placed in life.

The first Vedanta Center in this country was founded in this city soon after Swami Vivekananda's visit in 1893. There are today eleven centers in this country where Vedanta philosophy is studied and

expounded. These Centers do not preach a set of rigid doctrines or seek to convert people.

Vivekananda died at the young age of 39. The fire that raged in his mind and heart and which expressed itself in eloquent and ennobling language eventually consumed it. It has been said: "Those whom the gods love die young." But if the gods had spared Vivekananda to live the full span of his life, he would have contributed still more to the cultural renaissance of his country and to the spiritual regeneration of mankind.

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## THE MISSION OF BANDUNG

By PROF. SHRIMAN NARAYAN

THE Twenty-nine-Nation Asian-African Conference, which commenced its work on April 18, at Bandung in Indonesia has, undoubtedly, made history. In the words of Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, work done by the Conference was a "considerable achievement." Although there were certain initial setbacks and huddles, the wisdom of all the Delegates assembled at the Conference made it possible to achieve complete unanimity on all issues. The 5000-word communique issued by the conference at the end of its seven days' work is a document of far-reaching significance. It shows that the Continents of Asia and Africa are now determined not to be camp-followers or "yes-men" of the Western powers but to meet together and chalk out their own destinies through mutual consultations and co-operation. In the course of his concluding address the Prime Minister of India made it clear that the Conference had not been convened in any spirit of ill-will or hostility towards any nation of the world. He, however, desired that like India, Asia and Africa should not get entangled in any of the Power Blocs and should behave as free and independent nations. Shri Nehru hoped that "in future there would be no yes-men in Asia and Africa."

In the course of his inaugural address to the Conference, the Indonesian President Dr. Soekarno made a fervent call for "surrender to peace" and declared that Asia and Africa were united "by a common determination to preserve and stabilize world peace and by a common detestation of colonialism and racialism." "No task," declared President Soekarno, "was more urgent than that of preserving peace." He wanted the principles of "live and let live" and "unity in diversity" to be the mottos of the Conference, and hoped that "the Conference would give guidance to mankind and prove that Asia and

Africa were reborn." The Prime Minister of Indonesia, Dr. Sastroamidjojo observed that "those who fostered the illusion that the stock-piling of atom and hydrogen bombs could bring about peace rather than the sponsors of co-existence were unrealistic day-dreamers." The Conference pledged its support to the basic principles of human rights in the U.N. Charter. During the proceedings of the Conference, India expressed the view that "the best foundation for friendship between nations was not political alliances but understanding and respect for the culture, mind and heart of one another." The Communique of Bandung Conference recognizes "the urgency of promoting economic development in the Asian-African region, and the general desire for economic co-operation among the participating countries on the basis of mutual interest and respect for national sovereignty." It also emphasises "the particular significance of the development of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes for Asian and African countries." It "deplored the policies and practices of racial segregation and discrimination which forms the basis of Government and human relations in large regions of Africa and in other parts of the world." "Such conduct is not only a gross violation of human rights but also a denial of the fundamental values of civilization and the dignity of man." The Conference was of the view that "disarmament and the prohibition of production, experimentation and use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons of war are imperative to save mankind and civilization from the fear and prospect of whole destruction." The Conference declared that "colonialism in all its manifestations is an evil which should speedily be brought to an end." The Bandung Conference was, therefore, in more senses than one, an unqualified success in serving the cause of peace

and good-will among the nations of the world. The prominent part played by the Prime Minister of India and China went a long way in ensuring the success which the Conference ultimately achieved. We particularly welcome the assurance given by the Chinese Prime Minister Mr. Chou En-lai that China would not encourage Communists in or from other countries, particularly the Five Colombo Powers. This assurance would go a long way in resolving conflicts in the South-East Asian countries.

It was a happy coincidence that the 18th April was observed throughout India as the day of dedication to the cause of a peaceful and non-violent social and economic revolution through the Bhoodan movement. It was on April 18, four years ago that Acharya Vinoba Bhave got the first instalment of 100 acres as land gift in Pochampalli village in Telangana. During the last four years the Bhoodan movement has spread throughout the country and has rightly become the symbol of a peaceful socio-economic revolution in India. This movement has attracted world-wide attention because of its unique nature in conformity with the innate genius of India. Acharya Vinoba now desires to intensify this movement during the next two years so as to be able to achieve the target of 5-crore acres of land by the end of 1957. Thousands of people must have taken the solemn pledge on the 18th April to rededicate themselves to the cause of Bhoodan and Sarvodaya and for the promotion of world peace and co-operation. It is indeed inspiring to know that on the same day, 29 nations of Asia and Africa also dedicated themselves to the cause of world brotherhood and goodwill. India believes that real peace should be established only if individuals and nations solemnly resolve to eschew social and economic exploitation, work for maximum self-sufficiency and bring about a bold decentralization or diffusion of political and economic power through the organisation of village communities. The best way to preserve world peace is to decentralise and disperse power rather than to centralise and concentrate it in the hands of a few individuals or nations. The Communists believe in the "withering away" of political power but begin by centralizing authority in the hands of a small section of the population. The Sarvodaya philosophy preached by Gandhiji, on the other hand, believes in Panchayat Raj on the basis of self-governing and self-sufficient rural communities or Panchayats. The Bhoodan movement symbolizes this urge and ideal of a non-violent and decentralized

democracy for India and other nations of the world. Instead of bringing about a social and economic revolution through the coercion of the State, Bhoodan or Sarvodaya places more faith on the conversion of the minds and hearts of the people through a process of mutual love and co-operation. Prime Minister Shri Nehru re-affirmed the same faith at the Bandung Conference by asserting that India had accepted the Gandhian ideal which taught the lesson of self-reliance on one's own inner strength. Shri Nehru spoke with "faith in the people of India and not in the big bombs."

"India was neither Communist nor anti-Communist; whatever the great powers did, India would rely on herself." It was also a strange coincidence that the world-renowned scientist and humanist Dr. Einstein also passed away on the 18th April. He was responsible for giving to the world the key to the secrets of atomic energy, but firmly believed in the principle of non-violence and world brotherhood. He had deep faith in the inherent goodness of humanity. When I had the privilege of meeting him some years ago in his cottage at Princeton he gave us a message that "nothing was more important to man than man." He also expressed his full faith in the ideals preached and practised by Mahatma Gandhi. In the words of Shri Nehru he died as a "beacon of light in the world where shadows darken." We also learn that in the course of his last letter Dr. Einstein advocated the philosophy of "passive resistance" for the defence of a minority. Born as a great scientist who gave to the world the Theory of Relativity and the secrets of atomic energy, Dr. Einstein passed away as a great humanist who sincerely believed in the cause of world peace and friendship.

April 18, 1955, was, therefore a memorable day, indeed. It was on that day that India re-affirmed her faith in non-violence and world brotherhood; it was on the same day that nations of Asia and Africa resolved to work unitedly for resolving international conflicts and bringing about world co-operation, and it was on this very day that one of the greatest scientists of the age passed away quietly in a hospital with a burning faith in the goodness of man and the futility of atom bombs and other instruments of destruction. We earnestly hope that the mission of Bandung, the inspiration of the Bhoodan movement and the faith of Dr. Einstein in passive resistance and non-violence would usher in a new era in the history of the world.



# FOUR YEARS OF BHOODAN YAJNA

By SURESH RAMABHAI

Four years ago today was offered the first land-gift in a small village in the Nalgonda district of the Telangana region of the Hyderabad State. How it so happened at all there, is not only very interesting but also immensely significant. It was nothing like a random donation to gratify a poor mendicant or a subtle action performed with an eye for a name in this world or for a good place in the next. It occurred in an area where the objective conditions were as follows:

(i) The gulf between the rich and the poor there is wider than perhaps anywhere else in the country;

(ii) The rich had lost all balance of mind and ran away to big towns for safety;

(iii) The poor were in such a helpless state as to lend their credulous ear to any one who held out any hopes to them, however mirage-like;

(iv) The official machinery (both Provincial and Central) had spent about five crores of rupees and taken every step, military or otherwise, to quell the situation and restore peace, but signally failed;

(v) The political workers adhering to the democratic method could see no possibility of easing the tension between the people;

(vi) Those believing in the dictatorial technique had, in spite of their unremitting labour of several years, only been able to create a sort of terror but could not at all succeed in their objective of socialising the ownership of land or letting the landless enjoy a secure possession of the same;

(vii) As people were being ground down mercilessly between the two stones, i.e. by the agents of the official authority in the day and of the violent totalitarian activity at night, they knew no end of their plight, human decency seemed to have totally foundered and all belief in democracy, non-violence, peace or human brotherhood was on the point of collapse.

When the happy event came to pass on 18th April, 1951, it was characterised by some signal facts:

(i) The most down-trodden people of the village, viz., the Harijans unanimously demanded eighty acres of land to make their ends meet;

(ii) The demand was not made to any landlord, official authority, politician or power-monger but to Vinoba, to one who had passed literally every moment of his past thirty-five years in humanity's service, had led a strenuous life of restraint and silent meditation and unwearied village work, had never sought for any post or office in any public or private concern or party, and had attained such a supreme control over his nature as to harbour no desire or will to do or undo this thing or that;

(iii) He had reached the place on foot walking down all the way from his Paramdham Ashram to Hyderabad and then again to that village;

(iv) He invoked the goodness of the land-holding people of that village and inquired of

them whether they themselves were not prepared to do something for their needy neighbours;

(v) A young zamindar came humbly forward with an offer of no less than one hundred acres of his fertile land in response;

(vi) The Harijans gratefully promised to make use of that land in a homely manner and lead henceforth a family life of sturdy self-reliance;

(vii) Touched by this amazing drama, Vinoba saw in it a manifestation of the Divine Hand and feeling that Providence had chosen him as His instrument for accomplishing this process, he resolved that very night to take up the new mission and set out upon it from the next day, which he has persistently continued with a sun-like regularity down to this day.

Such auspicious beginnings leave little doubt for the ceaseless progress of the Bhoodan-Yajna. It has now taken the splendid form of the gigantic Ganga sweeping far and wide with tributaries joining it now and then. During his 51 days' tour in Telangana, Vinoba encamped at 51 villages, passed through some 200 villages, settled about 500 village disputes, addressed some two lakhs of people and received 12,201 acres of land for the landless.

Vinoba's endeavour in Telangana was to "bring about," as he said in a mass meeting at Warangal, "a silent ideological revolution in our social outlook by asking the rich to donate lands to the poor. This Bhoodan Yajna is an application of non-violence, an experiment in transformation of life itself. I am only a tool in the hands of Him who is the Lord of all ages, like even those who give and those who will receive the gifts. It is a phenomenon inspired by God."

Vinoba returned to his Paunar Ashram on 27th June. On account of the rains he stopped there for two months. Meanwhile he received an invitation from Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the Prime Minister of India, to come to Delhi in order to discuss the Five-Year Plan framed by the Government. Vinoba decided to go to Delhi on foot and left Paunar on September 12, 1951.

Reaching Nagpur on September 15, he observed:

"Till God keeps strength in me I shall tour the country and beg for land for the landless."

At another place he remarked:

"Those who do not donate land today will do so tomorrow. They cannot help giving the same. In India there is none who would turn down my request for land."

On October 2, 1951, he was at Sangar, a University town in Madhya Pradesh. Addressing the workers there, he placed before the country his demand for five crore acres of land by 1957. He declared:

"Though my own stomach is very small, that of the *daridranarayana* is very big. So if any one asks me what my demand is, I say 'Five crores of acres of land.' I mean thereby cultivable land. If

there are five sons in the family, I want to be considered the sixth; if four, the fifth. Thus I claim one-fifth or one-sixth; of the total cultivable land in the country."

On bended knees he implored:

"I appeal to all of you to contribute your mite for the worship of *Daridranarayana*. This is real Yajna—sacrifice. I, therefore, beseech every one to come forward and put his shoulder to this task. This will usher in an unprecedented and mighty revolution in the country. I can, even as I stand here, behold it taking place before my eyes."

Passing through Madhya Pradesh and Vindhya Pradesh as also parts of Madhya Bharat, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh, Vinoba entered the capital of India on November 13, 1951. During the 62 days he took in coming from Paunar to Delhi, he obtained 19,436 acres.

Vinoba introduced himself to Delhi's populace as the proverbial *Vaman* who covered the earth in three steps. So also he affirmed:

"What I want the people to do is, first, to part with some of their land. Secondly, they should engage themselves in the service of others. Finally, in their service they should give up all and voluntarily sacrifice everything. This is the path into which I want to initiate the people."

After reaching Delhi, Vinoba met for three successive days the members of the Planning Commission as also its Chairman, the Prime Minister. In the words of Vinoba:

"During these three days of discussion I placed my idea before them. They promised to consider my suggestions . . . However, there is a difference between their approach and mine, though they have also the interest of the country at heart."

After eleven days' stay in the capital in a hut near Gandhi's *samadhi*, Vinoba left it in the early hours of the morning of November 24, 1951 and launched upon a walking tour of Uttar Pradesh. According to his demand of one-sixth of the entire cultivable land in the country, Vinoba wanted one crore acres of land from the U.P. As a first instalment, however, the constructive workers of U.P., meeting at Mathura on first November and during Vinoba's presence (when he was on his way to Delhi), resolved to collect five lakhs of acres within one year. Except the Almorah district, Vinoba covered one district after another of the U.P.

In April, 1952, Vinoba encamped at Sevapuri Ashram for more than a week in connection with the Sarvodaya Sammelan held there on April 13, 14, 15 and 16. This Sammelan registered a landmark in the growth and development of the Bhoodan movement for it was here that constructive workers from all parts of the country decided to collect twenty-five lakhs of acres within two years as a first instalment to fulfil Vinoba's demand of five crores, in order to establish a classless and exploitation-free society on

the basis of truth and non-violence. A quota was fixed for every province. There was thus a clear-cut programme before the workers. The ideology of Sarvodaya had now taken a concrete shape.

On May 8, when Vinoba reached Lucknow, the capital of U.P., it happened to be the Buddha Jayanti Day (Birth Anniversary of Lord Buddha). There he declared:

"I ask people to give the land they have . . . And I have come to believe that God is using, weak though I am, to complete the task which He had commenced through the Buddha."

"The work I am made to do is the continuation of the *Dharma Chakra Pravartan*—revolving the wheel of Dharma, which Buddha had started. And mark what I pronounce with the same commanding voice as that of the lion which drowns all other smaller voices and rings clear across the forest. *The land has already come to me, it has already gone to the landless*. It remains for you only to choose the manner of effecting the transfer."

Then he pointed out:

"The equal sharing of wealth is the cry of the age and it will come to be. Land will have to be redivided. I have no doubt that it can be done peacefully. I can see it quite clearly and this is why I speak so confidently about it; and this is why I ask you to wake up, for as Tulsidas sang to Rama: 'The day is dawning and the birds on the trees are chirping merrily, and it is time when gifts should be made to the poor; so awake, Oh Ram!'"

On 4th July, 1952 Vinoba re-entered Benares city after walking through 48 districts of the U.P. In Benares, he encamped at Kashi Vidyapath for 70 days to pass the rainy season. There he also gave a call for the *Swachha Bharat* (Clean India) campaign. On 11th September on the occasion of his 59th birthday, he made the resolve not to go back to his Paramdham Ashram until the land problem of the country was solved.

During his stay in U.P., Vinoba encamped at 257 places, covered 3,750 miles and obtained 2,95,028 acres. In June, 1952, was made the first offer of all land in a village—Mangioth in the Manipur district of U.P. The total land collections in the country amounted at that time to a little less than four lakhs.

On September 14, 1952, Vinoba crossed the Karanmasa river and walked down from Uttar Pradesh into Bihar. Entering the precincts of Bihar he said:

"As a pilgrim goes to a *Tirtha*—pilgrimage for God's *darshan*—so also I have come out on Bhoodan pilgrimage. I have a desire that the land problem of Bihar should be solved during my stay here. But the far more important thing is working the non-violent method. If we are able to solve the land problem by the method of love and peace, it would earn credit for non-violence. Could non-violence succeed in attaining economic

revolution, what else would it not be able to achieve?"

On 23rd October, he declared at Patna the great resolve—resolve not to leave Bihar until its land problem was solved. Next day, he placed before the people the idea of *Sampattidan Yajna*. He said:

"As the work of Bhoodan progressed it became increasingly clear that the idea behind the movement could not be fulfilled unless we went further and asked for a portion of wealth and property. And hence, I made up my mind that I must also ask for a share of wealth and property from the people. I have now done it and placed my demand at one-sixth of it; but it is up to the people to decide what they can and will give me."

Vinoba entered the Gaya district on 28th October. Three days after he declared that he wanted one lakh acres from this district of Buddha Bhagwan. As Vinoba later said:

"When I entered the Gaya district, I resolved that this district, which was the scene of Lord Buddha's austerities and which is sacred to crores of Hindus as the place for offering *Shradha* to their forbears, should be asked to collect one lakh acres as the first instalment. I expressed this feeling to the workers who approved of it and accepted to work for it."

Thus it was that Bhoodan work was taken up in Gaya district on an intensive basis. On 13th December, 1952, Vinoba entered the Manbhum district in a very weak state of health. On the 14th, he came to Chandil and his condition so much worsened that it was impossible for him to move. He had, therefore, to camp at Chandil for several months to regain his health. The fifth annual session of Sarvodaya Samaj was, therefore, also convened at Chandil on March 5, 6, and 7, 1953, Sri Dhivendra Majumdar presiding. The highlight of this gathering was the declaration of Sri Jayaprakash Narayan that he would henceforth devote himself mainly to Bhoodan work. He said:

"Despair had seized our heart after the attainment of Independence. But Vinobaji dispelled our illusions. As the light of Bhoodan Yajna spread out the clouds of doubts and darkness disappeared. Today everybody has accepted that land is the mother of one and all and each has equal right upon it. One who labours to produce from land has the first right. This is the intellectual revolution that has taken place within the last two years. Now the task before all of us is to give this revolution a practical shape, make it a reality and accomplish this mission."

Vinoba placed some very striking ideas before this Sammelan. He urged upon the necessity of building up what he called in his inimitable language स्वतन्त्र जनशक्ति (*Swatantra Jan-Shakti*). He said:

"Our work should proceed on the basis of—one, Vicharshasan (विचार शासन) or peaceful conversion of people to our view by making them think about it, and two, Kartritva-vibhajan, (कर्तृत्व विभाजन) or distribution of work among the individuals without creating an administrative authority."

To achieve this objective, Vinoba placed the four-fold programme: (i) Integration of constructive work institutions into one homogeneous unit, (ii) collection of five crore acres of land in Bhoodan Yajna by 1957; (iii) Sampattidan Yajna; and (iv) Yarn offering.

On 12th March, 1953, Vinoba restarted on his Bihar trek.

On 18th September he encamped at Baidyanath-dham, Bihar's most important pilgrimage centre. He also stayed there on the 19th on account of the meetings of workers from all over Bihar. In the evening of the 18th, he was requested by the head priest of the temple to pay a visit to the holy shrine. When he was told that Vinoba could enter a temple only if Harijans were also allowed to have the *darshan*, he gave his consent to Harijans accompanying Vinoba. Accordingly, on the evening of the 19th, Vinoba, accompanied by some Harijans and his colleagues, went into the temple. But hardly had he gone a few steps the *pandas* of the temple fell upon Vinoba and the party with *lathis* amidst cries of "*Dharm ki jai ho! Adharm ka nash ho!*" (Long live religion! Down with ir-religion!). Members of the party surrounded Vinoba, but he was slightly injured at the ear. Calmly and quietly he came out. Some members of the party were seriously hurt and beaten. Next day when he reached Pardihi in Bhagalpur district, Vinoba issued a statement to the press in the course of which he said:

"I would like to say at the very outset that those who have indulged in this act of assault did so only out of ignorance. That being so, I do not want them to be punished for this. Those who indulged in the assault were seized with anger, so much so that they made no distinction between man and woman. I trust this will prove to be the last curse of Bhedasur, i.e., the devil in man that discriminates between one man and another."

"I have already said that I do not want anybody to be punished. But the constitution of free India has been clearly violated. Small retributive measures cannot make up for that violation. What is needed is to provide against any recurrence of such incidents in future. This is an age of science. Every faith is being tested on the touchstone of reason. If our society keeps this in view and behaves accordingly, everything will go on well."

Passing through the districts of Purnea, Saharsa, Darbhanga and Muzaffarpur, Vinoba reached Patna

on 10th January 1954. Addressing the Patna citizens he observed :

"Land problem would be solved in one way or the other all over the world. Hence I do not worry about how much land I get. My only concern is the depth to which the right thought finds place in the heart of the people."

From 30th January to 4th May, Vinoba toured the Gaya district. On April 18, 19, and 20, 1954, was held at Bodh Gaya the sixth Annual session of the *Sarvodaya Samaj*, presided over by Srimati Ashadevi Aryanayakam. The most important event of this Sammelan was Sri Jayaprakash Narayan's address on the 19th. As a Bihari, he expressed his regret at the said fact that Bihar had not yet fulfilled Baba's (as Vinoba is known in the countryside) demand. He felt certain that Bihar could do it. But neither the members of the Congress party nor those of the Praja Socialist Party, both of which had passed resolutions supporting Baba's call for 32 lakhs of acres, had taken up the work with proper zeal and spirit. He added that personally his faith in the efficacy of the movement was growing day by day. Law could not unite hearts. Nor could any party pass a law making land a social property. Of course, that could be done by the sword, but the sword gave rise to more problems than it solved. Sri Jayaprakash pleaded for speedy action as urgency was essential and time waited for none. He said that the paramount need was to dedicate one's whole life to this cause and he called upon his countrymen, specially the youth to come forward and donate their life to it. Jiwan Dan or gift of life. He closed with the solemn announcement of offering himself for the cause.

Next day, the president announced that Sri Jayaprakashji had sent her two letters—one his and the other from Vinoba. She read them out. Sri Jayaprakash's letter said :

"I enclose a letter received from Baba. I have no words to comment on the donation of life to a small fry like me by a man who has inspired us all. I shall say only this that I am totally unfit for accepting such an invaluable donation. On the contrary, we have to donate our life in the name of God to Baba himself. Yours in humbleness, Jayaprakash."

Vinoba's letter was:

"In response to your call of yesterday here is the offering of my life for a non-violent revolution based on Bhoodan-Yajna and with village-industries as its mainstay.—Vinoba."

Then began to flow the Jamuna of Jiwandan-Yajna. One after another, men and women offered themselves. About 500 names came then and there. Then followed the only resolution of the Sammelan, read out by Sri Shankarrao Deo. Expressing joy at the collections of 26,15,101 acres from 237,022 donors within two years, the resolution asked all those who

were anxious to establish human values in the society to come ahead and devote themselves to make the movement a success. In his valedictory address, Vinoba appealed to all political workers to forget their differences and take to producing *Jan-Shakti* through the common medium of Bhoodan. He claimed that the same would result in changing the whole administration, convert our power politics (*rajniti*) into popular politics (*loka-niti*) and help in the establishment of *shasan-mukta* (State-free) society.

During the rainy season of 1954, Vinoba covered the flood-ravaged districts of North Bihar—Darbhanga, Saharsa and Muzaffarpur—and waded through knee-deep and chest-deep waters, using a boat only when inevitable. In spite of the floods his meetings were crowded and often they attended the prayer as also his speech in showers. How deep a place has Bhoodan Yajna found in the heart of Bihar peasantry can be gauged from the fact that at one village in the district of Purnea they received Vinoba with a song at once original and unique:

"Sita Sita Ram Bolol

Sab Koi Bhoomidan Dedo'!"

At another village, in the Santhal Parganas district, they greeted him with the words:

"Baba, Zamin Lo' Zamin Lo'!"

In the closing week of 1954, coal-miners of Bihar donated some 15,000 tons of coal for manufacturing bricks required to prepare wells on the Bhoodan lands distributed to the landless. Vinoba remained in Bihar up to 31st December, 1954. During his stay of 839 days he was donated with 22,32,474 acres of land.

In the small hours of the morning of the New Year's Day, 1955, Vinoba stepped out from the Bihar of Buddha and Mahavir into the *Vihar Bhoomi* (pilgrimage-land) of the Vaishnava saints and seers. It was his first visit to Bengal, the land of devotion and piety, of music and dream. He spent there 25 days, eleven in the Bankura district and fourteen in the Midnapore district, labouring to go deep into Bengal's soil and sow the thought-seed. He made it absolutely clear that Bhoodan sought to transform the whole society and was nothing short of *Dharma Chakra Pravartan*. He stirred Bengal to its very depths by calling upon it to supplement its legendary *Bhakti* with *Ahimsak Karma-Yoga* (non-violent activity). For *Bhakti* without *Karma* was bound to lead to inertia and *himsak karma* (violent action) was alien to the genius of her soil. Hence the paramount need of the Bhoodan Yajna for Bengal.

On 26th January, 1955, when Vinoba set his foot on the Orissa soil, he was presented with about a lakh and a quarter acres of land as also 93 villages donated in toto. Accepting the gift, Vinoba pointed out the great task to be accomplished in Orissa. He remarked:

"The work to be done now is that of *Bhoomi*

*Kranti* (Land Revolution). Merely giving land to the landless is not sufficient. Private land-ownership has to be abolished. Land can only be God's or of the society. If the people at any place live this idea, it would amount to the *poornata* (completeness) of Bhoodan Yajna. Thereafter the work of obtaining five crores and distributing it would become very long. I, therefore, expect a *paripoorna darshan* (wholesome view) in Orissa."

He also added:

"My hope from Orissa is not small. I am quite confident that now when the Bhoodan current has flowed on to this place, it would widely expand even as is done by your Mahanadi near the sea. I learn that Sri Mukund Deva tried to bring the Ganga to Orissa. Perhaps, he failed to earn the prestige. But you would now earn it. This, Bhoodan Yajna's current is the Ganga's. May you march with it right to the sea, the sea of humanity."

These days Vinoba's *yatra* goes on in Orissa. On 2nd February, they donated him 22 contiguous villages. On February 26, when he was at Manpur—a village which has been entirely dedicated in the Bhoodan Yajna by its people—he expressed the hope that the Bhoodan Yajna movement would make the land-revolution a living reality in the whole of India.

On March 25, 26 and 27 last, Vinoba was at Puri where was held the seventh Sarvodaya Sammelan. Therein he, giving a clarion call for land-revolution, called upon all public workers to donate two years for the Bhoodan Yajna. He appealed to them:

"Let all of you put your shoulder to the wheel for two years. This call of mine is not addressed to the people of India alone or merely to Sarvodaya devotees, but to one and all. I urge upon the whole world to leave no stone unturned for two years so that an arms-free society may come into force by 1957."

He further declared:

"It is not only a matter of tackling the land-issue. We have, in fact, to wipe out all Governments the world over for they cannot succeed in limiting the sphere of armed activity. We have to found non-violence. I ask for land-gifts for the sake of world-peace."

Thus has the Bhoodan-Yajna movement grown up during the last four years. About 37 lakhs of acres of land from more than four lakhs of donors have been so far offered in it as also some 150 whole villages. Also about 1500 workers, hailing from different parts of the country, have offered *Jivandan*. What is far more important, however, is the new enthusiasm the movement has created as also the energetic forces it has released. Persons belonging to various shades of life and subscribing to different political ideologies are participating in it. One of its no less considerable achievement is the great opportunity it has provided for our womenfolk to come out and play their part in the building up of India of the morrow.

The new awakening brought about by Bhoodan Yajna can also be gauged by the rising sale of Bhoodan and Sarvodaya literature. Weeklies or fortnightly in this connection are appearing in the twelve important languages of the country. Another evidence of the cultural and spiritual awakening that the movement is bringing about is the inspiration that it is providing to our poets and men of letters. Folk-songs and popular *Bhajans* in the various languages and dialects are a common feature. Also it has attracted wide attention abroad.

In fine, Bhoodan Yajna is not merely a movement for land distribution but for sharing of life as such. It recaptures, as Dr. S. Radhakrishnan puts it, 'the social order as the family writ large'. Virtually it aims at re-discovering the dormant quality of man and make the same a social force with wide wings. Bhoodan is a march in the further evolution of the human kind. It is just paving the way for the quicker and greater development and prosperity of the society. It is an endeavour to direct man's course from the rails of distrust, aggression and bloodshed to those of trust, self-suffering and love. Bhoodan's is to set up a new world to create a new man. It has a message for every country, for every citizen of the world.

Old times are changed. Old order is crumbling. A new one has to take its place—but if it be done on a weak and false foundation more harm would be done to our people during the next one or two decades than has been done during the last two or three centuries. The lines of the new order must be the same as suit our genius and are native to our soil. Needless to state that 'plans' or 'projects' depending on foreign capital and experts or internal combines shared by foreign interests would result in throwing us all from the frying pan into the fire. India has to be built from below. But how? I can only reproduce what a seventy-eight years old Kisan in Darbhanga district told me. When I asked him what, according to him, could actually help us at the present juncture, with a beaming face he replied:

"Bhoodan is the way to *Sachcha Swaraj* (or true freedom) and I want to assure you that I would refuse to die until *Sachcha Swaraj* is established."

This is the voice of our India, real India, and Bhoodan Yajna is the way to build her truly as also to uphold world peace. It is just in keeping with the path chalked out for us by Gandhiji who led us to political freedom. It opens the door for economic liberty and social equality. May we, the youth of India, rise to the height of the occasion and march together on the noble path with steadfast and devoted steps to mould new India and a new world and establish *Ram Raj* or the *Kingdom of God* on this very earth!

## BANDUNG CONFERENCE



*Above:* Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, at the Palen airport, Delhi, accompanied by Dr. El-Said of Gamal Abd El Nasser, Prime Minister of Egypt and Sudan, Mohammed Naim, Deputy Prime Minister of Afghanistan.

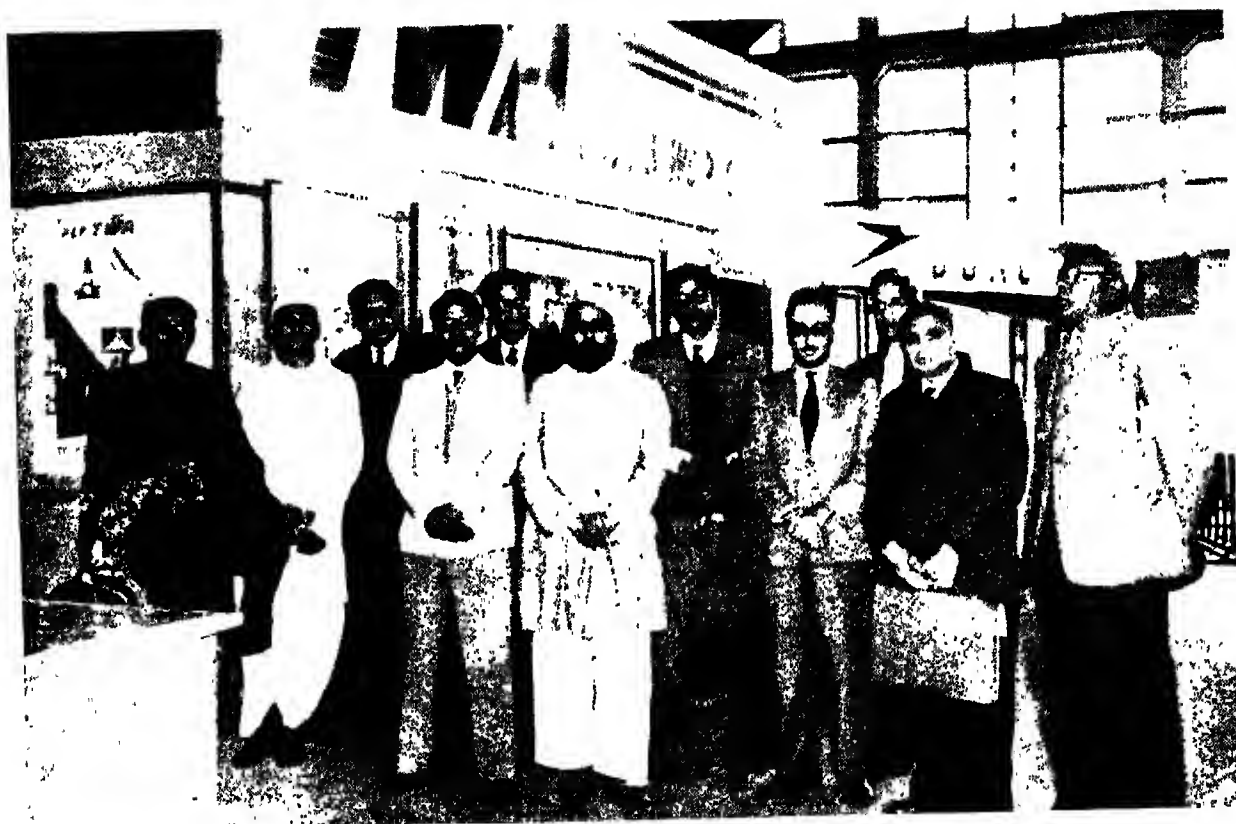
*Below:* Sri Jawaharlal Nehru, being received at Bandung by Dr. Soekarno, President of the Republic of Indonesia.

*Above:* Sri Jawaharlal Nehru and U Nu, Prime Minister of Burma, at Bandung.

*Below:* Sri Jawaharlal Nehru and Mr. Mohammed Ali, Prime Minister of Pakistan, at Bandung.



Dr. Jonas E. Salk inoculating a child with the anti-polio vaccine discovered and developed by him



The group of eleven Indian librarians who left Bombay by plane on February 9, for five months of study in the United States

# THE YUGOSLAV CULTURAL HERITAGE

By M. PANIC-SUREP

For centuries, one part of Europe could only be discerned through a haze of smoke and conflagration. Since the 14th century, only the cries of insurgents and the wails of victims were heard, while for the past 150 years or so an uninterrupted and unquenchable struggle against the Turkish Sultans, the Austrian Habsburgs, the Bulgarian Kobergs, the German Hohenzollerns, Hitler, Mussolini, Horthy, culminating in the resistance to Stalin was waged on Yugoslav soil. It would seem as if fate had decreed that all European dictators and conquerors should break their spears against the same bastion. That is why there are countless families in Serbia and Macedonia where natural death among men is just as rare as drownings of peasants in the sea. To be killed in battle was regarded as a natural death for a man.

And when the smokes of war dissolve, does one only find charred ruins and crops in these regions? Apart from innumerable and deep scars, these areas will show us one of the most wonderful surprises of our civilisation. European culture, particularly in the field of arts sometimes marked its highest achievements here. And, however paradoxical it may seem, these masterpieces actually survived all ravages and depredations.

Little is known of these Yugoslav treasures abroad. This is also understandable. The liberations of 1804 and 1918 were only partial. The greatest part of the people, the workers and peasants were forced to continue the struggle for their most elementary rights, while efforts of the ruling class were concentrated on the exploitation of the people and preservation of its privileges so that the entire cultural heritage remained in the dark.

The pattern of the material monuments of Yugoslav spiritual culture is no less vivid, varied and colorful than that of countryside mountains and rivers. These monuments stem from the earliest stages of mankind, from its pre-history. The Krapina site near Zagreb (*Homo sapiens Crapiensis*) is doubtless one of the most important in the world. This site gave science decisive data on the diluvial man in Europe, his physical characteristics and the tools he used in his fight for subsistence. His fireplace with the remains of ten human skeletons speaks of the fire on which the future master of Nature was created and tempered. Other Palaeolithic sites have also been discovered in Yugoslavia; another such site was found in a cave near Krugujevac only two years ago.

The man of the Neolithic era has left countless traces and relics in this country. Some of these are unrivalled in Europe, as for instance, Vinca and the Starcevo site near Pancevo. While the former is famous for its numerous human and animal statuettes, the latter won universal distinction with its painted earthenware with beautiful black and white ornaments on a red background: both together represent the earliest fruits of creative inspiration, the quality which sets man apart from the other beings.

With the advent of metals the number of human settlements increased notably. Over 2,000 have been registered so far in Serbia alone, of which hardly twenty have been systematically studied and explored. Groups of archaeologists are now enabling sunlight to penetrate into ancient homes, thus lifting the veil from the life and work of their inhabitants. The Illyrians and Celts were once masters here: their memories are preserved with respect.

The Yugoslav territory gave several emperors, statesmen and great men to the Roman Empire. Let us mention only Probus of Sremska Mitrovica, Diocletian of Solin, Constantine the Great of Nis, Justinian of Carin Grad. They mounted the Roman thrones as representatives of territories distinguished by an extraordinarily intensive cultural activity and economic prosperity. We find evidence of this throughout the country. The walls of the fortifications of that time, the foundations of palaces, temples, theatres, mosaics, sculptures make their appearance from day to day, and testify to the efflorescence of these regions.

But all this intensive life in the remote past was to be overshadowed by the Yugoslav cultural achievements in the Middle Ages. The Dalmatian ornaments, the reliefs on the Bosnian-Herzegovinian stecci (tombstones) and above all the Serbian and Macedonian mural paintings, mark the triumph of a mature and advanced medieval culture which, as an integral part of the European heritage, is impressive by its originality and the strong imprint of its ethnical milieu. If the Gothic style marks the culmination of the art of that time in sculpture, the Serbian 13th century frescoes are certainly the highest achievement in the field of paintings. The refined and sure draughtsmanship, the rich and mellow colouring, and the constant warm human quality of these murals, made some people speak of a Renaissance on the Balkans which preceded that in Italy by a century or so. However such an affir-

mation is far from true. Studenica, Zica, Milesevo, Sopocani are no initial steps, but the mature fruits of the century-old activity of a people whose achievements culminate in these monuments. They were contributed to the treasury of civilisation by the feudal era as its most precious gems. The Italian Renaissance will be the herald of the next chapter in History. Architecture, particularly literature, developed parallel with the monumental Serbian paintings. This is not a case of exceptional giftedness of a period and a society for any particular branch of spiritual life; on the contrary, they have proved themselves consummate artists in all fields. Whether this is realised depends only on the interest and sympathies of the successive generations.

Brilliant rays of light often prevent us from noticing the warmth of hues and the unassuming beauty of other secondary features which ensure the entity of the main work. Therefore, the exclusive focussing of one's attention to mural paintings could easily lead to neglect and a superficial attitude as regards the architectural symphonies of the Serbian monasteries, the monumental medieval fortresses which seem an integral part of the surrounding landscapes particularly the overwhelming beauty of the small objects in treasures. How many icons, miniatures, fabrics, metal ornaments, carvings each of which represents a masterpiece in itself! On this occasion they can only be indicated as a numerous ensemble which gave birth to and is at the same time overshadowed by the genius of the main protagonist.

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For the first time in history, the immense cultural heritage of the Yugoslav peoples is systematically studied, selected and classified today. Particularly important work is being done on its conservation. Although destroyed and plundered through the cen-

turies, during the numerous invasions of the national territory, it remained essentially indestructible. Its creators, the people, even uncouth warriors, knew to preserve and defend what was most important. Unfortunately they did not know or were unable to preserve it in the best condition. The prime task of the present generation is therefore to restore it.

What strange tricks fate played with some of these monuments! Imagine, for instance, that the windows and portals of Charters or Versailles had been built in, that new alien parts, say a minaret, had been added to the building, and that all had been covered by yet another thick coat of plaster which completely concealed even the minutest detail of the original reliefs and decorations. Imagine also that these barbarian acts were committed so long ago as to have fallen into oblivion. This is exactly what happened with St. Peter's Church near Novi Pazar (8th century), St. Sophia in Očard (9th-11th centuries), the Ljevin'ska Madonna in Prizren (15th century), and also partly with Studenica, the Pec Patriarchy, Diocletian's Palace in Split, and others. The Yugoslav conservation experts are performing genuine heroic feats in liberating these works of art from their stone veils. During the past two or three years alone, over a thousand square meters of old frescoes have been brought to daylight again, while the wonderful reliefs of the old styles again gladden the eye of the observer. If the medieval man believed in resurrection, this belief has been partially fulfilled in this case. His works are really coming to life again after many centuries of the molder and darkness of the grave.

All these delicate and expensive works have been made possible only by the fact that the country's cultural heritage is at present the concern of the whole social community. We consider time as a link in the long and powerful chain of human life and progress.

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## JOURNALISM FOR GIRLS

By SANTOSH KUMAR BANERJEE

JOURNALISM as a career is very much fascinating for anybody and specially for a girl. In these days of advanced civilization and culture journalism plays an important part in the daily life of an average man or woman. In Western countries journalists of different categories, such as Reporters, Sub-Editors, Editors, etc., have secured for themselves a high status in society. In our country also people are gradually realising the part played by journalists in educating the masses, building their national character and improving their general standard of living, and the degree of esteem and honour shown to them is consequently increasing. Up till now

very few educated girls have been attracted to the profession of journalism in our country where there is a great scope and possibility for their employment and better conditions of service. Recently Calcutta University has started a course in journalism which a girl student after her graduation can join. Of course, the best training which she can get is from a newspaper or a news agency office where working side by side with experienced journalists of long standing she can gather a fairly good knowledge, both in theory and practice, of the particular branch of journalism in which she is more interested.

To be a good journalist the first qualification needed is that a girl should have a good general knowledge with a background of some acquaintance with the social, political and economic developments of the countries of the world. She must have a fair knowledge of geography and history of her own country as well as those countries in particular which get "news prominence" in the pages of daily newspapers. She should not be affiliated to any political party or group as in that case there might be a possibility of the news items from her pen being influenced by her own thoughts and ideas and thereby lose the quality of independent and impartial news. Above all, she must be smart, tactful and courageous and must possess presence of mind and ready wit to face a difficult situation and can avail of a "news scoop."

In order to be a Reporter it will be to the advantage of a girl if she possesses knowledge in Stenography. If she has got a workable speed in English Short-hand and Typewriting she can somehow manage taking down important points of the proceedings of a meeting which she is required to attend, even if the proceedings are conducted in any other language than English, such as Bengali and Hindi, if of course she knows these languages. It will be comparatively easy for her to approach a leader or a prominent person and get an "exclusive interview" on behalf of a paper she represents as in modern society more courtesy is shown to a girl and naturally a girl reporter can get the advantage of it. She has an additional advantage of coming into closer contact with this leader or prominent person if she is a lady herself and the girl reporter can secure more news for the paper she represents. If she requires any detailed personal information about a particular leader, she being a lady can come in touch with a lady member of his family and can get material for writing an account of that gentleman's nature, habits, temperament, etc., which is not possible for a male reporter to gather so easily without causing annoyance and trouble to the leader himself.

In another branch of journalism, *viz.*, sub-editing, a girl journalist's proficiency in the language of the newspaper will be of great help to her. Of course, in addition to this proficiency in the language of the particular newspaper to which she belongs, she must have a good knowledge in English, which is still occupying and will occupy, perhaps for many years to come, an international position of advantage. In a news agency or a newspaper office if she is engaged as a Sub-Editor under training, she has got to go through a large volume of press telegrams and news letters from correspondents. She needs patience to go through each one of them very carefully and minutely and insert the 'articles' or 'verbs' that are wanting and correct the

grammatical errors, if any, or re-write a particular portion if it lacks its full explanatory nature. If of course she is under training in the office of a weekly or monthly magazine her task is comparatively easy as she gets more time to go through the articles or stories of which she is expected to make preliminary editing before these are finally checked by the Editor. With the increased appreciation of readers of the newspaper or weekly or monthly magazine her work will also be appreciated more and more by the Editor. This will no doubt lead to her promotion in rank or increment in pay as a matter of course without much delay.

There is another independent field of journalism, *viz.* 'Freelance,' where a girl can secure a position for herself by her own industry, perseverance and originality. In this branch of journalism she has got to labour hard to improve her knowledge in different subjects and got to maintain her patience at the beginning of her career when she may find unexpectedly poor appreciation to her writings. However, her continued writings on a subject liked by her most, such as stories, articles, etc., will no doubt bring reward to her at not a very distant future. Besides the fame which she will attain as a writer will bring to her a great mental satisfaction and secure for her an honourable position in society.

Either as a Reporter or a Sub-Editor a girl will enjoy her profession of journalism more than any other profession because whatever passes through her in manuscript stage will ultimately appear in print and when she will read these herself she will feel a sense of satisfaction and contentment, which she cannot get in any other profession of life. This joy and satisfaction can be compared with that of a teacher or a professor when he finds his own student succeeding in life or that of a Director when he finds the artiste he reached doing very well on the stage or in the picture he has produced.

The emoluments at the beginning which a girl can expect to receive in this profession of journalism either as a Reporter or a Sub-Editor will in no way be less than the emoluments she can earn from any other profession. Besides, she has the great possibility of becoming one day an Editor of a weekly or monthly magazine or a daily newspaper, as the case may be, and thereby get fame and money all at a time, which she can never expect so quickly and easily in any other profession, provided she is honest in her labour and can keep her head high above party squabbles. Lastly the service she can render to the society and the country through this profession is not inconsiderable. Through her writings she can guide her countrymen, specially the youth, to the right path of attaining progress and prosperity to cope with the development of other free countries of the world.

# AN ANALYSIS OF SALES-TAX

By M. MANIKYESWARA RAO, M.A.

THE Indian Taxation Enquiry Commission's Report has been recently released. While reading the detailed summary in newspapers I paused over the summary chapter on sales-tax.

These days sales-tax has come to be the mainstay of States' finances especially because of the inelasticity of other sources of revenue. It has well-developed in Part A and B States. Land revenue has paled into insignificance. With the abolition of Zamindari system agricultural income tax has gone down. States' excise duties are also becoming less important as the States are embarking on policies of prohibition. The States today shoulder many responsibilities for ameliorating the socio-economic conditions of the people with such poor finances. The States consequently found a good source of revenue in sales-tax.

Sales-tax falls into the tax jurisdiction of the States. Sales-tax in our Constitutional phraseology means a tax on sale or purchase of goods other than newspapers. Even the Government of India Act, 1935, assigned the taxes on sale of goods to the provinces but the sales-tax then corresponded to excise, a central subject. In view of the powers conferred on the provinces, the C.P. passed the sale of Motor Spirits and Lubricants Taxation Act 1938. The Central Government made a reference to the Federal Court which gave its opinion that the Act of the C.P. was not *ultra vires*. For the first time this decision opened up a new reliable source of revenue to the provinces. Gradually all the States imposed this tax.

Two varieties of sales-tax have come into existence; General Sales-tax and Selective Sales-tax. Selective sales-tax was first introduced in 1938 in C.P. But soon after general sales-tax came into vogue. This was divided into multi-point and single point sales-tax. Almost all the States now conform to either of these models. Single point and double point taxes were usually levied at high rates. In the multi-point system, the rate is relatively low and exemptions are few. Even the list of exemptions vary from State to State. Most States levy high rates on luxury goods. The schedule of these goods and the rates vary considerably. Thus there is an utter lack of uniformity in rates and exemptions. This has led to the necessity of all-India co-ordination. Certain States in their anxiety to tap more revenues interpreted the term 'sale' in various ways. Some of these measures involved taxation of raw materials and goods entering into inter-State trade more than once. Our Constitution says that the legislature of a State is prohibited from imposing or authorising the imposition of a tax on the sale or purchase of any goods where such a sale or purchase takes place in the course of

inter-State trade or commerce. This Article 286 with its sub-clauses opened the flood gates of controversy. The levies of sales-tax by certain States were questioned in Courts of Law. In two cases—The State of Bombay *vs.* The United Motors (India) Ltd., The Travancore-Cochin Government *vs.* The Cashewnuts Factory—the Supreme Court gave its judgment on 30th March, 1953, that in case of inter-State sales transactions only that State in which goods had been delivered for consumption had the power to such sales. The administrative complexities involved in such a judgment were seriously thought of by all States. To circumvent these difficulties various proposals were put forward of which the introduction of purchase tax was one. But nothing tangible resulted. Public attention was focussed on it. Suggestions ranged from enlarging its scope to its virtual abolition.

The Taxation Enquiry Commission having examined various views submitted their recommendations. It has been pointed out that the future of the system of sales taxation demanded decisions on major issues of policy. The States cannot do without sales-tax and the sales-tax cannot do without the Union. There is an insistent need to give a place to the Union in the system. The Commission lays the broad considerations of policy as basis for the future development of sales-tax as follows:

(1) The power and responsibility of the State must end and those of the Union begin when the sales-tax of one State impinged administratively on the dealers and fiscally on the consumers of another State.

(2) Inter-State trade should be the concern of the Union.

(3) Sales of goods should be divided between those not in the course of inter-State trade and commerce and those in the course of such trade and commerce.

(4) The Union's power of levy and control should be so exercised that there is no avoidable duplication and there is incentive for co-ordination between the States; subject to this each State should be free to evolve the system of sales-tax best suited to its conditions.

Inter-State trade becomes a subject of Central Legislation. The Commission points out the various legislative and administrative details and vests the Inter-State Council with recommendatory powers in matters that call for a clarification. For raising substantial revenues they recommend to the States a general sales-tax with a low rate and a multi-point system.

They admit that in the administration of sales-tax there is a constant need for exchange of information

between one State and another. The Report says that the Inter-State Taxation Council (to be created) should undertake the task of introducing as much uniformity as possible in matters of sales-tax laws, regulation, procedure, exemptions, etc.

They say that with the growing importance of public finance in the national economy it is important to develop an integrated national approach to problems of taxation and of expenditure. For this purpose they recommend the setting up of an All-India Taxation Council. It is a correct appraisal of basic economic policy for any modern State. But it is not understood why the Commission rejected so easily the suggestion of centralising the sales-tax and distributing the proceeds between the States on an agreed basis. The grounds on which they reject the suggestion are: (1) The sales-tax has become an integral part of the States systems which would be dislocated if so important and flexible a source is taken away. They observe that centralisation is inconsistent with its elasticity. (2) They point out that there is an enormous difficulty in administering the tax from a central place.

These objections do not seem to be very serious. They suggest a system which by no means is less difficult. It would have been better had they recommended the centralisation of the tax. The Central Government can administer effectively inter-State and intra-State sales-tax by making a list of important commodities for such taxation. The tax should be a single point tax with varying rates, luxuries and semi-luxuries being taxed heavily and necessities lightly. The Central Department need not concern itself with all commodities. It is enough if they take into consideration only commodities of importance capable of yielding large revenues. This becomes almost a system of selective sales taxation. This eliminates all duplication of work, confusion of tax jurisdiction whether the sales of goods should be included in inter-State jurisdiction or not, imposition of the tax by the Central Government and delegation of powers of assessment and collection to States, etc. The collections of the tax can be distributed among States on an agreed formula keeping in view a national economy consistent with programmes for an even development of the country.

Superficially this suggestion hampers the revenue yielding capacity of the tax. As it has been suggested that the Central Sales-tax authority should concern itself only with selected commodities the States can be allowed to devise purchase taxation. This cautious blending of sale and purchase taxes put the States in good stead. Much care has to be bestowed to see that serious cases of double taxation do not arise and that this taxation does not impinge heavily upon poorer sections of the society. This proposal is pro-

ductive and eliminates tax evasion to a large extent. The Central Government can declare different sets of commodities as essential for different States. The Central Government may advise the State Governments with regard to levying of purchase tax on goods on which sales-tax has been levied by it. Thus a sort of selective sales-tax by the Central Government and a general purchase tax by the States would overcome many difficulties.

As the Commission says there is a good case for the creation of an Intelligence Section for maintenance of statistics, pattern of trade, consumption, etc., in the State and assist in checking evasion of the tax by getting the necessary information from railway authorities. This would be possible only under the Central Government.

From this analysis it follows that sales-tax would work well under Central Government. In formulating the general economic policy for the entire country they lay emphasis on a co-ordinated and an integrated approach and when it comes to a question of centralising sales-tax they emphatically refute it on the one hand and entrust the administration of inter-State sales-tax to the Central Government. Thus there is an air of artificiality about their refusal. The Commission points out that all the States are up against the tax being centralised. The Commission seems to be imbued with this peculiar complex that the States may have to lose their autonomy in fiscal affairs. India is a federation. The orthodox theory of federalism, "the rights of the Centre *versus* the rights of the States" has gone to winds. People like Wendell Wilkie emphasise upon the unitary and co-operative spirit of federalism. I very much agree with persons like Prof. R. N. Bhargava when they characterise present-day federations as co-operative federations. Our federation certainly conforms to the spirit of present-day theory of federalism. There is much truth in Prof. K. C. Wheare's statement that our State is a unitary State with subsidiary federal features. The proposition to centralise sales-tax is made not shutting the eyes to the currents of time, time that is craving for a thorough decentralisation of administrative set-up. This is suggested only to help foster a spirit of co-operation and endeavour to take a correct interpretation of State's autonomy in a federal set-up. The real significance of federalism is lost when co-operation finds no place in it. Administrative decentralisation there must be for the dispersal of democratic ideals but it can follow with a bit of centralisation in financial matters. No fears need be nursed that the State may become an "Hobbesian Leviathan." Instead this new pattern in fiscal relationships in a federation points out the possibility of plasticity of an orthodox concept of federalism.

# AN ECONOMIC INCONGRUITY

By AROON KUMAR GHOSH

THE outstanding fact in the Indian economic situation today that strikes even a casual observer as most queer and baffling is that although the air is thick with talks about increase in production, the economic condition of the people does not show the least sign of improvement. The common man seems tottering under the burden of the mounting cost of living. Even by drawing upon his little fund of past savings, he finds it a tough job to make both ends meet. He hears a lot about the Five-Year Plan and the grandiose schemes undertaken by Government, but these big promises sound like empty stunts in his vacant ears as they do not give him any relief from the worries and anxieties of the morrow. There is no doubt about the fact that there has been a remarkable fall in the purchasing power of the people which accounts for the low effective demand resulting in slumpy condition in trade and business. The question, therefore naturally arises, if business outlook is dull, and there is low purchasing power while production has increased as is claimed by Government spokesmen, why the price-level is not showing a downward trend. On the other hand, if production index has registered a rise and the price-level is high, why there is business stagnation and unemployment. As Dr. John Mathai, Chairman of the Taxation Commission (Enquiry), posed the question on August 28, 1953:

"No period since the end of the war has presented economic trends so difficult to determine and to interpret as the past twelve months. Although the level of purchasing power and consequently the demand for goods is lower, and although industrial and agricultural production has not merely been maintained but has increased the price movement is showing an upward trend. That rising prices and increased production would presume better employment, but instead unemployment was increasing."

Referring to prices the former Finance Minister said that if purchasing power was lower, it must be presumed that the effective demand for goods was weaker. But the estimated production of food-grains in 1952-53 showed a substantial increase. "If the demand is less, and the supply is greater, how does it happen that the prices of food-stuffs have risen?" It seems that the economic facet has presented a puzzling conundrum. How to solve this paradox of poverty in the midst of plenty?

## THE DIAGNOSIS

There is no gainsaying the fact that the present situation is a legacy left by the war. During the war, the Government in order to meet the war-expenditure had to resort to excessive note-issue. This over-issue of currency inflated the credit structure in the market, and brought about an all-round inflation. In the aftermath of the War, Government took measures to

counter the inflation, and the situation to some extent improved. The present economic situation is, however, fundamentally different from the phenomenon experienced during the War. Due to the abnormal rise in effective demand caused by War expenditure and its multiplier effect, business recovered from the pre-War depression, and unemployment was greatly reduced. If inflation then was considered as a curse by the fixed income-groups, it also proved to be a boon as it gave jobs to all, and removed business stagnation. But the present economic situation shows different economic trends. Though the price-level shows no sign of falling and production is rising, business outlook is not at all bright, and there is unemployment. To look at the picture from the other angle, it would seem paradoxical that although the production is rising and there is fall in effective demand due to the weakening of the average purchasing power of the people, the consumer price-index shows no downward trend. The cause of the malady, therefore, should be sought elsewhere than in the fact of inflation brought about by the last War.

## DEFICIT FINANCING AND PRICE BEHAVIOUR

Some people think that the present high level of prices is maintained by the policy of deficit financing pursued by the Government. Under certain circumstances deficit financing may boost up the price-level, but this is not always true. Let us briefly consider the effects of deficit financing on price behaviour.

Deficit financing literally means incurring expenditure in excess of income, the resulting deficit being met by borrowing. During the last Great War, Government indulged in deficit financing in order to meet inflated defence expenditure. Surplus budgeting, on the other hand, means restricting expenditure within the revenue in such wise that it leaves a surplus. The real sense in which these two terms are understood in Economic Science is, however, different. Deficit financing as an instrument of economic policy means levelling up of public expenditure so as to stop the gap in private spending (both on consumption and investment) which has caused a deficiency in effective demand resulting in business stagnation and unemployment. Similarly, surplus budgeting means framing the budget in such a way that the public expenditure is retrenched so as to remove an excess in private spending raising the effective demand above the optimum par, and leading to boom and inflation. The level of prices, income and employment in a particular community at a particular time shows the state of effective demand, and is a barometer of action for the Government. Thus we see that deficit financing may be resorted to by Government, temporarily to offset a depression, or permanently to compensate a deficiency in private

spending on consumption and investment as a contracyclical fiscal policy. This latter policy is also known as the policy of pump-priming. Deficit financing may lead to a rise in prices if the funds spent on investment does not yield a proportionate return in the shape of higher production, and the time-lag involved in the process of production is long. If, on the other hand, the amount spent on capital formation quickly yields a rich harvest in the shape of higher production, income and employment and the time-lag is short, and no wastage occurs in the process, deficit financing does not prove inflationary. Where deficit financing brings about a rise in prices it proves that either the funds have not been properly utilised, or that there is bungling somewhere, or wastage occurs which has prevented the increase in production from materialising, thus frustrating the very purpose for which deficit financing was resorted to. Where deficit financing proves successful there may be a rise in prices in the short run due to time-lag, but in the long run such price fluctuations smoothen out.

In the implementation of the Five-Year Plan, the Government of India had to resort to deficit financing, and this may raise the price-level in the short run until the target of higher production is reached. This may, therefore, be considered as a contributory factor in maintaining the price-index at the present high level, but this is not the whole picture of the situation. Moreover, already agricultural and industrial production have been stepped up, and this might have the natural effect of reducing the price-

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level, but the rise in price-level still persists with dwindling purchasing power of the people and mounting unemployment.

#### THE REAL CAUSE

The cause for the malady has, therefore, to be sought elsewhere. The real cause is to be found in the presence of anti-social elements which are thwarting the operation of the normal economic laws of demand and supply, and are creating conditions which make competition imperfect with a view to maintain their margin of super-profit. This evil is difficult to root out because it is inherent in the capitalist system and until the economic framework is changed, the trouble-shooters will continue to spread their tentacles so as to paralyse any attempt of the Government to ameliorate the condition of the masses. This is why many people are still pessimistic about the success of the Five-Year Plan or any plan whatsoever, within the capitalistic frame-work.

#### CONCLUSION

We may, therefore, conclude that the present high price-level and inflationary condition in spite of increase in agricultural and industrial production are partly due to the policy of deficit financing pursued by Government in the implementation of the Five-Year Plan, and partly due to the anti-social activities of racketeers and black-marketers, and unless Government takes an iron hand in the matter, the corruption and moral degeneration which are eating into the vitals of our body politic cannot be eradicated.

## FODDER: THE HEADACHE OF THE DAY

By JYOTIRMOY RAY, M.A.,

*Economic Research Section, Indian Central Jute Committee*

THANKS to the Government of Pandit Nehru that our struggle at the food front has almost been brought to a successful termination. But every picture, however nice, has its two sides. Victory at the food front has simultaneously placed us face to face with the scarcity of fodder and in an agricultural country like India this is undoubtedly a serious problem.

Even a casual visitor in the village, particularly in the north-eastern region of India, must have noticed that thousands of cattle roaming on the scorched fields with their emaciated bodies searching for a mouthful of green grass in every possible and impossible corner. The first talk he may expect from an intelligent farmer is how to feed the bovine population—an indispensable partner to our agricultural economics. The writer of this article who is a student of village economics has often been accosted by his farmer friends as to the way of a gainful approach in this direction but alas he is no Messiah for them! What the writer has to say is incorporated in

this article with the hope that it may be of some use to his friends who have no direct access to him.

Mechanisation of agriculture is no reply to our query. For years to come India must adhere to labour-extensive ways of planning if she really desires to tackle her enormous and ever-increasing unemployed and under-employed resources. You can replace the cattle by tractors overnight only to your petti.

There is no denying the fact that these dumb millions were never well cared for in our land. Gandhiji, the Father of the Nation, characterised the Indian cow as a *poet of pity*. While distributing the prizes at the All-India Cattle Show held in Delhi in 1943, Pandit Nehru remarked that

"India is a strange country where people worship the cow, but nowhere is she so much neglected as in this country."

The partition of the country has farther aggravated the situation. With the influx of the unceasing streams of uprooted humanity from behind the borders, the already

existing food problem assumed a gigantic dimension. The "Grow More Food" campaign was launched without paying any heed to other considerations whatsoever. The result was as could be expected. Besides converting the fallows and the jungles to agricultural purposes, the long-standing practice of giving the fields rest at every alternate year was totally abandoned. The problem of fodder was never pressing so long there existed fallows, jungles and uncultivated plots. Again, if the withdrawal of these pastures could be counteracted by a proportional reduction in the number of cattle, it is obvious that the question of fodder would never be a headache as it is now. But in actual practice the contrary has happened. When a reduction in the bovine population was desirable, the number actually increased to cope with the vigorous exertions to produce more food and other cash crops. This was possible by the transfer of cattle from areas which now form Pakistan as well as by the lesser incidence of death as a result of the spread of general knowledge in veterinary science among the general public. Decrease in the intake of beef, etc., as human food has also some say in the matter.

Food crops, of course, supply a good quantity of dry fodder, but that is barely 50 per cent of our requirements. Assuming the average weight of a cattle to be 5 mds. (a not very unrealistic assumption) the food requirement per head comes to about 81 lbs. of dry stuff per day. For hard-working and milch animals, an increased quantity is necessary. Let us now see if this required quantity is available from the dry fodder at our disposal. It has been estimated that India possesses about 215 million heads of cattle and she produces only 15,54,90,470 tons of dry fodder. An easy calculation will show that this provides only 4.4 lbs per capita thereby leaving a deficiency of about 45 per cent of this stuff alone. This deficiency must be covered by green grass if the maintenance of cow, etc., is to be made an economically sound proposition.

A good quantity of hay, etc., is used by the low income groups in the villages for making their dwellings and it is, therefore, desirable that a good substitute for the purpose should be found out and made available to the villages at a nominal cost so as to release the fodder for more essential purpose, namely, subsistence for our bovine population, who cannot be banished from our economics for generations to come. Though no accurate statistics is available, yet there are reasons to believe that straw etc. also forms an important item in the packing of our bottled industrial produces and other fragile objects. This quantity can easily be withdrawn without any hardship.

Again it is a known fact that more than 20% of our cattle are un-serviceable and do no other good but consume a huge quantity of fodder in exchange of which they, of course, provide us with a certain amount of manure. In the interest of the efficiency of our farms these lives should be destroyed or deported to the inaccessible regions of the country thereby minimising the

burden on our too acute fodder problem. There should be no place of sentiments in economics. Moreover, the skins and bones can be more profitably utilised for other purposes.

The writer is far from advocating that the above measures are sufficient to solve our problem. What is necessary is that over and above all these, we must take active interest in the cultivation and propagation of green grass for our cattle as we are keen in producing more food for our increasing population.

Napier, Makai, Guinea, Barseem, etc., are the most common species of green fodder having quick-growing and heavy-yielding capabilities. They are nutritious too. In this country, however, Napier is the most well-known variety and its propagation is found to be encouraged by some enlightened State Governments including the Government of West Bengal. There is no reason why it should not be extensively grown by all and sundry once they are told of its importance and given demonstrations as to the actual process of its cultivation.

Assuming that it may be of some use to the readers of this journal, I may venture to lay down briefly the salient features in this respect. Vigorous-growing Napier is a perennial crop. It can be sown any time preferably excepting the winter days when its growth remains dormant. Monsoon months are ideal for sowing but it must be remembered that though extremely fond of water, Napier cannot stand water-logging. High alluvial or loamy soils are well suited for its purpose. Heavy manuring—about 80 mds. of cow-dung per bigha—in a well-pulverised soil is necessary to yield the maximum result. Plants grow as high as 10/12 feet and for fodder the first cutting can be obtained within 3 months of the sowing when the crop assumes a height of 3/4 feet. One can expect 5 or 6 cuttings a year in a well-cared-for plot giving an yield of about 600 mds. per bigha.

It is, perhaps, known to all that Napier looks like sugarcane when matured in view of its having hard stem and prominent nodes and internodes. Its propagation is also like sugarcane done through stems cut into sets. It can, however, also be propagated by roots without any inconveniences whatsoever.

To reduce operational costs, it should be sown in rows so that the subsequent inter-cultures can be given with a simple hand-driven appliance called the wheel-hoe. Frequent inter-cultures benefit the plants abundantly. Every cutting should preferably be followed by hoeing, manuring and irrigation when possible. Raw cow-dung can also be used at this stage without causing any harm to the plants.

If the average body weight of a cow is about 5 mds the per capita requirement of grass cannot then exceed 16 srs. a day. It is, therefore, obvious that per capita requirement of food is 144 mds. ( $16 \times 30 \times 12$ ) for the whole year. Now if the average yield of Napier is 600 mds. per bigha, one can conveniently feed more

than 4 heads of cattle from a tiny patch of land comprising an area of .33 acres if only proper planning is done beforehand. As the sowing can be extended till October, a section of the idle labour forces—both human and cattle—at the end of jute harvesting and paddy (Aman) transplanting can be most profitably utilised for the purpose.

No sane man will disagree when it is told that

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in the present economic set-up of India, Cattle is indispensable for our agricultural operations and there is hardly any indication to show that the situation will be otherwise in the near future. So it is high time that we should look earnest in the matter of improving the health and vitality of these dumb partners of ours. The slogan of the day should be not "Abolish Cow-slaughter" but "Improve our Cattle Wealth."

## WAY BACK FROM DARJEELING

By A. N. SEN, M.A., B.Sc. (Glas.), M.I.E. (India)

DARJEELING district I have visited often enough but whenever I go to that side I make it a point to go to Darjeeling town and peep at Kanchanjanga if weather permits, and a short rest at the Mall in the hope of meeting old acquaintances follows as a matter of course. The conquest of Everest, which is invisible from here, and a reference to Tensing are yet interesting topics. I had been to Kurseong for a change and visited Darjeeling on the last day of my stay. I moved about a lot but rather early in the day and long before a bus was due to start I took a seat beside the driver for a comfortable journey down. But at the last moment, an Anglo-Indian girl asked me to give my seat to her. The tortuous journey would make her sick and a side seat would be handy for her. Although old myself, a sense of chivalry prompted me to move in. But the excuse was only a pretext. She carried on a lively conversation with another girl in the second row of seats—no sign of sickness. I purposely abstained from any conversation but when I heard that it was her father, who constructed the admirable railway line from Siliguri to Darjeeling through hard rocks and precarious slopes, I could not check myself. Could she only in her teens, have a father active in 1870, when the line was built? I blurted out that I had heard that same story at least twice before, as indeed I had. I hoped that this would put a stop to further wild talk. But I was mistaken. In two or three minutes, I learned that she was preparing for Senior Cambridge at Bombay and that she devoted her spare time as an apprentice with the Salvation Army for the good of the country. In the long speech that followed, the word "Gentleman" escaped her and I came to the conclusion that she was doing her work well and had a good memory to repeat her usual lecture. I felt relieved, at Kurseong, when I got down at the foot of St. Mary's Hill.

St. Mary and Dowhill on the hills of Kurseong are very quiet but are close to Darjeeling. People

fond of company or society prefer Darjeeling, where in close residential quarters they flock during the two milder periods of the year, when heat scorches the plains. But I enjoy such delights only occasionally and prefer Kurseong where one may take a morning journey to Darjeeling and return by evening.



Tensing, conqueror of Everest

Kurseong is situated to the north of the level plains of Bengal. The south winds from the seas, after traversing 300 miles of flat terrain suddenly meet the rising hills here and moisture they contain condenses into water particles from the cold and falls as rain. The annual rainfall here is about 170 ins., which is rather heavy compared to Darjeeling's 126 ins. and Calcutta's 62 ins. A similar situation at Cherapunji in Assam with abrupt higher hills nearer to the sea gives the place the highest rainfall in the world—over 400 ins. The regular South wind from the sea during the summer months is one of the precious gifts of nature to Bengal, which in the plains, as in Calcutta is very pleasant towards the evenings. Water takes longer to heat (than land) when cold and longer to cool when once heated. During the day the

air in contact with the earth gets heated by sun's rays, becomes lighter and flows upwards. This occurs more slowly over water than over land. So the comparatively cooler air from the sea moves towards the land by the afternoon to take the place of the air moving upwards there in large quantities. It is evident that during early mornings, the contrary happens and cold air flows from the land towards the sea.



The city of Darjeeling, Kanchanjangha in the background

One hundred years ago, the whole region on this side was a vast wild. Darjeeling area with a portion of the plains belongs to the Raja of Sikkim. The site of Darjeeling was first sighted by General Lloyd in 1828 during an expedition to settle differences between Nepal and Sikkim. For decades there had been invasions by Nepal Gurkhas reaching as far as Sikkim and Darjeeling areas and culminating in war with the East India Company in 1814. The Company restored the territory to the Raja of Sikkim, all under the paramountcy of the Company. Lloyd and Grant had been urging Government to start a sanatorium and established a military outpost at Darjeeling. In 1834, the Raja again received help to counter a Lepcha inroad into Sikkim. This was followed by a deed of gift of the region between Darjeeling and Siliguri, against a yearly tribute of Rs. 3,000, subsequently raised to Rs. 6,000 (to save face!). Dr. Campbell, the British Resident in Nepal, was transferred to Darjeeling as Superintendent in 1839. He developed the district by opening out roads including the military road from Pankhabari to Kurseong and on to Darjeeling over the Sinchal hills between 1839 and 1842. He established law and order in the then lawless country. There were only 100 inhabitants in Darjeeling but in ten years the number swelled to over 10,000, as refugees crowded into the place from Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan, when slavery was prevalent. Then the rise slowed down; by 1869, there were 22,000 souls.

The vast tea industry is based on Campbell's

experiments with acclimatised China stock from Assam. Twenty years later, one of his plants had developed to 20 ft. high and 50 ft. girth. The tea industry was established commercially by the year 1856 and drew individual Europeans. In 1861, for convenient transport, the old military road to the hills being narrow and steep the ingenious cart road was hewed out of the rocks. The Ganges-Siliguri Road was also constructed by 1866. So long it involved a long tedious journey in boats, horses, palanquins bullock carts, etc. The railway was built in 1881. The tea industry grew by leaps and bounds; there were 38 gardens in 1866, which increased to 170 by 1900. At first it had to be kept in check to prevent reckless deforestation. It is today restricted owing to over-production. With the introduction of machinery and large demand of timber for packing and fuel, there was a great influx of labourers, mechanics, and the population grew enormously, fully two-thirds being employed in tea. There was general economic development but the expansion necessitated Company management, individual purses being insufficient. Only small unpretentious concerns under Indian management started later nearer the malarious plain.



Zigzag railway, Darjeeling

So, Dr. Campbell had not experimented in vain. Cinchona experimental plantations were started in 1864 at Mangpu, east of the Sinchal hills. Since quinine was indispensable and foreign products were costly, it was continued as a Government concern, although it was not lucrative. Coffee, tobacco, rubber, camphor have also been tried and abandoned.

There was trouble in 1850. Dr. Campbell was held in detention in Sikkim but was soon restored after a punitive expedition. Full administration of the area up to Sikkim Doars was taken over by the Company. Difficulties however arose again but were finally settled in 1860 on the Sikkim side. But in the early sixties, inroads from Bhutan started another war and resulted in annexation of Kalimpong and adjacent hills and Doars in the plains.

Darjeeling has always been a part of Bengal, though for 6 years of the Bengal Partition, Darjeeling was tagged to Bhagalpur Division, Rajshahi Division had been made a part of East Bengal and Assam. Bihar had no separate existence as a Province any time before 1912. It has always been the summer resort of high officials and pleasure and health seekers.



A loop in the Darjeeling-Himalayan Railway

A school for girls, St. Mary's College and an Industrial School for boys were started at Kurseong in 1889. Much earlier in 1846, the Loretto Convent at Darjeeling the first missionary institution there and a seminary were established but the living and lodging conditions there were so severe that it is said that a lady committed suicide. The St. Paul's School at Calcutta after many vicissitudes had been transferred by Government in 1861 to Darjeeling for the education of the children of Government servants. The Dowhill School was started in 1879 by Government also for the same purpose at Kurseong. For education in a suitable climate on the haes of the English schools, many well-to-do people now-a-days send their children to the schools here. Near about Kurseong catering for over 600 boarders and day-scholars there are the Dowhill, Victoria, St. Helen's and Goethal schools of a high standard.

The history of missionary activities in this area practically started in 1879, when Dr. Goethal, Archbishop of Calcutta, purchased Woodcot, not far from Kurseong from a planter and gave it over for the use of sick and tired missionaries. It was occupied in 1884. Loretto Convent at Darjeeling, as already stated was started in 1846. On the question of jurisdiction, whether Bengal or Bihar should control activities; further expansion was held over for long years, in spite of individual enterprises for promoting education. At the time visitors from Calcutta (1861) were urging Government to open a sanatorium and a college at Darjeeling ("remarkable for its strange beauties"). The Roman Catholic Fathers were also urging higher authorities to get the mission under the Calcutta Archbishopric. Administration of Darjeeling

District was transferred from Bihar to Bengal in 1881. St. Joseph's Seminar was taken over after acquiescence of authorities from the Capuchins (a Roman Catholic Order) of Patna in 1886 and is now widely known as "North-Point."

In the year 1887 the Maharaja of Burdwan, in need of money, sold 117 acres of land near Kurseong for Rs. 3600 to the Roman Catholic Fathers. It was not a bad bargain. It stands on an incomparable site known as St. Mary's Hill in a building which has been added to from time to time; the extension of central and two side wings were undertaken for much needed expansion as well as a measure of protection from earthquakes. The fine Grotto close to the College begun in 1897, was finished in 1924 with great care under difficulties. The mansion Woodcot has also kept pace with the improvements of the College. The College may be said to have started in 1889 when the scholastics from Asansol were transferred to this cooler place.



Bannhouse attached to St. Mary's College

The College number about 100 teachers and students in all. They come from Bombay, Madras and other different States in India, as well as from foreign countries having severed all connections with their homes. They do not like to discuss their previous history on principle. They are graduates of Indian, European and American Universities in various subjects: literature, philosophy, science, mathematics, etc. All have undergone after leaving their homes, at least ten years of training, before starting the Divinity course which lasts for four years here. After ordination they become priests and begin educational and religious work. If necessary, these graduates are sent to various places for even further studies. In this way the scholars are specialised in different subjects. After ordination, they go out to Calcutta side (St. Xavier's College, for example), to Patna, Ranchi, Madras (Loyala College) Trichinopoly and many other places. By 1939, 587 left the college as teachers' priests and missionaries, of whom 275 were in Bengal

and Ranchi, 169 in Madras and the rest distributed throughout India. The incomparable library of the place, containing mainly the sacred books of all religions for study, has a varied collection, including complete works of Rabindramath, Bankimchandra, Saratchandra and other writers in Bengali and covers the various subjects of philosophy, science, history, mathematics, geography, etc. There were 20 000 volumes in the library in 1939 and the present figure is 48,000, the yearly addition being roughly about 1,500.



St. Mary's College, Kursong

The farm connected with the institution is wonderful. About 50 cows, 100 pigs and 200 fowls are well-lodged, cleanly kept and well fed. Some foreign cows give as much as 20 to 25 seers of milk per day. They live in a spacious shed and the maintenance cost is Rs. 3 per head. Fowls of selected breeds are kept segregated within separate enclosures with open grounds. The eggs are bigger than ducks' eggs. In spite of their dirty habits, the pigs are cleanly kept. In adjoining grounds, various vegetables are extensively grown. The produce is utilised in the kitchen of the Institution and any excess is accessible to the public. All these are under the whole-hearted superintendence of Brother Smidth, a hard-working, experienced Brother, who left his home in Tito's country, 27 years ago.

The social work for improving the standard of living of the local people excites admiration. The old Doctor Brother Buysse would be often seen tramping down the hillsides at dead of night to succour needy people. Patients flock from distant parts, including Darjeeling to consult him. He left his home in Belgium over 50 years ago. He is known in the bazaar as the great man of St. Mary's. The maintenance of the establishment, such as building new structures or repairing the old and the running of the institution are all carried on by the members themselves with occasional engagement of local people. The example of simple life and sense of dignity of

labour, ought to be an eye-opener in this country. Beyond various kinds of help the Fathers are rendering, their work is aimed at raising the standard of life. If one or two are converted to Christianity in this connection there is nothing to grudge in this land of neglected humanity, handicapped by caste restrictions. The Hindu Gita recognises all religions as paths for salvation as opposed to forcible conversions which were often accompanied by unspeakable horrors in olden times. After all, the record is rather poor. The first Baptism of two took place at Kurseong in 1876 and by 1905, 200; by 1932, 300 altogether were converted. For the background of the education and culture derived from this source, we should be grateful. There is no fear of missionary first, trade next, followed by occupation and exploitation. Was there not, in no very distant past, mass conversions in East Bengal and Southern India through the influence of the ruling power? This was easy owing to suppression of humanity from a Brahmin superiority complex. Yet the conversions did not produce complete social equality as was professed. But the present village squabbles and communalism and trek towards towns owing to partition are inevitably levelling the social inequality.



Poultry reared in the farmhouse

As an institution of Missionaries vowed to poverty and celibacy, women are not allowed inside the compound of the college, except the family of highest officials, *e.g.*, the Governor. After many years our present Governor's wife paid a visit to the institution last year.

For me it was a problem to distinguish between Fathers and Brothers for a long time, though it was evident that Brothers were not sons of Fathers. Now it has been clear that Brothers undertake all kinds of secular work in running the institution, while Fathers study and preach on the religious side. To obey superiors without question, obedience is a cardinal principle of the Roman Catholic Church. The Pope

of Rome is the supreme Head, the representation of God on earth. Matters are not decided by democratic vote in religion but there is ample scope for expression of honest opinion. If Jesus Christ had to take votes for religious tenets, there would have been no Christianity, which would have been a calamity for the world.



T. B. Sanatorium, Kurseong

As to the industrial school, various attempts had only been preparing the ground, which Father Wery as Parish Priest of St. Mary's gave a practical shape in 1932. During an official inspection about 20 years ago, the writer visited a tailoring class of Father Wery in a room in St. Alphonsus' Primary School, below the college, opened in 1905. Father is an old enthusiastic worker in whose hands with the help of Brother Robin, the huge establishment of the St. Alphonsus' (1937) Industrial School and High School has grown up, year by year on the site of the old Clarendon Hotel, where, earlier in life, the writer had stayed for a while. It was through Father Wery that he settled here and became known intimately to the Fathers and Brothers, for which he is ever grateful.

Parish work at St. Mary's consists of looking after the welfare of the local Catholics, over and above running an Orphanage School. After the removal of St. Alphonsus School to the town of Kurseong a primary school continued under the name of St John's School. Originally looked after by Fathers of the college the combined work became too heavy and Father Wery was succeeded by other Fathers, Henrichs, Daly and Farrell, the present incumbent. The writer is a next door neighbour and is indebted to all of them for their kindness.

The famous T.B. Sanatorium at Kurseong was started by Sri S. B. Dey on the hills over the railway station in 1937 with his large contributions in land and buildings. In 1942, Government granted further land for extension of the institution at a nominal revenue and up to 1951 donated over 5 lakhs of rupees for further expansion. The total amount spent was over 9 lakhs, the balance being secured from the public. To the original 20 beds and subsequent additions in cottages, 111 more were available in a new

commodious building. At present there are 172 beds and the long waiting lists show that many more are in demand. Some beds are maintained by public bodies and others by the Sanatorium including 25 free beds, at the instance of the Government, for the poor local patients, who are specially liable to T.B. There are also 7 more free beds and 15 half-free beds; besides help of various kinds is given to sufferers. The patients come mostly from Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri districts and some from Calcutta. Provinces outside Bengal also send patients. About 300 patients are treated yearly under the competent and undivided attention of Dr. Guha and each patient lives on the premises for 9 months on the average. About 90 per cent fully recover now and the percentage is rising. Most gratefully the patients leave with a new lease of life. Even in this healthy station, fresh and strengthening diet is essential and so the overall expenditure per patient reaches nearly Rs. 100 to Rs. 275 per month. The usefulness of the institution and the necessity of enlarging it should be realised by all, as we constantly hear of the extending inroads of the fell disease.



The Kurseong Industrial School

My friend the late Kiron Shankar Roy was instrumental in starting this institution. I remember an incident in the early years of his life, when he, after referring to the friendship of our two families for three generations, claimed my vote in the Council elections. Shouts of "vote for Kass Roy" from a crowded lorry still ring in my ears.

From Kurseong, we get a good view of the plains, of which the main feature is the Teesta valley. The Teesta starts from Kanchanjengha and flows for over 100 miles through Tibet and Sikkim and then along the boundary of the latter. The little Rangit river, as can be seen from Darjeeling to the West and North, turns round and falls into the great Rangit, north of Darjeeling. The combined waters then run into the Teesta between Darjeeling and Kalimpong, almost east of Darjeeling, on its way south to the plains. The last gorge 300 ft. broad at the Coronation

bridge at Sevoke widens to 800 ft. within 700 yards at the new Sevoke bridge and to 4500 ft. or 6 times within a mile from the bridge. The Teesta then divides into several streams and flows south-east to the distant Brahmaputra by Jalpaiguri.



Flood in Cooch-Bihar

The name Teesta is derived from *tishna* (thirst) or from *tisrota* (three streams). While a mythological story that it was brought down from the Himalayas by Mahadeva, as was the Bhagirathi or Ganges, to quench the thirst of a demon, one of favourites, fighting with Parvati, is based on the former, the actual course points to the latter. In no distant past, this wide river was frequented in its lower reaches by trading and pleasure boats, when its banks were thriving. Bankim's *Devi Choudhurani* gives some idea of the past prosperity.

There is a railway station called Mahanadi about five miles to the east of Kurseong. The Mahanadi river rises close to this place but instead of running towards the Teesta nearby, to the east, turns west and flows between the new and old stations of Siliguri. It meets the Balasan river a little to the south and west of the station. From Kurseong is seen the Balasan river before it falls into Mahanadi, running its circuitous course and separating Kurseong and its western hills, just as the Meeh river on the other side of these hills separate Bengal from Nepal. The Meeh also meets the Mahanadi further south above Kishengunge referred to later. Known as Mahananda, it flows by Malda and falls into the Ganges near Godagan almost opposite to the source of Bhagnath as it flows past Murshidabad, Navadwip and Calcutta to the sea.

After spending the night at Kurseong, it was convenient for me to take lunch at the Station and to wait for the afternoon train. Most unexpectedly there arrived my old friend, Mr. Sudhir Sen of Messrs. Sen-Raleigh & Co., and his talented wife

with two foreign experts for a short visit to Darjeeling for a glimpse of the snows. They also took their lunch and proceeded upwards. And downwards by the long tortuous railway line along the hill-side I duly reached the new Siliguri Station at dusk. The first journey on this line is most fascinating for a visitor. The waterfall known as Paglajhora excites admiration amongst the varied scenery all along the way. Although eternally in a state of repairs, owing to constant landslides during the rains, the road is wonderful with several loops and zigzags by which considerable amounts of altitudes are negotiated. There is a story that the Engineer in charge of first laying down the line was in de-pair at a certain point, when he could not proceed further. His wife rather pleasantly said, "why not go back" and this gave him the idea of zigzag. After the glorious snows at Darjeeling these somewhat lose their charm.

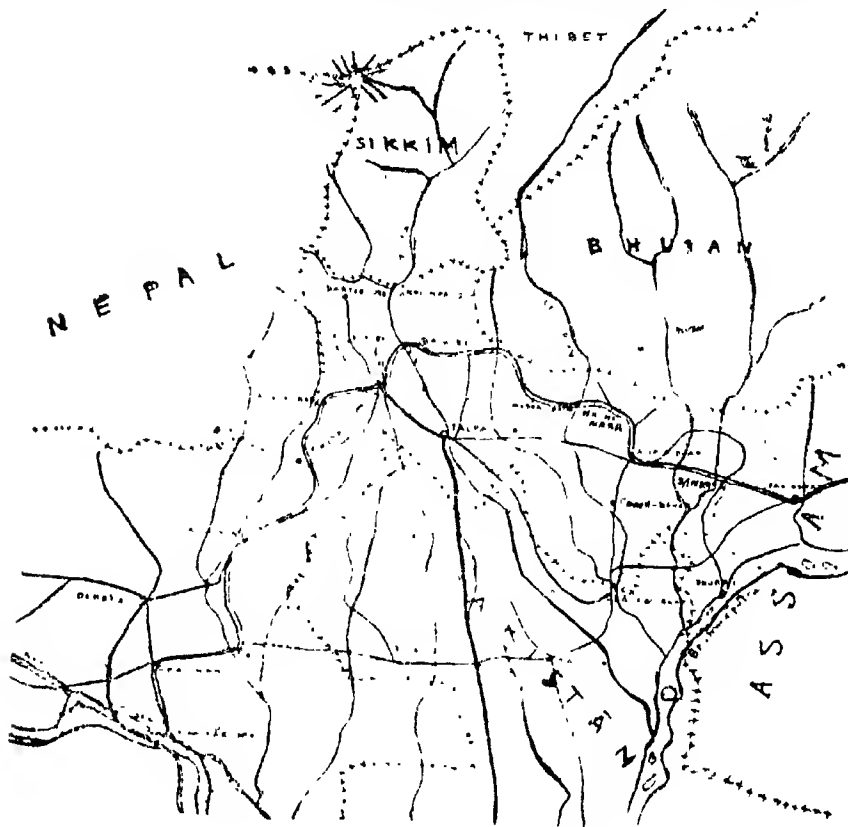
Before the Partition of Bengal, three narrow (2 feet between line) and one broad (5 ft. 4 ins.) railway lines terminated at Siliguri. The narrow lines



Sri Jawaharlal Nehru and Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy discussing Cooch-Bihar flood

were from Darjeeling, from Kalimpong bridge and from Kishengunge (where the former Oudh and Tirhoot line terminated). The other ran straight from Calcutta through present Pakistan. There was also another line the Bengal Doars Railway (constructed in 1902) of intermediate width (1 metre, nearly 40 ins.) from the east up to Bagrakot within 22 miles from Siliguri the river Teesta obstructing junction with Siliguri. From the necessity of becoming independent of Pakistan consequent on the sudden partition of Bengal and for direct connection between two parts of West Bengal and also with Assam, the present Assam Link (metre line throughout) was constructed in a record time of 2 years replacing the narrow line from Kishengunge to Siliguri and filling up the gaps

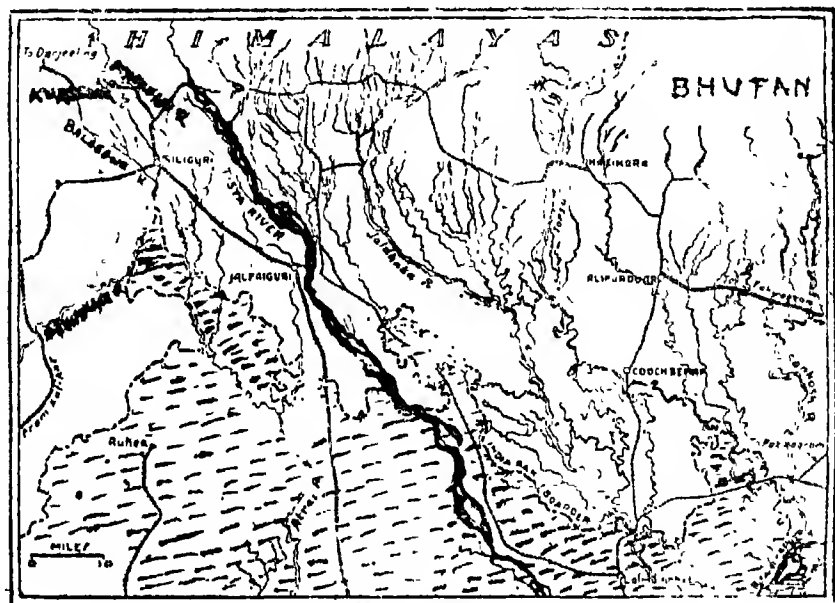
for a direct route to Assam. It was projected towards the end of 1947. Construction started in 1948 and one side of the line, (a) Geological formation of hills —the fragility of the hills on one side of these hills. trains ran by 1950. It may be noted that the narrow



New Assam Link. North Bengal under flood

With heavy rain on the top of the hills, the streams none too deep, spate over and flow down in terrific velocity washing down earth, trees and boulders causing the disappearance of roads, embankments and bridges. The same was also true regarding "the wild and untamed" Torsa, 60 miles away. Projects for bridges were seriously entertained in 1927 but were not pushed owing to difficulties. A third river San-kosh near the northern extremity of Cooch-Bihar at the boundary between West Bengal and Assam was another obstacle. All three and hundreds of small streams had to be bridged over before the Assam Link utilising the existing Bagrakot to Madarihat line (52 miles) and Hashimara to Alipur Doars portion (28 miles) could be joined by new construction to the old line at Fakirgaon (21 miles to the boundary of Bengal and 21 miles further) well inside Assam, to avoid Pakistan territory. Of course, other connections of 12 miles from Siliguri over a new bridge over

line to Darjeeling remained as it was and a metre gauge replaced the old broad gauge of 25 miles to Jalpaiguri and extended 13 miles to Haldibari on the Pakistan border near Parbatipur. Formerly the route from Bengal to Assam was through Parbatipur and Lalmonirhat and branch lines ran north from Lalmonirhat. One such terminated on one side at Bagrakot already mentioned, near the Teesta, and on the other side at Madarihat on the Torsa (another difficult river for bridging) from Tibet through the Bhutan hills after its 160 miles course. Another branch went through Cooch-Bihar and Alipur Doars to beyond Hashimara. The steep banks of the Teesta, narrow inside the hills, and suddenly widening in the plains made the construction of a bridge difficult. Difficulties and dangers to which the Assam Link Railway is susceptible are: (i) Periodical breaches caused by



The Tista river

Mahanadi to Sevoke and 8 miles from Sevoke (Teesta bridge) to Bagrakot as well as 5 miles from Madarihat

(Torsa bridge) to Hashimara had to be made to complete the line, which is unique in that within a few miles of most of the line at an elevation of about 400 ft., the lower ranges of the Himalayas rise to 8 to 10 thousand feet high.

The area, 60 miles long and 20 miles broad between Tecsta and Torsa at the foot of the hills is known as the Bengal or Western Doars, thriving in tea industry. Owing to the difficulty of access, it is not widely known in Lower Bengal. In this area lies the famous educational centre of Cooch-Behar, the sphere of activity of Professor Brojendra Seal; a place where poor, but eager and meritorious students used to flock for a rather inexpensive higher education.

The population of Siliguri (784 in 1901) numbered 70000 in 1948 and rose to 45000 by 1950. At present it is much higher, the place expanding in various activities.

Among passengers from different directions, i.e., Darjeeling, Assam, Bihar, North and West Bengal, I entrained at Siliguri for Moniharighat. Though my seat was reserved, newcomers without reservation had to be accommodated by negotiation (according to our highest authorities) although after some altercation, at the price of some unwilling self-sacrifice. In the course of the conversation it was soon known that we were all refugees from East Bengal and this aroused considerable sympathy. As the conversation went on, we learnt that not only were we co-villagers but were also relatives. Dispersions from our original homes had made us complete strangers. Now followed an welcome seat distribution at willing self-sacrifice because realisation of relationship endears one creating a desire to please and be pleased. I have had similar experience at least twice in my life when as an official I had to do much traveling. Perhaps, I was over-insistent on my rights in resisting encroachment.

Due West, Bagdogra, the famous airport of North Bengal, was reached after 7 miles and Naxalbari after another 7. This is within a mile of the Nepal border. The line then turns south and after 14 miles

passes Galgalia, less than 2 miles from Nepal and after a slight bulge to the east reaches Thakurgaon, 7 miles to the south-west. Here the line runs parallel to and inside the boundary of Bihar, now subject to a controversy. Mount Everest is visible from here. Had it been clear and daylight I would have attempted a peep. A branch of the Tagore family is said to have once settled here, whence the name. The place, on a plateau, overlooks Mahanadi in the south. The dense Nepal forests are on the west and the *terai* starts from the north. Thirty-one miles to the south-west lies Kishengunge where as already stated, the O. T. Railway terminated. Now all is the same railway. Barsoi junction lies 35 miles below. In pre-partition days the railway connection with Assam, of Central Bengal lay east from Barsoi, 33 miles inside Bengal, through Dinajpur, Parbatipur, Rungpur and Lalmonirhat.

We reached Moniharighat early in the morning. The actual crossing of the Ganges in the steamer takes less than an hour but the transhipment of the mails, goods, etc., involves four hours. This delay forcibly reminds one of the former overnight journey from Calcutta to Siliguri. The steamer was rather crowded but offered a chance for a good wash and tea. After crossing, a fellow passenger, to whom another was complaining of the delay, very aptly expressed surprise at his eagerness to taste the smoke and heat of Calcutta, instead of the pure air of the Ganges. As, many passengers were bathing in the Ganges, I also had a dip. While not exactly admitting the efficacy of the Ganga bath, I felt much refreshed after the crowded night travel.

Almost along the route taken by Mir Kasim, the last of Bengal Nawabs to leave Murshidabad, we reached Bolpur by 1 p.m. My relation there, previously informed, treated me to a sumptuous meal and once more I paid a visit to Santmuketan to offer my homage to the world poet Rabindranath's place. The evening train brought me to Calcutta and nothing special happened in this familiar journey.



# KUMARI CHANDRALEKHA AND HER ART

By HARINDRANATH CHATTOPADHYAYA

A new star has arisen on the horizon of South Indian Classical Dance. Kumari Chandralekha, in the course of a few years, has suddenly leaped into fame and is already considered one of the few fine dancers who possess an enviable mastery over some of the most intricate numbers of Bharata Natyam. And the credit is the greater since, while she does not belong to the South she has yet so steeped herself in its culture and its art, that it is difficult, both in her daily life as well as on the stage, to believe that she was not born and brought up in the South and its great traditions.

A rare personality, vivacious and brimming over with grace she combines high culture with remarkable modesty which have won the hearts of thousands of admirers and well-wishers not only in her own country, but in countries outside India. Besides being an outstanding dansense destined for greater and greater achievements with time and continued work, she is a serious student of literature, law and politics, a fine hostess and brilliant conversationist. But her chief interest in life is the dance which she considers most urgent in the life of the nation. She believes in using her art in the service of her people and dreams of working new creations out of old traditions, dances touching the life and problems of the people and interpreting them. During her tour in China, hardly a year and a half ago, she danced the dance of War and Peace an item which won great applause from Chinese audiences and which still lingers in their memories. She won a prize two years ago at the International Dance Competition held in Berlin at which a hundred and four countries competed and her art brought her encomiums from thousands of people in the Soviet Union including artists, painters, musicians and dancers. She received a beautiful gift of old Uzbek jewellery from no less a dancer than the world-famous Tamara Khanoum in appreciation of her rare art.

Kumari Chandralekha danced at the Rashtrapati Bhavan recently. It was a performance at which the elite of Delhi were present, including the President himself, the Vice-President, the Prime Minister and other high officials of the State. Both her *guru*, Ellappa Pillai, and herself received great praise and appreciation as also medals from the President.

In Kumari Chandralekha's art we see a great tradition at work in its purest form; at no point of her dance do we find any attempt at mixing it with lesser forms in order to make it popular—an unfortunate habit which one finds creeping into the dances of several fine artists who hardly realise the damage they thereby do to classical tradition.

What Chandralekha has already achieved is unique achievement, thanks to her own genius and hard work, as well as to the meticulous training which she has

been undergoing under the guidance and care of her *guru*, Sri Ellappa Pillai of Conjeevaram, who hails from a family of well-known Tanjore *Natturannars*. Ellappa's *guru* was the famous Kandappan, Balasaraswati's *guru*; unfortunately, he died early in life, but fortunately for him, he has left behind him at



A dancing pose of Chandralekha

Photo: Yash Pal Khanna

least two worthy exponents of his art: Balasaraswati and Ellappa Pillai who, in turn, are doing their best to preserve it through younger artists like Chandralekha who promise to fulfil the ambition of their respective *gurus*. Yet, it is not every day that one comes across genius which is again different from talent. Talent may achieve what the average cannot achieve; while genius achieves what talent cannot. And it is obvious that Chandralekha must be classed in the latter category.

There is a difference in style between the Pandanallur school and the Kandappan. The former is represented by Rukmini Devi and Shanta Rao and the latter by Balasaraswati and Chandralekha. In the

former we see broad movements and severe sculptural poses; while in the latter there is intricate footwork



Another dancing pose of Chandralekha

Photo: Yash Pal Khanna

and rhythm-pattern combined with breath-taking tempo. Both these styles, however, occupy their

distinctive places in the great art of Bharata Natyam.

Chandralekha's repertoire is rich and varied; she dances Alarippu in more than one rhythm, several Varnams, Tillanas . . . Natanam Adimar is one of her most successful and breath-taking numbers. Padams in Telugu, Tamil and Canarese are rendered by her with grace born of individuality. But her greatest numbers are Useni Swarajati Varnam and Tana Varnam which she renders with almost enviable mastery.

Useni Swarajati Varnam was first danced at the court of the Chola Kings in the ancient Tanjore style, since when it had been lost and forgotten. It was revived by Sri Ellayya Pillai and taught to Kumari Chandralekha who danced it a few months ago in Madras, before a large and distinguished audience of artists and critics, including Musiri Subramania Ayyer, E. Krishna Iyer and Balasaraswati who gave her unstinted praise and blessings.

Useni Varnam is a long and intricate dance-number. All told, it covers about two hours and covers, as well, the seven difficult *talams* of Carnatic music which, with lightning speed, change from one to another with the quality almost of a spiritual feat! One such number is enough to establish any dancer in the realm of the classical dance, and there is no doubt left in the minds of those who had the privilege of seeing Chandralekha rendering it, that she is already a danseuse who has to her credit great achievement and a great future.

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## SULPHUR SPRINGS OF VAJRESWARI

By ANTHONY ELENJIMITTAM

MINERAL waters, thermal springs, spas and geysers of Europe, America, New Zealand, Japan, Tibet, India and other countries are of vital interest for geologists, hydrotherapists and millions of patients suffering from rheumatism, arthritis, synovitis, gout, high blood pressure, skin diseases and very many other ailments. Volcanic regions like Japan, New Zealand and Italy abound in mineral springs, hot and cold. Thermal springs are found not only in volcanic and mountainous regions, but also in dry cold regions like Iceland, Tibet and the snow-capped Pyrenees, Alps and the Himalayas.

The most cosmopolitan thermal spring in the world today is Karlsbad, a city located 116 miles north-west of Prague in Czechoslovakia where over 1,000 doctors go to study and practise balneotherapy every year and millions of patients throng to receive water treatment for various rheumatic, muscular, cutaneous and nervous affections. When Emperor Karl of Austria visited those hot springs, some 200

years ago, it was a negligible village of about 200 persons. But today this classical hydrotherapeutic centre has a floating population of half a million, and permanent population of about 30,000. Pilsen spring is the second best in Czechoslovakia.

Although today the word "Spa" is used for any hot mineral spring where treatment for diseases is carried out, the original "Spa" is situated in Belgium, in Leige Province. The French, the Italians, the British and the Americans so fully developed their mineral water resources that they usurped the name of "Spa" to their own watering centres. Today 'Spa' means any hot mineral spring used for treatment.

India's mineral spring resources, compared to her big size and also compared to most other countries, are poor. On the Indo-Tibetan border, in the Punjab and Sind, in Gujarat and Maharashtra are found hot mineral springs. But India's No. 1 mineral spring for therapeutic use is the two groups of sulphur springs at Vajreswari which is destined to become something

like the Karlsbad of India. This superb mineral spring resource in Maharashtra, lies at a distance of about fifty-three miles north-east of Bombay city, about seventeen miles east of Bassein Road Station on the B.B. & C.I. Railway and twenty-seven miles north of Thana on the Central Railway. From Bassein Road or from Thana one can reach Vajreswari by Bombay State Transport bus. All those who cannot afford the luxury of a private motor car or taxi avail themselves of the bus service to reach Vajreswari. Literally thousands of visitors, sick people, tourists and holidayers throng to Vajreswari at the week-ends and holidays.



Sulphur springs in front of the Vajreswari Temple

#### BATHING TANKS

Vajreswari sulphur springs are situated inside or on the banks of the river Tansa which winds round from the Tansa Lake at Vantana. If Tansa Lake is the reservoir for Bombay and its suburbs for drinking water, then Vajreswari sulphur springs inside Tansa river is the hydrotherapeutic healing centre for the whole Bombay State—nay, for the whole Indian sub-continent, as there are patients coming from distant U.P., Madras, Bengal and other parts of India to undergo water treatment there.

There are eighteen hot springs in the area, eight of which are at Vajreswari proper, and the other ten at Ganespuri, which is only two miles west of Vajreswari. The hot springs, slow-winding Tansa river and the picturesque hillocks and jungles all around make the villages of Vajreswari, Akoli, Ganespuri and Vajrakund, a nice little holiday resort, a first class Spa and also a place of pilgrimage for devotees. Tansa river is almost dried up in the area of the springs, except during the monsoon when its shallow water begins to swell drowning all the twelve springs in its ravaging rush. During the rainy season only the six springs near the river banks are used for bathing.

The chief bathing tanks are the two large pools in front of the Siva Temples at Vanakund and Ganespuri, the *Surya-kund*, *Chandra-kund* and *Subhas-kund*, at Vajreswari, and the two large ponds formed



Bathing in Puspa Kund

by the gushing hot waters of the *Agne-kund* on a raised plot of ground, inside the Tansa river, near Ganespuri. The rich and the poor, the sick and the healthy, Indians and foreigners, the young and the old sit around these tanks to bathe. Only the tanks in front of the temples are large enough for about sixty persons to get in and bathe at the same time, as the temple tanks are about 30 feet long and 15 feet wide and 3 feet deep. There are two partition walls of the tank which keeps the same water of the same spring at three different temperatures, the hottest pool



Large temple tanks

in the temple tank being about 110 deg. F, the second tub at 107 deg. F, and the third at 99 deg. F. *Agni-kund* which is the hottest of all the Ganespuri group of springs is 142 deg. F. at the surface while its temperature at the immersion point is 150 deg. F. It is so hot that one cannot keep his hands for more than a few seconds inside.

The temperature of the springs varies from day to day and from season to season, as also the quantity of the water they give out. The thermal springs range

from the lowest temperature of 98 deg. F. in *Subhas-kund* to 126 deg. F. in the *Surya-kund* and 146 deg. F. in the *Agni-kund*. Some of the springs give out one gallon of water per minute, while some others give out fifteen to twenty-five gallons of water per minute. The Geological Survey of India on February 7, 1955, estimated that the *Agni-kund*, the hottest among the springs, give out 15 to 20 gallons of water per minute



Tansa River at the Vajreswari sulphur springs

and that its temperature at the point of immersion, on that particular day, was 140 deg. F. *Surya-kund* which is the second hottest in the group gives out over 10 gallons of water per minute. But both the quantity of water and the temperature are both variable according to atmospheric and lithospheric conditions.

#### CHEMICAL ANALYSIS

The curative power of the Vajreswari springs, as, indeed, of all mineral springs throughout the world, is derived from its radioactivity, its mineral salt contents and high temperature. German scientists have conclusively proved that the source of all thermal springs could be traced to 15 miles down the earth which has a crust of about 50 miles deep. The temperature at 15 miles is well over 3000 deg. F. where everything is in a molten state. Some geologists and scientists have tried to prove the link of such thermal springs with some volcano, active or extinct. Certainly, some geysers and concentrated sulphur springs in Japan are definitely of volcanic origin, while thermal springs like those we have got at Vajreswari are outlets from high gaseous and liquid pressure inside the earth, carrying with them waters with radioactive powers, impregnated with mineral salts and high temperature useful for healing purposes.

The medicinal value of the Vajreswari springs is derived from the presence of mineral salts like sulphates, carbonates, chlorides and phosphates of calcium, sodium, magnesium, iron, lithium, potas-

sium, etc. The hydrotherapeutic clinic, the only scientific water treatment of its kind in India, conducted by Dr. M. R. Kothavala and Dr. Mrs. J. M. Kothavala, after a long experience of the last 25 years, has proved that the Vajreswari and Ganespuri group of sulphur springs are even better than most European 'Spas', because of the better quality of sodium present here. While in all the public tanks and *kunds* at Vajreswari the primitive method of sitting together, at times under unhygienic conditions, continues, it is at the hydrotherapeutic clinic of Dr. Kothavala at Ganespuri that one gets purest sulphur water, canalised into hygienically constructed tubs, each with a capacity of holding 80 gallons of water, with four taps for hot, cold, lukewarm water and for shower bath. Certainly, the pioneering research and experiences of Dr. Kothavala can be of great help when the Vajreswari sulphur springs will be developed by the Bombay Government as is envisaged in India's Second Five-Year Plan.

Any natural thermal water containing hydro-sulphuric acid is generally called sulphur water. Although pure sulphur springs are to be found only in Japan, a certain quantity of sulphurated hydrogen is found in Vajreswari springs for which reason they are to be classed among the sulphur springs of the



Dr. M. R. Kothavala and Dr. Mrs. J. M. Kothavala, the two Indian pioneers in Hydromopathy

world. The very smell of the Vajreswari thermal springs bespeaks of sulphides of sodium, calcium and magnesium which are of great medicinal value when combined with radioactivity. The chemical analysis also reveals that the Vajreswari springs contain gases like sulphurated hydrogen, chlorine and carbondioxide and some other gases which act upon human body as curative elements.

#### TREATMENT.

Bath treatment or balneotherapy, and water treatment or hydrotherapy, like heliotherapy or sun treatment and dietetic treatment, are all parts of Nature Cure. The specific treatment for all types of rheumatic pains, including lumbago, arthritis, synovitis, whether

they are of metabolic or of toxic origin, is always bath in sulphur springs at Vajreswari. Many cases of paralysis, neuritis, skin diseases of all kinds, including eczema, gout, high blood pressure, locomotor ataxia have been cured radically or partially relieved at Vajreswari springs. In all organic and functional diseases at least 10 per cent improvement is always guaranteed in hydrotherapy.

As radioactivity of the sulphur springs is the main curative power, great care should be taken to take bath under hygienic conditions. Any contamination or impurity diminishes the medicinal quality of the sulphur springs. Even moss, dilution with the river or rain water, and unpurities diminish or neutralize the radioactive power of pure natural sulphur springs.

At present the hygienic conditions at the sulphur springs are miserably poor, except at the spotlessly clean scientific clinic of Dr. Kothavala. Instead of allowing patients with infectious or contagious diseases to enter the tank the spring water should be canalized into bathing tubs fixed in bath rooms, where water used by one patient may not be used by a second person. If the existing eighteen springs of Vajreswari are canalized there will be enough water for several hundreds of patients to be treated daily in fresh sulphur water.

Ignorant and superstitious people now take bath in the sulphur springs for an hour or two or even more, and that sometimes four times a day, little knowing that prolonged baths in too hot sulphur springs wash away their vitamin deposits from the skin, adversely affect heart and kidneys. Too much of even the best things is always bad. Bath should not exceed 20 to 30 minutes. The temperature should be the body temperature or a little above, up to 100 deg. F. In the cases of rheumatism and allied ailments needing heat application the temperature of the water could be raised to a maximum of 110 deg. F. While for rheumatism two baths a day are sufficient, skin diseases may need three, while high blood pressure need only one. All these mean that treatment of various patients at the sulphur springs must be carried out under medical experts and hydrotherapists, and not to be left to the wild fancy and vague unagination and hearsay information of ignorant patients.

Now that the Bombay Government have taken in their hands the task of developing Vajreswari sulphur springs by building sanatoria, baths, roads and clinics in and around the sulphur springs, we may reasonably look forward when Vajreswari will become the Karlsbad of India, a blessing to the citizens of Free India and a soothing balm for the suffering millions.

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## **PUERTO RICO EXEMPLIFIES DEMOCRACY**

By **EDWARD TOMLINSON**

**GOVERNMENT** in Puerto Rico today is an answer to Communist and other extremist charges of American imperialism in the Western Hemisphere. This island of nearly 2,000,000 people, which enjoys more autonomy than any territorial possession of the United States, is an eloquent example of the fact that, given intelligent leadership, this island's people are eminently capable of maintaining self-government and progressing under it.

On January 2, 1949, the Puerto Rican people inaugurated Luis Munoz Marin as their first elected island-born Governor. The island's new chief executive was chosen in a contest that was as democratic and peaceful as a gubernatorial campaign in any State in the United States. Eighty percent of all the eligible voters, men and women, went to the polls and cast their ballots.

In Puerto Rico officials and leaders are out to woo American capital, industries and factories from all parts of the United States. They hold out every kind of tempting inducement. Any manufacturer who will come to Puerto Rico, establish a business, employ Puerto Ricans and pay reasonable wages will be free of all taxes for 12 years. Puerto Rican banks will help him

to finance his machinery and equipment. The insular Government will even erect factory buildings and other facilities and rent them to him for a nominal sum. Almost everything is being done to create work and production for Puerto Rico and its people.

The man who conceived and sponsors many of these ideas and policies is one of the most interesting personalities in the entire West Indies today. Luis Munoz Marin is the son of Luis Munoz Rivero, known as the George Washington of Puerto Rico because he helped to ease the transition from Spanish to United States rule after the Spanish-American War. Munoz Marin, or "Don Luis," as he is known to the jibaros—the mountain folk and little farmers of Puerto Rico—and most of the other people on the island, is a graduate of Harvard University. As a young man he spent most of his time in the United States and went through all the stages of youthful radicalism. For a while he toyed with Marxism, eking out a precarious existence as a radical poet and writer for leftist magazines in New York City's artistic and literary colony, Greenwich Village, until mental and spiritual maturity set his feet on other paths.

With this out of his system Munoz Marin returned to Puerto Rico and entered politics, or rather into conflict with the old, existing parties, finally building his own political organization in the Popular Democratic Party. Today Munoz Marin is Puerto Rico's leading exponent of a moderately liberal, slightly right-of-center democracy. He is a huge man, with a sagging black moustache, raven hair, an almost dreamy, kindly expression and great patience and tolerance.

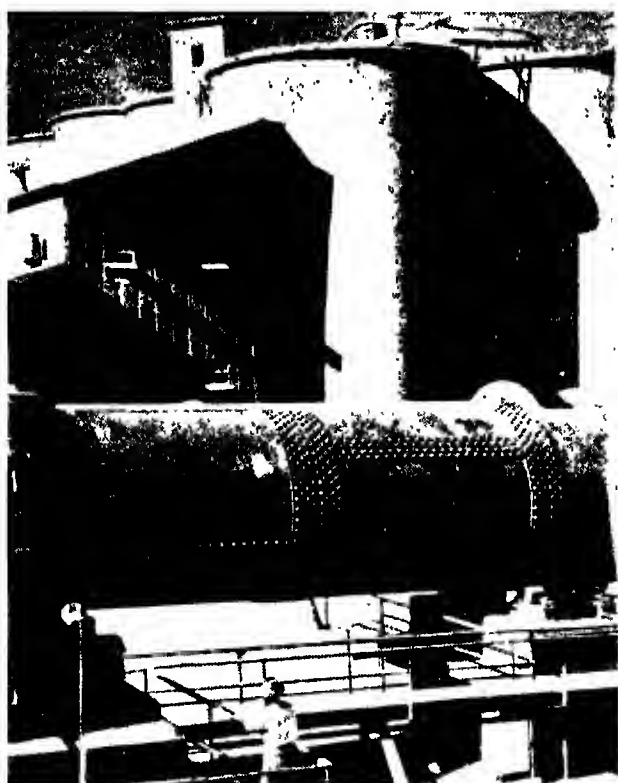


Luis Muñoz Marín, the first elected Governor of Puerto Rico, who took office on January 2, 1949, addresses an audience in San Juan, the capital of Puerto Rico.

When the writer reached San Juan, the capital city of Puerto Rico, recently, Munoz Marin and his family were up the mountains in the very center of the island, where he was enjoying his first vacation in more than 10 years. As the founder and active head of the Popular Democratic Party and as president of the Puerto Rican Senate, he has fathered and personally championed most of the island's progressive legislation since 1936. Day and night his office in the Capitol Building and his small suburban bungalow in San Juan are crowded with political leaders and jibaros, rich and poor, farmers, carpenters and others from all walks of life. The jibaros often tramp all the way across the island to pour their troubles into Munoz Marin's sympathetic ear, and they are never turned away without an attentive hearing.

To relax and rest for a few days before taking over the governorship, Munoz Marin chose a cottage in one of the most remote parts of the island and on the very top of a mountain. There Munoz Marin talked to the writer of the past, and of his party's plans for the future welfare of the people in his island homeland.

Munoz Marin has led the Puerto Ricans through periods of acute economic distress and sheltered them from political extremists of all stripes. Communists tried to bore from within, to infiltrate various labor groups and political parties, including the Popular Democratic Party. Munoz Marin manoeuvred them into organizing their own party and coming out into the open. "There, at least," he said, "we could show them up and make them ridiculous in the eyes of people." In the recent campaign they



The kilns and storage elevators of the Puerto Rico Development Company Cement Plant in Catano, Puerto Rico.

turned their guns against him and the Populares. As Munoz Marin phrased it, "We not only disowned them, but made them disown us, which is what we wanted."

Most Puerto Ricans do not want any drastic changes in their present political ties with the United States. The recent elections demonstrated that. The two chief opposition parties and candidates asked for clear-cut, definite and immediate action along these lines. One party insisted that the island be made a full-fledged State of the Union, with all the responsibilities and obligations of a State. The other advocated complete independence, and with them voted the Communists. But the people turned both factions down for the middle-of-the-road policies of the Popular Democratic Party and Luis Munoz Marin.

"Why," Munoz Marin asked, "be compelled to seek either independence or complete statehood, instead of something else, say, the status of a commonwealth?"

Why not travel a step at a time, making sure of what we are doing as we go along? We are not interested in paper freedom; we want freedom in the everyday lives of people. First we want freedom from fear and want; freedom to think, to say what is in our minds and hearts, freedom to elect our own administrators."

Besides granting the Puerto Ricans increased freedom and the right to run their own affairs, the taxpayers of the United States have supported the island generously. Direct Federal aid extend to the island between 1898 and 1945 amounted to \$580,000,000. Puerto Rican veterans have enjoyed all the benefits and opportunities accorded

those on the mainland. The U.S. Veterans Administration has paid out \$100,000,000 to more than 60,000 Puerto Rican ex-servicemen. Thirty thousand Puerto Rican student veterans have received more than \$50,000,000 in GI Bill of Rights (Veterans Rehabilitation Act) benefits. Some 50,000 veterans have received medical advice or services, and more than 30,000 have received treatment in government hospitals.

"All this," said Munoz Marin, "the United States has done here in Puerto Rico at a time when Americans were being called political and economic imperialists in nearly every part of the world."

In keeping with his policy of step-by-step self-government Marin asks only one further political concession from the United States at this time: The right of the people of the island to write their own constitution

just as any State of the Union has the right to do. Munoz Marin feels that a constitution drafted by responsible Puerto Ricans would differ very little from the present one. "But," he believes, "it would be the people's own constitution. It would be another demonstration of self-government in a community of American citizens."

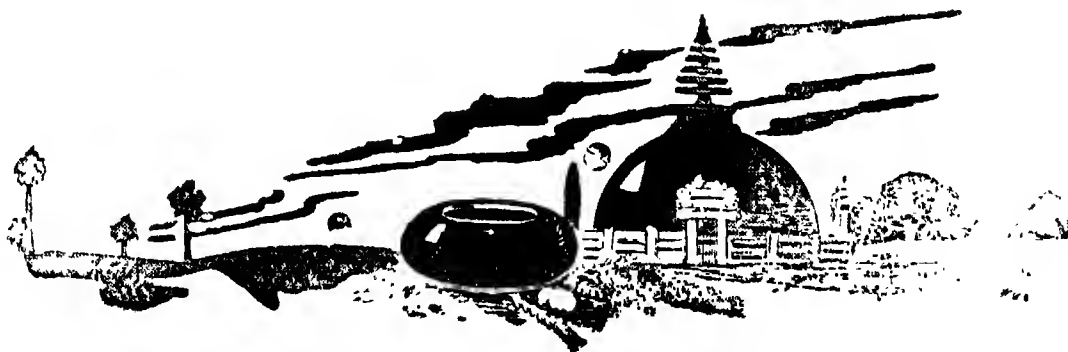
"We are making progress," Munoz Marin went on. "We are building more schools, gradually extending rural electrification and irrigation. We are bringing about healthier conditions among the people. Vigilance in sanitation is becoming a popular habit. Between 1940 and 1947 our population increased 14 per cent, but our total production rose 30 per cent in the same period. That is a substantial gain anywhere."—From *The (Washington) Sunday Star*.



The San Antonio housing project in San Juan

The island has enjoyed steady progress toward political freedom and self-rule. As early as 1900, two years after the Spanish-American War, Puerto Rico was authorized by the United States Congress to elect representatives to the lower house of the insular government. This was followed by the right to send elected Commissioners to the U.S. House of Representatives in Washington, D. C.

Since 1917 the Puerto Rican people have had their own bicameral legislature, a Senate as well as a House of Representatives. Meanwhile, they were granted the full rights of American citizenship. In November 1948, they elected their own Governor. The democratic processes have been put into practice gradually, until today the only island officials who are appointed by the President of the United States are members of the Puerto Rican Supreme Court and the auditor of Puerto Rico.



## ERNEST HEMINGWAY

### Nobel Prize Winner

By PROF. P. P. MEHTA, M.A.

THE thrice-married tough-guy Hemingway seems to be a man with the proverbial nine lives. From his youngest days to the present day, he seems to have the knack of intentionally walking into tough spots, and still escaping death. During the last days of the First World War he was wounded while he was cycling from his canteen to the frontline trenches. At that time he received two hundred and twenty-seven separate wounds from the mortar, over and above being hit simultaneously in the leg by a machine gun round. He has described this experience when he wrote to his family from Milan :

"My feet felt like I had rubber boots full of water on (hot water), and my knee cap was acting queer. The machine gun bullet just felt like a sharp smack on the leg with an icy snow ball."

Later on, many years later he wrote :

"When you go to war as a boy you have a great illusion of immortality. Other people get killed; not you . . . . Then when you are badly wounded the first time you lose that illusion and you know it can happen to you. After being severely wounded . . . . I had a bad time until I figured it out that nothing could happen to me that had not happened to all men before me. Whatever I had to do men had always done."

Since then he has led a colourful life and many legends have been told about the physical courage and hardihood of Hemingway. There is one told by John Groth which can bear repetition. "On the way back to the farmhouse we stopped at a regimental command post. The colonel was briefing his officers at dinner. With more men and material coming up, the outlook was good. There was warm food; they had been on K rations. It was pleasant inside. Pictures had been enough by Hemingway, and they were being passed around when an explosion battered through the window, breaking it, and cutting loose the lamp from the ceiling. Eighty-eights were coming in. When candles were lighted we were all—officers and correspondent—on the floor, making ourselves small and groping for helmets. All, that is, except one: Hemingway was still seated at the table, his broad back to the window, helmetless, eating."

Thus Hemingway has a habit of poking his nose into dangerous corners. The climax of it came when his aeroplane crashed in the African jungles. A second relief plane which came to pick him up also crashed and for one day the world had taken Hemingway for dead. Some of the papers actually featured stories

on his life, but he escaped alright though fairly badly wounded. Thus this tough American has lived dangerously and has revelled in dangerous tasks. In fact, he is scarred from head to foot.

This rough tough fighting literary man was born in 1898. He was the son of an Illinois doctor. At the age of 15 he made farewell to books and studies, led a wandering life and once was a dish-washer in a hotel. He has described his boyhood in Michigan woods in his first book *In Our Time*. Then he joined the staff of the Kansas City *Star* as a cub reporter. There also he was a man bubbling with energy. He could turn out more copies than any two reporters. From there he managed to get into an ambulance unit in the Italian army and thus served with the Italian units where he was wounded. About the need of war experience to a writer he writes :

"I thought . . . about what a great advantage an experience of war was to a writer. It was one of the major subjects and certainly one of the hardest to write truly of and those writers who had not seen it were always very jealous and tried to make it seem unimportant, or abnormal, or a disease as a subject, while, really, it was just something quite irreplaceable that they had missed."

Hemingway was not so lucky in his career as an author as he was in getting badly wounded in Italy. His stories were more or less sent back with rejection slips and success like a shy bride was slow in coming to him.

These are the days in which so much is being written that it is difficult for a writer to achieve distinction in the field of letters. Commonplace subjects do not easily attract public attention, but Hemingway had cut this Gordian knot by putting his stories in stupendous and bizarre backgrounds. He has avoided, as Mr. Cunliffe says, "the orthodoxies of the American scene," has put his characters in the atmosphere of war, sometimes in the world war first stories and sometimes in the war-torn mountains of Spain. Thus his stories have a different flavour, a different context and so they have sometimes jarred the nerves of the critics.

His earlier stories "In Our Time" (1924); "Men Without Women" (1927); "Winner Take Nothing" (1933); and others clearly showed his remarkable gifts and so much was his influence upon other writers that many imitations of Hemingway were produced. His real break came with his famous novel *A Farewell*

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In the post-war years Hemingway met Ezra (Pound) and Gertrude (Stein) in Paris. These two had a lasting impression in shaping the style of Hemingway.

Hemingway is a writer who believes in loading his stories with violent love, violent action and very often, violent death. *The Sun Also Rises* (1926) is a story in which the frustration and disillusionment of the lost generation are portrayed. *Death in the Afternoon* (1932) and *The Green Hills of Africa* describing big game hunting are full of brave deeds of matadors and hunters. But his most famous novel is *For Whom the Bell Tolls* (1940) in which is described a fine portrait of an American intellectual Robert Jordan who goes on a dangerous mission in Spain and joins the Spanish partisans in the days of the Spanish Civil War. Here he shows himself the master writer, describing gripping situations in a realistic way. Pablo Anslemo and other guerrillas are beautifully portrayed. But a very touching character is the close-cropped girl, Maria, who had a bad time at the hands of General Franco's mercenary soldiers. The powerful end of the story in which Robert Jordan badly wounded, leans upon the machine-gun and waits for the enemy cavalry to fight and die is a powerful and magnificent ending for the great novel. His clipped dialogue and his treatment of the subject had reached maturity in *For Whom the Bell Tolls*. Then came a period of relapse for Hemingway. His book *Across the River and Into the Trees* (1950) was poorly received by critics, who began to consider him a back number. But Hemingway does not accept defeats like that. He staged a classic comeback by his short novel *The Old Man and the Sea* which won him the Pulitzer prize in 1953 and Nobel prize for literature in 1954. *The Old Man*, in fact, is a small novel in which Hemingway describes a Cuban fisherman who is a simple soul. His fight with a great fish is an epic of description. It is a work of freshness and perfection. Its plot is quite straightforward and there is only the sub-theme of a fisherman who sailed to catch a giant marlin, but ultimately the sharks ate away the marlin except for its spine

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A good writer must know as near everything as possible. He has no sympathy with critics or criticism. It may be that critics have not been very kind towards him and that critics have not given him his due. Once Arthur Koestler said:

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"If they believe the critics when they say they are great then they must believe them when they say they are rotten and they lose confidence. At present we have two good writers who cannot write because they have lost confidence through reading critics. If they wrote, sometimes it would be good and sometimes, not so good and sometimes it would be quite bad, but the good would get out. But they have read the critics and they must write masterpieces. They weren't masterpieces, of course. They were just quite good books. So now they cannot write at all. The critics have made them impotent."

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This certainly is not likely to be appreciated by the big highbrow critics.

All the novels of Hemingway are a great saga of human endurance, human bravery and human courage. Like tragic heroes the characters of Hemingway fight although very often the dies are heavily loaded against them. But they stand unbowed beneath the blows of fate. Death to them is not a very sad experience but is a natural and so a brave epic that is called life. Hemingway thus is a natural man who enjoys bull fights, hunting and war though they may involve death.

Some writers complain that Hemingway is an unsatisfactory alternative because he reduces the human figure to a muscular jelly of principles without values. He is also called an anti-intellectual, an intellectual who has renounced intellectualism.

Hemingway does not like politics and therefore he has no political attitude. He can think of the only political philosophy and that is the philosophy of bread. Everywhere his characters are realists who know that their main concern is "to eat as long as anybody eats." His hero, Robert Jordan fights because he loved Spain and believed that a Fascist victory would make life unbearable for those who believed in the Republic. But he had no political doctrine. Mr. Atkins describes one incident about Hemingway:

"Anyway, whether Hemingway was an intruder in the dust or not he is said to have raised \$40,000 on personal notes to buy ambulances for loyalist armies, and paid for them by newspaper work in Spain."

Such was the generosity of Hemingway. He himself said in an interview:

"All the contact I have had with it (politics) has left me feeling as though I had been drinking out of spittoons. The self-confessed patriot, the traitor and the regulator of other people's lives, believe, etc., and the regimentator all run in a photo-finish. The Senate may develop the picture if they can find a photographer who can photograph a photo-finish."

When Mr. Atkins asked Hemingway something about the future of sensibility, he replied.

"There is a future for little else except the fundamental conception of individual freedom and liberty and the universal brotherhood of man"

This even today is the opinion of Hemingway.

Hemingway is a novelist who is corrupt in his values to the extent that his age is corrupt. He faithfully tries to represent the modern society with all its defects, its war-weariness and its disillusionment. He proves that many of the poor are vicious simply because they are poor. In his story "To Have and Have Not" he has given a very disgusting picture of society, which is nauseating in general. That novel is an utter picture of "brutality and fear of a society on the edge of an abyss."

Hemingway is lucid, frank and does not hesitate to call a spade a spade. To him money is the only thing without which a man can be in real despair. The following dialogue taken from "A Clear Well-lighted Place" illustrates the point:

"Last week he tried to commit suicide," one waiter said.

"Why?"

"He was in despair."

"What about?"

"Nothing."

"How do you know it was nothing?"

"He has plenty of money."

Hemingway does not theorise. He merely shows man fighting in action against the enemy, against poverty, against animals and against his own sexual lust.

The style of Hemingway is unique inasmuch as it truly carries conviction to our mind. His dialogue is always clipped and witty. We never come across a single dull sentence in Hemingway's stories. Even the descriptions are well planned and there is never any feeling of strain, e.g., in the "Snows of Kilimanjaro" he describes a dying man and says, "Death has come and rested his head on the foot of the cot and he could smell it's breath." Here is his amazing imagery that has raised him above his contemporaries. He uses words to bring about subtle effects.

There is one peculiarity about Hemingway and that is that Hemingway can please the learned readers as well as the unlearned readers. John Lehmann wrote that you do not need a university education to get a full flavour from Hemingway. He writes from the sense and his words make us see and hear.

Hemingway's characters are alive and clearly distinguished. Yet it must be admitted that characterisation has never been Hemingway's strongest point. All his heroes talk the language of Hemingway, have the same nonchalance of Hemingway and are prepared to face great dangers, like Hemingway. They are, in fact, Hemingway himself more or less. Hemingway himself admits:

"When I wrote the first two novels I had not learned to write in the third person. The first person gives you great intimacy in attempting to give a complete sense of experience to the reader. It is limited however and in the third person the novelist can work in other people's heads and in other people's country. His range is greatly extended and so are his obligations. I prepared myself for writing in the third person by the discipline of writing *Death in the Afternoon*; the short stories and especially the long short stories of "The Short Happy Life of Francis Macomber" and "The Snows of Kilimanjaro." In "The Snows of Kilimanjaro" I put in and deliberately used what could have made many novels to see how far it was possible to concentrate in a medium."

Hemingway in a smooth running style notes

minute things, smells and sees even the colour of clothes—all with the end of breathing the spirit of life into its characters. Hemingway's characters are not averse to sex. He does not believe in love, he does not believe in sex, but he believes in love based on sex. He knows men as they are and does not quarrel with fate because they are not superior or ideal human beings. He is not led away by cheap idealism and allows his characters to have their full quota of sex and love. His attitude to sex is very realistic. *e.g.*, in his story "An Alpine Idyll," a peasant's wife died; the body could not be taken out for burial because of snow. When the farmer worked at nights, he hanged his lantern from the mouth of the dead wife. This may appear horrible to us. The peasant did love his wife but when he wanted to hang the lantern and looked down for a place, it did not occur to him that he was outraging his wife's body by hanging the lantern from her mouth. About love Hemingway makes his characters speak in his story: "To Have and Have Not":

"Love is just another dirty lie. Love is ergo-pil pills to make me come around because you were afraid to have a baby. Love is quinine and quinine and quinine until I'm deaf with it. Love is that dirty aborting horror that you took me to. Love is my insides all messed up. It's half catheters and half whirling douches. I know about love. Love always hangs up behind the bath-room door. It smells like lysol. To hell with love."

It may be remembered that Hemingway himself was three married. He married Hadley Richardson in 1919 and was divorced from her in 1926. In 1927, he married Pauline Pfeiffer and divorced her in 1940 and then he married Martha Gellhorn in 1940. Hemingway is not overawed by sex and is not a great lover idolising love. He is a matter-of-fact realist who looks upon love and sex for whatever they are exactly worth.

Hemingway is essentially a writer of war and his novels have given some of the best war literature. It is true that his stories are quite different from a novel like *The Great Sea* or *The Young Lions* but if a really big artistic pattern of war is to be seen, we have got to turn to Hemingway's war classics. He has written about war because he loved war loved the smell of powder, the noise of bursting shells and the thrill of fear that it brings. Perhaps he also loves war because the real emotions of man come out from under the veneer of civilization, when man is face to face with death. Hemingway thus shows the naked man the real man, under situations of stress in his novels. That is why his men make love freely, use abuses freely, and fight each other freely. Mr. Bishop has written that Hemingway has portrayed the disappearance of human soul,

"The chorus of approval reaches its peak with John O'Hara who calls Hemingway 'the outstanding author since the death of Shakespeare.' Without considering that, we may at least consider his status as a literary personality, owing less to his actual written work than to the legend that has accrued. . ."

Hemingway belongs to those few spirits like Trolawney, Wilde, Shaw and Byron whose personal myths have overshadowed their work. A public discussion of Hemingway's work is impossible; unless it is confined to the privacy of the study we are certain to be disturbed by the intrusion of the "Big Game Hunter and War Correspondent." The spread of the legend, resulting in an expanding reputation among people who never read his books, really dated from the Spanish War and came to full status during the World War.

There is one more aspect of Hemingway's work and that is the basic sensation of fear—fear when death is looking straight in one's face, the fear which you would have in the ring with a bull. Fear also is an emotion under which man shakes off every external false feeling and becomes the natural elemental man. It is, like war, an emotion which shows man in his true colours.

Fear and war, the two elements which give the real glimpses of death naturally bring out the best in man and thus stories of such struggles are stories of abounding interest and when such a story is handled by an author of the calibre of Hemingway it becomes classical literature.

Hemingway himself is more or less like his own heroes brave fearless tough gay with a knack of stirring up the hornet's nest. Mr. Atkins has described Hemingway thus:

" . . . he is a big man with the kind of body that can be used for busting through tough spots. His body is enormous and oddly proportioned. Most of his 215-odd pounds are in his upper torso and extremities. . . His legs are thin to the point of being delicate, but his barrel chest, shoulders and arms are huge. So are his hands—shaking hands with Hemingway is a good deal like bumping into a door. A boxer named Harry Sylvester with whom Hemingway used to spar told John McCaffery that he was the strongest man that he had ever known. He used to box at 199 pounds. He has become known as a fisherman, not of small fry but of giant marlin and tuna."

In his life he has faced more hazards than the heroes he has drawn. He has been a good boxer and had once his nose broken in a boxing contest. He does not easily despair. In fact in his reething period as a writer he had received many rejection slips from various editors to whom he had sent his stories. He enjoys his 'damned good life' and he thus is a great chronicler of the great moments of life,

In spite of the two air crashes, Hemingway is still strong enough to write and still enjoys life and thus we have reason to believe that many more books of the calibre of the *Old Man and the Sea* will come from his pen. He is reported to have said that he wrote *The Old Man* because he was broke, which may not be literally true. He has already about four novels in stock which he has locked up in the safe deposit vault of a bank. According to his habit, he will polish them and re-polish them before he releases them for his publishers. He is thus an artist who takes pains over his words and sentences. He very often reads out his dialogues to anybody upon whom he can thrust them and very often asks, "Is that the right way to speak?" etc. This is the keynote of the spontaneity, realism and freshness of his dialogues.

It may be argued that most of the novels of Hemingway are the works of the hour and the works of topical interest. This will be a misleading slant on Hemingway's ability. He uses no doubt the events

of the hour but they are not trivial events. They are the events like the World War or the Spanish Civil War or the bull fights where his heroes stare straight in the face of death and out of those critical situations arise suspense and interest. They are the events of great catastrophes in which the fate of nations is decided. Thus these events are not topical or temporary but are eternal, if not actually historical.

In the last analysis, even his worst critics admit that Hemingway's stories are powerful, gripping, stirring, stories of breathless suspense. They are stories superbly and artistically told by a man who almost draws from his personal experience and so in spite of the critics, Hemingway is great. His novels describe human beings grappling with death, fighting for life and surely our sweetest songs are those that tell of saddest thought. Hemingway is thus a chronicler of human greatness, human endurance, and human nobility.

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## WARREN HASTINGS AND THE ADALAT SYSTEM OF BENGAL

By P. C. RAJCHOUDHURI M.A., M.B., W.B.C.S.

### INTRODUCTION

THE bitter invectives of Burke, the poisoned calumnies of Mill, the cruel exposure of Macaulay, the arrogant misadventures of Pevsner, and perhaps the inexorable verdict of history have furnished the memory of the first Governor-General of Bengal almost beyond recovery. The celebrated works of Stephen, Strachey, Trotter, Lyall, Malletson, Fonest and others have by their searching examination of the different aspects of the life of this great 'Man of Action' vindicated him to a great extent, but the over-all picture is perhaps still the same. Through their pages one can see Hastings in all his moods, follow him in almost all his public actions, mark his policy of conquest and aggrandisement and note the events that eventually led to his recall, impeachment and ultimate acquittal; but in none of them can one have a clear and faithful account of his contributions to the law and justice of the provinces placed under his charge.

### LAW AND JUSTICE WHEN HASTINGS CAME

The general practice is to look to the regime of Lord Cornwallis for the beginning of the legal system of modern India. It is difficult to find fault with it, but then justice requires that Hastings' share in its evolution must as well be properly appreciated. The grant of the Dewanj in 1765 marked "a turning point in the Anglo-Indian history" not only from the

political but also the legal point of view. In that year as many as seven Courts were functioning in the Presidency town of Calcutta but the administration of justice in the Mofussil was in a most wretched condition. Might was right and justice remained with whoever led the power to enforce obedience. The eight years' reign of Clive's administration witnessed no judicial reform; indeed tackling with such a problem was no fate of the founder of the British Empire in India. The criminal justice in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa remained with the puppet Nawab of Bengal and, in spite of some sort of loose supervision by the Company's servants, it continued to be mismanaged till 1790 by his deputies and other officers of justice. The Dewani, however, put the civil justice in the hand of the English, since it was closely connected with the collection of revenue. Yet for the first three years nothing was done. In 1768 some writers in the Company's service were appointed 'Supravisors' (Supervisors) in some Mofussil towns for superintendence of collection of revenue and administration of all sorts of civil justice. Their control was, however, not effective. The chaos continued and the Committee of Secrecy found the administration in a deplorable condition (1770).

### FOUNDATION OF THE ADALAT SYSTEM

When in 1772 Warren Hastings became the Governor of Bengal the Company had already

announced their intention "to stand forth as Dewan." In order to enable Hastings to carry it into effect a Committee was appointed. One of the results of the deliberation of that Committee, (consisting of the Governor and the four members of the Council), was the adoption of a plan by the Government (1772). The Supervisors of the former administration became the Collectors of the several districts into which Bengal, Bihar and Orissa were divided. In each district there were established a Dewani and a Faujdari Adalat names which still subsist. The Dewani Adalat was to decide

"all disputes concerning property real and personal, all cases of inheritance marriage and cast (caste) and all claims of debt disputed accounts, contracts and demands on it"

It was presided over by the Collector who was assisted by the Provincial Dewan and other officers of the Collectorate. The Faujdari Court tried

"all cases of murder, robbery and theft and all other felonies, forgery, pargery and all sorts of frauds and misdemeanours, assaults, feuds, quarrels, adultery and every other breach of the peace or violent invasion of the property"

The Provincial Qazi was the President of this Court and made the expenditure of law. The Collector of the district was

"to attend its sittings and see that the decision was rendered in a fair and impartial manner according to the proofs exhibited"

These Courts were placed under the control of two superior Courts, the Sadar Dewani Adalat and the Sadar Nizamat Adalat. The Sadar Dewani Adalat consisted of the President and Council assisted by Indian officers and was to be the final Court of appeal in all civil suits. The Sadar Nizamat Adalat was to consist of a Daroga appointed by the Nazim and assisted by a Chief Qazi, a Chief Mufi and three Muftis. Its duty was to revise all proceedings of the Provincial Criminal Courts in capital cases and those involving fines exceeding Rs. 100 and "to refer the former with reasoned approbation or disapprobation to the Nazim for sentence"

#### A CAUTIOUS MEASURE

Hastings was thus careful enough to maintain the authority of the Nazim, although no one knew better than he that the latter wielded no real power having practically abdicated it by the agreement of 1765. This he did out of policy as any violent change might jeopardise the territorial and commercial interests of the Company. Indeed he was cautious and would not go very far. The administration of civil justice, too, still remained mostly in the hands of the Indian, and the Pargana Courts presided over by Head Farmers (Zamindars) were not disturbed at all. Only the general supervision vested in the Collec-

tor of the district. This union of the fiscal and judicial authority in the same officers did not, however, conduce to justice in many cases. In those days of all-pervading corruption, difficult communication and general ignorance of the ways and habits of the people it was next to impossible for the European Collectors to exercise effective control. When in two years' time these functionaries were withdrawn and the supervision of civil justice was vested in the six Provincial Councils set up in Calcutta, Dacca, Burdwan, Murshidabad, Dinajpore and Patna, the condition further deteriorated. Criminal justice was left to the Darogas, Faujdars, Thanadars and the like without any supervision from district headquarters.

#### DIFFICULTIES ENCOUNTERED

To add to the bewilderment and miseries of the people the Supreme Court of Calcutta frequently directed their processes against these Mofussil Judges whose authority the Court was little disposed to recognise, far less honour. According to the Judges of that Court, the Indian Magistrates appointed by the Provincial Councils had no legal existence and were liable to damage in suits of persons affected by their proceedings. This led to clashes with the executive and the same was reached in what is known as the Cossimurah Case. In utter consternation the British inhabitants of Bengal sent to the authorities in England a petition couched in the strongest terms, requesting interference.

"Unless relief was given," it was said "the Company would have more without lands, possessions without revenue and law without plaintiffs"

The relief came in 1781 through the Act of that year (21 Geo. III c. 70) but before it did Hastings devised and executed an arrangement for reconciling the differences. Sir Eliza Duncanson, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, was appointed the Chief Judge of the Sadar Adalat on a proposed salary of Rs. 6000 a year. It was thought that this would be the means of lessening the tension and an instrument of conciliation. It was a master stroke of policy but the authorities in England rejected it as being against the very spirit of the constitution of the Supreme Court. Blind adherence to tradition triumphed over reason for the moment but time and circumstances were to show that Hastings was right. For the time being a patch-work was made; the powers of the Supreme Court were curtailed and all civil cases in the Mofussil were made cognisable by the Dewani Adalats whose authority was recognised by the Parliament. Eighteen such Courts were set up in different parts of the country. Except in four districts the functions of the Judges of the Dewani Adalats were separated from those of the Collectors, and even in those districts where the Civil Judge and the Collector were one and

the same person, they held the posts in distinct capacities. Thus the foundation was laid of the modern Adalat system. Efforts were made in later years for betterment of the system but the basic principle was never abandoned.

#### LAW ADMINISTERED BY THESE COURTS

When Hastings assumed the reins of government the laws administered by the few subsisting Courts in the Mofussil were very uncertain and perplexing. On the civil side, the Hindu and Mahomedan Laws applied to the vast majority of the inhabitants of the Presidency, and the *fatwas* and *ruavasthas* of the Maulvis and Pandits were the only guide of the Judges who were mostly laymen. These opinions were most often unreliable because the sources of law were varied and intricate and to this must be added the natural infirmities of the propounders. On the criminal side, the Mahomedan law was the law for both the Hindus and Muslims and the *fatwas* of the Maulavis were the guide. This law was cruel antiquated and sometimes inconsistent.

In the Presidency town of Calcutta the English criminal law prevailed with all its technicalities and age-old rigours and that was extremely galling to the Indians. For example, in 1762 an Indian detected one of his wives in an act of infidelity. He, therefore, punished her by cutting off her nose. When arraigned at the Calcutta Sessions he admitted the fact but pleaded that

"He had done nothing to offend the laws and customs in which he had been educated; that the woman was his property; that by such custom he had a right to set a mark upon her for the infamy; and that he had never heard of the law by which they tried him."

"Do you believe," he asked, "if I had known the punishment to be death I would ever have committed what you now call a crime?"

The man was, however, hanged, for "if the Courts possess jurisdiction they must proceed according to the English laws." Six years later Radhakaran Mitra, grandson of Holwell's old enemy Govindram, was sentenced to death for forgery;

"but so extravagant did the sentence appear where experience had never suggested the principle such was the disproportion in their eyes between the punishment and the crime that the principal inhabitants of Calcutta expressed their astonishment and alarm in a petition to the Governor and Council and upon a proper representation Radhakaran received a pardon."

The position of civil law was still more anomalous. The Charter Act of 1753 having declared that the suits and actions of the Indians should be determined among themselves unless the parties submitted them to be tried by the Mayor's Court, their civil justice was brought to a stand-still.

#### HASTINGS' LEGAL REFORMS

Notwithstanding these anomalies the prevailing opinion of the Europeans was that

"For the peace and prosperity of the country the laws of England in so far as they did not oppose prejudice and usages . . . should prevail."

Hastings, however, saw the distinct advantage of ruling the Hindus and Mahomedans as far as practicable with their own laws. His plan provided that in the provinces the Hindus and Mahomedans were in certain matters to be governed by their own laws, namely, those relating to inheritance, marriage and caste and other religious usages and institutions. In furtherance of his plan he wrote to the Court of Directors in March, 1773:

"In order to render more complete the Judicial Regulations, to preclude arbitrary and partial judgments and to guide the decisions of the several Courts, a well-digested Code of Laws, compiled agreeably to the laws and tenets of the Mohametans and Gentoos and according to the established customs and usages in cases of the revenue, would prove of the greatest public utility."

Again in a subsequent letter, covering a specimen of the Hindu Code drawn up at his instance and sent to the Directors, he observed:

"From the labours of a people however intelligent, whose studies have been confined to the narrow circle of their own religion, and the decrees founded upon its superstitions and whose discussions in the search of truth have wanted that lively aid which it can only derive from a free exertion of the understanding and an opposition of opinions a perfect system of jurisprudence is not to be expected. Yet if it shall be found to contain nothing hurtful to the authority of Government or to the interests of society and is consonant to the ideas, manners and inclinations of the people for whose use it is intended I presume that on these grounds it will be preferable to any which even a superior wisdom could substitute in its room."

These are pregnant words uttered by one bent upon doing what he felt was in the best interest of the country. The Plan as well as the spirit behind it received the sanction of the Court of Directors.

#### ACTS OF ENLIGHTENED POLICY

It was a momentous step and the substance of this Plan regulates even to this day the greater part of India. Although the principles of English laws have since struggled into our Codes it is because they are of the essence of any enlightened jurisprudence. The repudiation of English law brought upon the Governor-General censure of observers like Alexander Dow and John H. Harrington but Hastings stood firm and the wisdom of the step he took was recognised even before the beginning of the nineteenth century, the great Sir William Jones being one of the upholders of his policy.

Another act of enlightened policy was that the Hindu and Mahomedan laws were placed upon the same footing, a thing which the greater part of India never saw during the preceding five hundred years. In course of time, these laws, found scattered in numberless treatises, were compiled and translated into English for the benefit of the English Judges. Thus there came the works of Baldacus Halhead, Charles Hamilton and others: though not quite satisfactory they did, yet, make those laws more intelligible than before.

A third act of wisdom was that Regulations were issued from time to time mitigating the rigours or removing the angularities of the Mahomedan criminal law which still, and for many years to come, remained the general law of the land. The uncertain title of the Company made Hastings slow to effect any far-reaching change in the criminal law; but in exercise of the powers conferred on the Governor-General and Council by the Regulating Act of 1773 and the Act of 1781 some Regulations were passed for more "effective and regular administration of justice" in the Mofussil Civil Courts. Lastly, at his instance, the civil procedural laws for those Courts were framed by Sir Eliza Impoy during his short incumbency as the Chief Judge of the Sadar Dewani Adalat. These were in 1781 issued as a revised Code.

#### REFORMS IN POLICE ADMINISTRATION

Closely connected with the criminal administration were the Police in those days as they are now. Before the time of Hastings the Zamindars were responsible for public safety and maintenance of public roads. This did not prove satisfactory, as a matter of fact, many of the officers of the Zamindars were proved or suspected to be in collusion with the breakers of law; therefore, in 1772, the Faujdari jurisdiction of the Zamindars was taken away and vested in the Adalats. Two years later Hastings divided Bengal for Police purposes into fourteen districts. These were placed under Thanadars and the landholders were directed to assist them. Faujdars

were appointed to apprehend all offenders against public peace. A few years' working showed that this system too was a failure. Therefore, in 1781, it was abolished and the Judges of the Civil Courts, as Magistrates, were given the power of apprehending the offenders in their districts. For punishment they were forwarded to the nearest Daroga who presided over the Nabab's Court. By special permission the Zamindars were sometimes vested with similar powers. This arrangement did not last long and, like the Adalat system itself, was remodelled by Lord Cornwallis. It nevertheless shows Hastings' anxiety to maintain law and order by all means.

#### HIS PLACE IN LEGAL HISTORY OF INDIA

No legal or administrative system is unalterable and has remained unchanged for ever. As society progresses, law tries to keep pace with it. Sometimes it is tardy and then comes the accusation, "Law is the everlasting malady of mankind." But in every progressive society the malady is eventually removed. So it was in India under the Company. In the hands of Hastings' successors his Plan and the Adalat system received all necessary treatment, and their regime is, therefore, vastly important in the legal history of India. They had, however, an advantage over Hastings. They were not troubled by scandalous disagreements of their colleagues in the Council. A Francis, or a Clavering or a Monson could make no history during the times of Lord Cornwallis and his successors, none but the Court or Directors and the Parliament could undo the plans of these Governor-Generals. Such was not the privilege of Hastings who was buffeted by storms from all directions. In spite of that it was he who first knocked at the prejudices of a tottering past and laid a sure foundation of the great edifice of modern law and justice in India. His was the work of a pioneer and it had the inevitable defects of such a work. Even then it was great and deserves being remembered by those who are interested in it.

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#### ERRATUM

*The Modern Review* for April, 1955: "Jaliat wallah Bagh," p. 298, col. 2, line 2. Read 9th for 10th.

# WATER AND THE COUNTRY-DWELLER

By A. SAYOUR.

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In France, during the last 25 years, water supply systems have been provided for 8,000 rural communes, bringing to 14,000 the number of those which are as well served as the towns in this respect.

Much however remains to be done, for 20,000 communes with a total of around 12 million inhabitants still have no public supplies. This figure does not include the three million people scattered in remote parts of the country who depend for their water on their own individual installations.

Our time is rich in contrasts. When jet planes bring the most distant continents closely together, it is paradoxical that in the countryside over which they are flying peasants are still engaged in the ancient task of fetching water. The problem of water for drinking has not yet been satisfactorily solved in many rural areas. This situation has many unfortunate consequences especially in the field of public health.

## WATER AND HEALTH

As shown in a study by M. Baccino of the National Institute of Hygiene (France), when the mortality rates from typhoid and paratyphoid fevers in 1913 and 1934, and the general mortality rates in 1913 and 1936 are placed side by side with figures showing the growth of water supply systems, it is immediately evident that the considerable drop in the mortality figures in every department of France is in direct ratio to the percentage of the population supplied with potable water.

Similarly, Dr. P. Chassagne, head of the epidemiological section of the same body, made certain observations following the recrudescence of epidemic typhoid which occurred in France in 1949. Dr. Chassagne showed that out of 7,000 cases of typhoid fever recorded in France during 1949 and preceding years, more than half could be traced to the consumption of polluted water.

Consequently, in order to prevent the return of the epidemic, Dr. Chassagne advocated that

"Every consumer should be provided with a water supply subjected to frequent and strict bacteriological tests, he should be given a supply suitable for drinking and—another important precaution—for the washing of vegetables eaten uncooked, for butter-making, etc. Indeed, it would seem that more than one epidemic has been due to the consumption of butter washed with contaminated water."

Hydro-geological surveys carried out by the rural engineering service have shown that the mortality rate in a locality without a drinking water supply system is, on the average, two to three per cent higher than the corresponding figure in communes which have been suitably equipped for some years.

Let us now consider the case of India, the main breeding ground of cholera, whence epidemics have spread throughout the world, causing frightful ravages.

We quote below the conclusions of a study published in December 1947 in the periodical *Eau* by Dr. M. Monnier-Dunham, of the Institut d'Egypte.

"A study of the Indian epidemics shows that they proceed upstream along the water-courses and not in the direction of the current. Consequently, running water does not play an important part. On the other hand, well-water is dangerous. In villages in the endemic zones of India, the wells which supply the drinking water for the inhabitants regularly contain *koch vibrios*. When wells were dug along the Ganges so that the local inhabitants could draw their drinking water from them instead of from the river, the ravages of cholera rapidly increased, and the wells had to be hastily filled in. One of the conditions favourable to cholera is satisfied wherever the people drink well water or any standing water. On the contrary, water which is collected in accordance with the classical rules of hygiene cannot harbour the vibrios."

Another striking example is that of Egypt, where the last cholera epidemic, in 1947, was particularly deadly in the rural areas whose population drew drinking water from canals and the Nile. On the other hand the large cities, such as Cairo and Alexandria, supplied with purified water, escaped the epidemic.

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It will be felt no doubt, that these observations illustrate sufficiently well the importance of a drinking water supply system for the health of the rural population.

Of course, in the more advanced countries, a satisfactory water supply represents only a contributory factor, the decrease in mortality being also due to preventive measures and advances in treatment. Nevertheless it plays a by no means negligible role.

In the less developed countries, drinking water supply systems together with vaccination, occupy an important place in the control of epidemic diseases.

The provision of an ever-increasing number of suitable installations will make it possible to reduce mortality rates, as part of the programme of work undertaken by the great international organizations.

## THE COST OF SAFE WATER

The health aspect of a rational water policy in the rural areas is not the only one worthy of attention. Mention should also be made of the arguments in favour of such a policy from the economic viewpoint. A supply of safe water may indeed be considered as an essential part of the equipment of a farm, because of the saving in time it makes possible and the improved output, particularly as regards milk production and stock-raising. Although it is doubtless wise not to place too much reliance on statistical estimates, nevertheless the financial benefits which may be expected from the generalization of water supply systems throughout the countryside in France are of considerable interest.

According to these estimates, the increase in milk production would bring in an additional 15,000 million francs per year, and the increase in meat production an additional 22,000 million francs. Thanks to the use of running water in washing out stables and cowsheds, nitrogenous products to the value of 3,000 million francs could be recovered. The increase in market-gardening output would be equivalent to 8,000 million francs. To these sums must be added those resulting from the saving in time from better organisation of fire-fighting measures, and from the development of anti-parasite treatments. All these savings have been calculated and come to a total of 80,000 million francs a year.

If, instead of this overall picture, a single agricultural undertaking is considered, then the results are just as conclusive. Let us suppose that the nearest water point is 30 yards from the farmhouse (an average distance in the case of many farms). Then the water carrying necessary to supply a family of six persons, would involve, in one year, a total weight of 51 tons, a total distance covered of over 95 miles and a loss of eight full working days. As regards livestock, the daily watering of four cows, two calves and two horses would result in the loss of 36 working days per year.

When it is remembered that it is the wife who must generally fetch the water for the family it will readily be seen that the removal of this burden would enable her to devote more time to the children and to look after them better, without mentioning the additional comfort for all the occupants of the farm.

## WATER AND THE COMMUNITY

These above considerations logically bring us to

the third aspect of the water problem, namely, the social aspect.

It is clear that by improving the living conditions of the country-dwellers water supply systems play a large part in maintaining the balance of population between town and countryside and slowing down the exodus towards the cities. This balance cannot but foster increased exchange between industry and agriculture, and contribute to the general prosperity which is a feature of socially privileged countries. In addition to this, a rural population in good physical and moral health is a factor in maintaining the vitality of a people.

## THE PLACE OF HEALTH EDUCATION

At the conclusion of this brief outline of the problem of water supply in the rural areas, the question arises as to how the present position can be remedied, and how collective water supply systems can be improved.

It is here that the importance of health education becomes clear. Not a day goes by without some mention of the investments necessary to put new life into the national economy. Part of these investments are devoted to building, in which water supply finds a place, unfortunately an all too modest one.

Public opinion must be convinced that this policy is sound. This requires appropriate civic education, stressing the part which the rural water supply systems must play in a balanced economy.

Although such health education is already given by many bodies on the international or national level, even greater efforts are called for. In particular, fruitful work could be done in the country by social workers, who are specially qualified to inculcate healthy and hygienic habits among the rural inhabitants.

People should also be made to understand that nothing can be achieved without paying for it and that a financial effort is necessary, either by direct participation of the users through a loan, or by a tax, or by paying a fair price for the water.

In short, what is required is a substantial effort in information and propaganda work. This cannot fail to reinforce the universally expressed desire of country-dwellers for better conditions, more comfortable and healthier housing, and the lightening of needlessly burdensome household tasks. It should not be forgotten that in the many surveys carried out the women questioned were almost always the first to be in favour of a domestic water supply.

Everything possible should be done to develop and multiply the water supply systems, which help to improve hygiene, to give a fresh impulse to agricultural production, to raise the living standard of the farmer and to attract workers to the land.



# Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

## ENGLISH

**BULLETIN OF THE BARODA MUSEUM AND PICTURE GALLERY** (Vol. IX, Parts I—II, 1952-53): Edited by V. L. Devkar. Published by V. L. Devkar for the Baroda Museum and Picture Gallery, Baroda. March, 1955. Pp. 96. Price not stated.

The present number of this well-known periodical maintains the high standard of the previous issues. Among the seven papers comprising this number the place of honour belongs to the very valuable article of Dr. H. Goetz entitled *The Early Oudh School of Mughal Painting: Two Albums in the Baroda Museum*. Introducing his paper with a short critical account of the evolution of Mughal painting from the "Classic Age" through the "Aurangabad period" to the times of the later Mughals, the author describes two sets of miniatures originally forming as many albums with separate book-covers which "shed a most revealing light just on the critical transition period from the last years of Muhammad Shah to the reign of Asaf-ud-daula of Oudh." The description consists of a detailed examination of the miniatures under two heads, namely, the older miniatures and the copies and the miniatures of the early Oudh type arranged in five groups and it concludes with a survey of the general characteristics of the pictorial art of the times. "The Oudh School under Shuja-ud-daula," the author sums up, "represents the last Golden Age of Mughal painting, a late, second-hand mannerism but of a greater decorative effect than the classic style of the 17th century and with a genuine contribution both in the symphonic composition of complicated scenes and in the romantic interpretation of nature. The Baroda albums show its genesis . . . its flourishing . . . and even its decay." In another paper, Dr. P. H. Pott of the Ethnological Museum, Leyden, gives us a bird's eye view of the Tibetan and Nepalese collections of the Baroda Museum, dividing his subject-matter under six heads, namely, the Tibetan painted scrolls (*thangkas*), the three-dimensional Mandalas, the bronze figures of gods, saints, and demons, the sculptures in stone, wood and ivory, the industrial arts, the decorative panels from Nepal. A set of the Ramayana illustrations of the Pahari School representing scenes from the Rishya-Sringa legend which agree curiously enough with the Bengali version of Krittivasa, forms the subject of another interesting paper from the pen of Sri O. C. Ganguly. A group of seven Jaina bronzes unearthed from a site in the Panch Mahals district is dealt with by Sri U. P. Shah. Of more general interest are the papers of Sri V. L. Devkar entitled *A Scheme for the Municipal Museum of Amreli* and of Sri B. L. Mankad called *Different Modes of Exhibiting Coins in*

*Museums*. These are followed by the report on the working of the Baroda Museum for the year 1952-53. In between the last two we have a list (which is singularly inappropriate for a first-class journal of this nature) of the opinions of visitors as well as those of scholars and the Press on the activities of the Museum. The frontispiece and the concluding pages are adorned with a number of superb illustrations which add greatly to the value of this issue.

U. N. GHOSHAL

**LAND REFORM IN NEW CHINA** By Dr. B. N. Ganguli. Published by Rangit Printers and Publishers, Delhi. Price Re. 1-8.

People's China has been making history almost from its birth in October, 1949. The Agrarian Reform Law promulgated on June 30, 1950, is one of its most remarkable achievements. The Law does not abolish landownership as such. It abolishes "the land-owning system of feudal exploitation by the landlord class" (Article I). China's land policy is not a blind imitation of Soviet Russia's. Fortunately for the former, her new rulers are not lotus-eaters. They are, on the contrary, matter-of-fact realists endowed with a sturdy common sense. They "seem to be anxious to avoid blind mass action which had led to economic chaos and dislocation and destruction of property, agricultural equipment and livestock in the Soviet Union."

Land reform is but the first step towards the re-organisation of agriculture. The peasantry must pass through various stages "in order to reach higher and higher levels of per capita productivity as the result of more and more intensive co-operation." These stages are those of (1) Temporary Mutual Aid Association, (2) Permanent Mutual Aid Association, (3) Agricultural Producers' Co-operative and (4) Collective Farming.

Surplus agrarian population is the basic problem of China's rural economy. The problem is being tackled by (a) the removal of technical handicaps to progressive agriculture, (b) the creation of better employment opportunities, and (c) the absorption of the surplus agrarian population in the tertiary sector of the economy and in occupations which offer supplementary employment to farmers. Results obtained are encouraging.

Prof. Dr. B. N. Ganguli, the author of the volume under review, has placed the reading public under a deep debt of gratitude by producing a readable volume on New China's land policy, its character and its goal.

SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKHERJEE

**THE BOATMAN BOY AND FORTY POEMS:**  
By Sochi Raut Roy. Published by Prabasi Press,  
120-2 Upper Circular Road, Calcutta-9. December,  
1964. Pp. 158 + x. Price Rs. 6.

It is only poetry that can stir the hearts of people. Gandhiji was a poet, not of words in the usual sense of the term but of action. And it is because he was a poet that his words which came out of the depth of his heart could call forth response in the breasts of the millions.

We have seen a movement of modernism in literature. It is a reaction against the ideas and ideals of the nineteenth century, against the smug self-satisfaction of the Victorian period. The modernists are in revolt against romanticism and idealism. They try to be objective and realistic. Their approach to any subject is more or less intellectual.

This movement of modernism has found its way from West to East. The modernists of India are almost a replica of those in Europe, though the condition of the country at the time modernism was imported into India was very different from that of Europe. India has indeed suffered tremendously from, but was only indirectly hit, by the world-wars. A great revolutionary movement was in the offing and India was trying to break the shackles of a tyrannical foreign rule.

As a result of the two world-wars, there was almost a complete change in the outlook of life. The modernists were cynical and satirical. They were against tradition. They were against social evils. They were against the social system that tended to oppress the poor and the down-trodden. The old order of society must be changed, and they were speaking of new values in life and literature. The modernists of India were up against everything, but the strangest part of it was that the political struggle that was going on in the country and reaching a climax could not arouse any corresponding feeling in their heart. The literature that the modernists produced at the time, with some rare exceptions, will bear witness to the fact. It was rather the romantic poets who sang of the wonderful revolution that was going to make India free and establish her in her pristine glory.

Sochi Raut Roy hails from Orissa. "He has spent so many years of his creative life in Bengal that he is a veritable adopted son of Bengal." Dr. Kalidas Nag writes in the Introduction, "Raut Roy is interpenetrated with the genius of Bengal while he remains the outstanding Orissa poet of the new age." Sochi writes in the language of the people in Orissa, the language of Orissa. He also composes poems in Bengali. Dr. Nag observes, "Such bilingualism is very rare amongst modern writers." As is evident from this book of verse Sochi also writes in English. Hence, he may be said to be trilingual.

There is also an introductory note to the first section of the book, "The Boatman Boy" by Harindranath Chattopadhyay under the caption of Translator's Notes. Sri Chattopadhyay holds some strong views about poetry and the mission of modern poets. Wordworth had his opinion about poetic diction and the subject-matter to be dealt with in poetry. Wordworth was a great poet in spite of his theory. His theory has been exploded but his poetry remains. Harindranath Chattopadhyay has his own opinion about the new values and false values of art. Whatever views and opinions he may have of art he is a real poet. The poet-leader, as Dr. Kalidas Nag calls Harindranath in the Introduction greets Sochi as "a young bugler of art."

The shooting and bayonetting of Dhenkanal boatmen, who were carrying on a peaceful and non-violent agitation for the assertion of their elementary civil rights, took place in 1938. Baji Raut, a boatman boy of barely twelve, born in the Native State of Dhenkanal, Orissa, fell a victim to British bullets. Sochi sang of this young martyr, and "this song," in the words of Harindranath, "caught on—even as flames catch on in a forest—lighting up all the night with its lurid glare."

The poems celebrating the martyrdom of the Dhenkanal boatmen from Roy's books *Baji Raut* and *Abhijan* were rendered into English by Harindranath Chattopadhyay. The volume published in 1942 under the name *The Boatman Boy and Other Poems* introduced Sochi Raut Roy to the wider public of India. These poems form the first section of the book. The poems included in the sections 'Pandulipi', 'Abhigyan' and 'Apocalypse' were rendered into English by B. Sinha, and two other poems were translated by Pratap Bonharice. The book under review contains Raut Roy's original poems in English as well as these translations.

Growing up in an age of disillusionment Sochi Raut Roy speaks in the accent of modern times. He breathes the modern spirit but he is not wholly a modernist, even as Harindranath Chattopadhyay is not wholly a realist. The latter sees the vision of a new humanity, and an idealist must have an undercurrent of romanticism in his poetry. It is good that a poet should identify himself with the common suffering man but it is the way he expresses himself that makes him a poet. It is not because he deals with such subjects as 'Bread', 'Food' and 'Gallows' that Sochi Raut Roy is a poet but because he writes such lines of poetic intensity as the following that he is a poet:

I stand and dream of the day to come  
When men shall rise out of martyrdom.  
Rise in the dawn of freedom when  
A new red sun and my poet's pen  
Shall sign the charter of Man for Men.  
In his 'Ode to Man' he sings

All hail!  
Greetings of the Dawn  
I sing the epithalamium of darkness and light.  
To man I inscribe my muse.  
His ardent love of man and nature makes his  
poems instinct with beauty. In 'Overture' he writes:  
Over distant tree-tops  
come the sweet strains of the new rains;  
In sudden bursts of the crashing drums,  
cymbals unfold clanging  
an overture that tugs at the heart.  
'A Crossing Over' is a poem with beautiful imageries:  
We are a shooting star,  
From earth catapulted  
Faster and yet faster

To a new horizon,  
A bigger life,  
A dream unravelled.  
The poet brings in a new vision of life in 'Cloud-burst'. In 'Apocalypse' he says:  
I wait for the diapason word  
The Signature—  
Soham.  
I am He and Everything.  
The origination and the end,  
The seed, the fruition eternal,  
Alpha and Omega.

Symbolism is a trait of his later poems. Like other modern poets Roy makes use of symbols very skilfully. His poetic philosophy of life and death has been expressed through symbolism. His love-poems border sometimes on the sensuous, sometimes on the sublime. His emotive power makes his poems pulsate with life. His phrases are sometimes very exquisite. He does not generally twist language to make his phrases vivid.

The liquidness of diction and the rhythmical throb in such lines as

The angling merlin's silver call  
drops from the dark blue heaven  
Like pearls falling into a deep dark well.

Or

In the ballet of moonlight and midnight-shade  
The tree murmurs,  
Whispering notes in low octaves,  
will easily enchant the reader's heart.

Such pieces as 'A Crossing Over,' 'Apocalypse,' 'Cloud-burst,' 'Cloud-symphony,' 'The Fisherman,' 'Overture,' 'Music of the Spheres' and 'The Joy of Living' have poetry enough in them to satisfy any fastidious connoisseur of poetic art.

Sochi Rant Roy is already regarded as a leading poet of Orissa. Through these verses he will find an international recognition of his poetic talent.

#### SAILENDRAKRISHNA LAW

TALKS ON JNANAYOGA: By Swami Iswarananda. Published by the author from Sri Ramakrishna Ashram, The Vilangans Trichur, Cochin Pp 123 Price Rs. 1-8

Swami Iswarananda is a learned and thoughtful monk of Sri Ramakrishna Mission and the present President of the Mission Centre at Trichur. Many years back we lived together for a pretty long time as members of the Philosophical Study Circle at Sri Ramakrishna Ashram, Mysore. There we noticed that he is very fond of philosophical thinking and values thinking much above reading.

The book under review is his maiden work and contains a series of talks on the rational interpretation of the Jnanayoga. The author confesses in the Preface that he presents the Upanishadic Brahman-Vidya shorn of the mystical and theological accretions. There is a school of thinkers in Mysore and other parts of South India who hold that *mula avidya* or original nescience ceases to exist in *sushupti* or dreamless sleep. The present author belongs to this school and attempts to show in this book that *sushupti* and *samadhi* are identical and supports his statement by suitable quotations of the Upanishads with commentaries of Shankara thereon. The Brihadaranyaka, Chhandogya, Taittiriya, Prasna and Mandukya Upanishads are repeatedly quoted to prove that *sushupti* and *samadhi* are similar states of non-dual experience of the Absolute or Brahman.

The book is divided into two parts. The first part contains twenty-one expository talks on the subject and the second one supplies profuse quotations from the five Upanishads mentioned above. The quotations are given in original Sanskrit followed by English renderings to enable the readers to understand the textual significance. There is an aphoristic statement in the Chhandyogya Upanishad which means that the philosophy of deep sleep is the key to the realisation of Brahman. In the lengthy introduction to my English translation of the Brihadaranyaka

Upanishad published by Sri Ramakrishna Math at Madras, I have clearly shown that Sankara and his worthy disciple Sureswara both hold that ignorance does exist in deep sleep in the seed-form.

We may or may not agree with the author, but we must admit the novelty of his interpretation and the boldness of his presentation. Even the orthodox scholars will hold their breath to challenge him and will hesitate to contradict him. It is left to the readers to read the exposition and speculate for themselves. The book is sure to stimulate philosophical thinking in a quite new way.

SWAMY JAGADISWARANANDA

INTRODUCTION TO CIVICS AND POLITICS: By S. K. Lahiri and B. N. Banerjee. Published by A. Mukherji and Co. Ltd Calcutta. Pp. 151. Price Rs. 2-8.

This is the sixth edition of the book with additional sections based on the Constitution of Free India and the Charter of United Nations. Civics and politics are now very popular subjects with the students of our Universities. Many text-books have been written on these subjects. The present book unlike ordinary text-books deals with the subjects in a manner suitable for studies by persons other than students as a preliminary study to understand and interpret current political trends including international affairs. The book contains twenty-three chapters and touches about all aspects of political thought and theories from individual and society to world order—the United Nations. We would commend this book to the public interested in politics.

A. B. DUTTA

#### BENGALI

DESHER KATHA By Bimal Chandra Sinha. Published by Anurakrishna Chattopadhyay, 59, Barrackpore Trunk Road Calcutta-2 Pp 174 Price Rs. 3

The author in six chapters, viz., 2nd October (Mahatma's Birthday), 26th January (Independence Day), Congress Bengal and the Bengali, Our Draft Programme of Work and Gandhism, and Hindu-Muslim Problems, discusses various burning topics of the day. India today, particularly West Bengal, has a good many problems to tackle and solve but many attempts have failed to arrive at solutions. But there must be solutions if the nation is to survive and march ahead with other progressive nations of the world. Although a Congressman, the author is not blind towards the faults of the Congress, be it ideological or organisational, but he deprecates any attempt which confines its activities to criticism only. He discusses every problem as a realist and wants people not to be satisfied with adverse criticism of the present but to apply themselves to work and activities so as to improve the condition of the masses. He tries to bring an impartial mind to discuss and decide all burning political and economic questions now facing the country and its people. The author though young, has already taken his place among the builders of Free India and his contribution to literature is happy and the present book maintains his popularity and reputation as a thinker of young Bengal. Printing and get-up of the book are excellent.

A. B. DUTTA

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### GUJARATI

**PRALAYA:** By Ramanlal V. Desai M.A. Published by R. R. Sheth & Co. Bombay-2 1950. Illustrated jacket. Thick card-board cover. Pp. 438. Price Rs 5-8.

Shri Ramanlal Desai has two dozen novels to his credit. The one under notice adds one more to it. It is concerned with the coming annihilation of the world (*pralaya*). The first Global War of 1939 gave him the idea and his imagination based on National and International Policy—he calls it *Idiocy*—leads him to forecast wholesale destruction of humanity if we are to proceed at the present rate. The International background is a new element introduced in the novel-writing craft of Gujarat. Whether it takes on or not is a question as few writers study these matters so well as Shriint Desai has done.

**BRAHMA ATITHI:** By Prof. Hasit Buch M.A. Published by Jayadev Brothers, Baroda 1947-1950. Paper cover. Pp. 42. Price Re. 1.

Prof. Buch has struck out an original path in honouring the Kavi Nanalal, the premier Poet of modern Gujarat who died a short time ago. He portrays a conference of souls of all writers of eminence, old and new, in the court of Brahma, where Nanalal is sent for twice, but the messenger returned with the message that he said that he had yet to complete his *magnum opus* and is not ready to come to Paradise. The third call, however, was successful and he came to the conference, never to return. It is a promising and a unique work for a beginner and deserves great credit.

K.M.J.

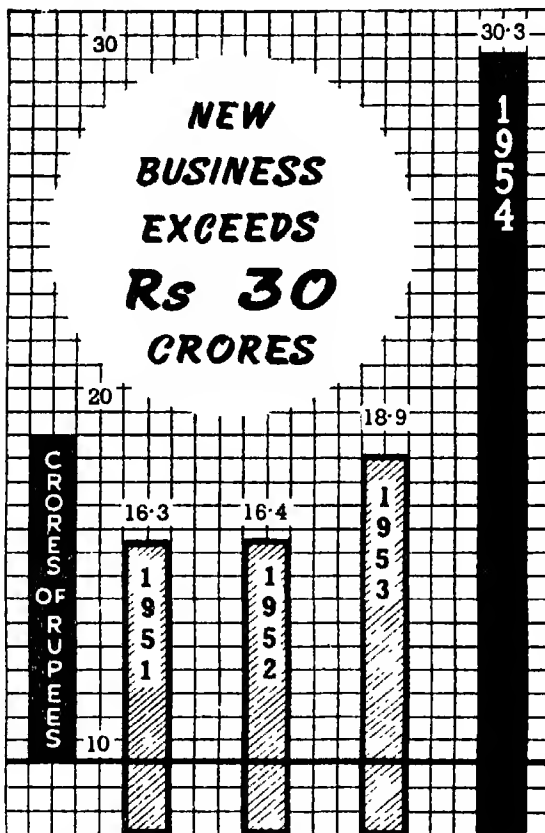
**GITA-PRAVOCHANO.** By Vinoba Bhave. Published in translation from the original in Marathi by Navayuvan Prakashan, Mumbai, Ahmedabad-14. Pp. 12 + 202. Price: Unbound Re. 1, Bound Re. 1-8.

Vinoba has sought, as none else except Jnaneshwar to reach the Gita to the common man. And he has succeeded eminently. His is a commentary for the lay man. But none the less original, none the less erudite. He has avoided scriptural terminologies as far as has been possible without sacrificing the scriptural approach. Vinoba has given *vikarma* a meaning other than the accepted one. All the recognized commentators have interpreted *vikarma* as *pratibiddha karma* or prohibited work. Vinoba interpreted *vikarma* as *vishesh karma* or tuning the inner man with the external action. The interpretation is unique as it is revealing.

Take Slokas 24, 25 and 26 of Chapter VIII. "This allegory baffles many," writes Vinoba and then proceeds to give an illuminating commentary. It satisfies reason. It gladdens heart. Vinoba's key is not tuned to a particular note. Life to him is not a single-stringed harp. He does not subscribe to *Live-and-let-live* or 'Only'-this view. He says, "I don't like subscribing to the view that regards life only as action, only as devotion or only as realization. I would rather say, 'What is action is devotion, and what is devotion is realization'."—Chapter XVI, paragraph 11.

I may not multiply such instances. That is for the curious to seek, find and enjoy or reject. The book is nowhere heavy and reads like a romance. It gives the soul peace and tranquillity—lasting peace and tranquillity. A great book. The translation is faithful and printing tidy.

BIRENDRANATH GUHA



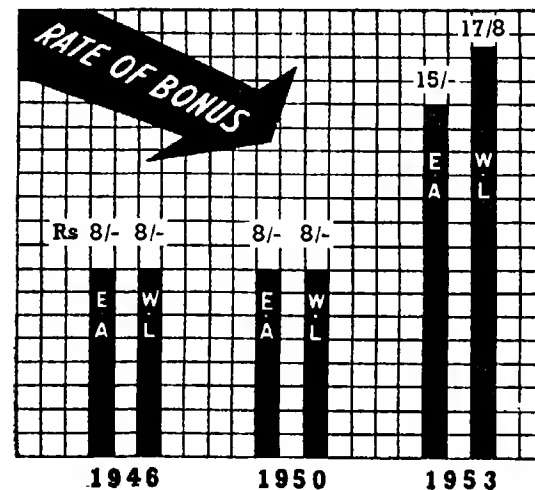
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# INDIAN PERIODICALS

## Jagaddala Monastery

A SEAT OF LEARNING IN MEDIAEVAL INDIA

Mahesh Kumar Moondhra writes in *The Indian Review* :

Taxila, Nalanda, Valabhi, Vikramsila, and Jagaddala were some of the most distinguished seats of learning in ancient and mediaeval India. Having a reputation for their high academic activities in the contemporary world these monasteries attracted the students and scholars from every nook and corner of our vast country. Even the students from abroad also visited these institutions.

The rulers of the Pala dynasty of mediaeval Bengal and Bihar were great patrons of art, literature, and education. They patronised a large number of monasteries of the Buddhists which included, apart from Nalanda and Vikramsila, Traikutak, Devikota, Sannagar, Phullahai, Pattuketaka, Vikramapuram, Jagaddala and many others.

In the year 1897, the late MM Pandit Haraprasad Sastri discovered in Nepal the manuscript of *Ramacharita* by Sandhyakara Nand. This work was written during the reign of Madanapala Deva, the second son of Ramapala Deva. It helps us to know the history of Bengal and Bihar between the years 1070 and 1120 A.D. Sastri edited the manuscript for the first time and the Asiatic Society of Bengal published this work in 1910. Afterwards in 1939 a new edition of it was published with English translation and notes under the joint editorship of three competent scholars, viz., Drs. R. C. Mazumdar, R. G. Basak, and Pt. Nanigopal Banerji, by the Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi.

According to Sastri, Jagaddala monastery was situated in the town Ramavati. But other scholars hold that according to *Ramacharita* (8/7) the monastery was at Varendri. It has been maintained that Ramapala Deva, the famous ruler of Pala dynasty, had established this monastery. As regards the period of his reign scholars hold different views. The date which is now generally accepted by the authorities is that he ascended the throne in the year 1077 A.D. and his death occurred in the year 1120 A.D. when he was about seventy years old. Thus he ruled for nearly forty-two years.

The Palas were the followers of the Mahayana sect of Buddhism and had close relations with Tibet. The art and literature of this period is stamped by the Tantrism which prevailed in the land of the Lamas. Scholars of both the countries crossed the frontiers frequently. The Jagaddala monastery under the royal patronage became one of the centers of gravity for the scholar and the student alike who wanted to study the Mahayana philosophy and Tantrism specially. Many books were translated in this monastery from Sanskrit into Tibetan.

The scholars of Jagaddala were famous for their writings on various subjects. Among the large number of professors who worked there four names are out-

standing—Danasila, Vibhootchandra, Mokshakar Gupta, and Subhakar Gupta. Their fame was not limited within the frontiers of our country but it spread far and wide. These scholars earned a great reputation even in Tibet. Short sketches of the activities of the four great pillars of Jagaddala monastery are given below :

(1) Acharya Danasila. Acharya Danasila was a resident of Bhagal in the eastern part of India. Mahapandit Rahula Sanskritnyana, a modern scholar, holds that Bhagal was the modern Bhagalpur. The mediaeval writer Taranath in his famous work *History of Buddhism in India* has expressed that Danasila hailed from Kashmir and was a contemporary of Mahipala. However, it is beyond doubt that he lived and worked at Jagaddala. He was honoured by the titles of Mahapandita, Upadhyaya, and Acharya. He had a good command over Sanskrit as well as Tibetan. He is said to have translated nearly sixty books into Tibetan which had greatly influenced the Buddhist religion in that country. His translation also included a small book named *Pustak-Pathopaya* in which was shown the way of starting reading.

(2) Mahapandita Vibhootchandra : He was another famous scholar at Jagaddala. He received the famous book named *Jnan-chakshu-sadhan-nama* from Sakya Sribhadra, the reputed logician of Vikramsila, who after the destruction of that monastery sought refuge at Jagaddala. Having stayed there in the monastery for a short period, he went to Tibet, probably accompanied by Vibhootchandra who had a good knowledge of Tibetan language. Vibhootchandra translated many important works into Tibetan.

(3) Bhikshu Mokshakar Gupta : He had to his credit the titles of Bhikshu as well as Mahapandit. He was at home in logic and wrote a book entitled *Tarka-Bhava* in Sanskrit which was translated into Tibetan later on. Perhaps this Bhikshu Mokshakar Gupta is the same person who had annotated *Doha-Kosha*, an Apabhramsa book.

(4) Subhakar Gupta. He is said to have been the teacher of Sakya Sribhadra. He wrote *Shiddhayakavata-tantratika* which was rendered into Tibetan also.

The successors of Ramapala Deva could not enhance the cultural activities any more. About 1203 A.D. the monastery was destroyed by the Moslem invaders.

Thus we see that Jagaddala monastery could continue its activities nearly for a century only. But the work done by its giants and jewels which it produced are more than enough to maintain the glory of the monastery in the annals of Indian letters and culture.

## African Cultures

### Possible Links Between Indian and

The concluding portion of the suggestive article of N. Court in *The Aryan Path* is published below :

Students of anthropology believe that in early times the Negroes lived in southern Asia, between Indo-China in the east and Persia in the west. They were agriculturists by occupation. As time went on other people notably the Aryans—of the great white race who came from the Middle East—entered the area, bringing with them that culture which is still, except where it is affected by Dravidian influences, the heritage of India. Hindi and many other Indian languages are related to European ones, Sanskrit being accepted by many philologists as the mother tongue, as it were, from which the languages of the West—Teutonic, Celtic, Latin and Slavonic—are derived. It is also believed that there is a strong link between English and Hebrew, and Welsh and Hebrew, especially the latter.

The Negroes, or rather their remote ancestors, were pushed out to east and west, when the great Aryan drive southward took place. One branch, it is believed, proceeded to Melanesia (the Islands of the Black People) in the Pacific Ocean and to New Guinea; the other, to Africa. Were these people Dravidians or pre-Dravidians? I am inclined to the belief that they were pre-Dravidians who had for some considerable period lived in a Dravidian environment. This is evident from a study of comparative religion in India, where we observe that pre-Dravidian theology or mythology, call it what you will, became absorbed quite naturally into the Dravidian culture. After the Aryan invasion, this new combination, which in the course of centuries had become blended as it were, wedded itself to the faith of the conquerors to produce the Hindu system as it is today.

In support of the Indian (pre-Dravidian) origin of the African we have a fair amount of ethnic proof, e.g., little groups of Negro-like people known as Negrillos and Negritos in Malaya and the islands in the Indian Ocean exist as separate and distinct entities to this day. This fact alone ought to set us thinking.

I would state here that two significant facts indicate the non-African origin of the Negro, namely, that there is not extant among the paintings of the Bushman or pre-Bushman peoples of Africa one single portrayal of the Negro; and it is known that, before 3000 B.C., there were no Negro burials except in Egypt, where the body of one, said to have lived 5000 B.C., was discovered by the side of a lake. It is believed that groups of Negroes became mixed with the Mediterranean peoples living in north Africa, giving birth to

the Bantu (the name means "The People"), who, on moving gradually south, broke up into tribes, until they met and clashed with the early European colonists in the Cape territory.

In the folklore of the Southern Bantu people there are several very significant animal personalities possessing divine or devilish potentialities. One of these *Impundulu*, a bird which, besides its sadistic inclinations, is alleged by Africans to be the most powerful carrier of witchcraft. Having the ability to change its appearance at will, it is also able to make itself invisible on occasion. It often, more often than not, associates with *Tikoloshi*, the god of witchcraft, described as a dwarfish little man with short limbs and a powerful, thick-set body. This mythical creature is said to ride through the sky on *Impundulu's* back, carrying in his hand the *Ingumbane* (evil snake) and the *Ugaty* (charmed snake), collectively called *Inyoka* (snake).

Now, it seems that *Impundulu* is the counterpart of the Indian divine bird *Garula*, the attendant of Narayana, on whose back Vishnu rides. *Garula* belongs to that older and more "childlike" mythology of the earlier inhabitants of India, a culture steeped in symbolism, in which the animal largely figured. *Garuda* seems to have been either Dravidian or pre-Dravidian in origin. In Indian sacred art, which I deeply appreciate, *Garuda* is portrayed as a man-bird in whose one hind claw is grasped the snake. As Jehovah, the Lord God of Israel, is spoken of in *Psalms* 18, 10 and 104, 3 as moving on the wings of the wind, the great God of the Hindus, Vishnu, "clad in yellow robes, bearing mace, discus and conch," is described in the *Ramayana* as riding upon *Garuda*.

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In *The Secret Doctrine* (I, p. 421, a likeness between Vishnu and Jehovah, the Lord God of Israel, is brought out. Madame Blavatsky in Vol. II, p. 253, asks the pertinent question:

"Were the highly philosophical and metaphysical Aryans—the authors of the most perfect philosophical systems of transcendental psychology, of Codes of Ethics, and such a grammar as Panini's, of the Sankhya and Vedanta systems, and a moral code (Buddhism), proclaimed by Max Muller the most perfect on earth—such fools, or children, as to lose their time in writing *fairy tales*; such tales as the Puranas now seem to be in the eyes of those who have not the remotest idea of their secret meaning?"

Vishnu's and Krishna's vehicle, the great bird *Garuda*, the cherub of Jehovah, the *Impundulu* of the Bantu, have a significance of universal application.

Now, the Secret Doctrine furnishes a key which reveals to us on indisputable grounds of comparative analogy that *Garuda*, the allegorical and monstrous half-man and half-bird,—the *Vahan* or vehicle on which Vishnu (who is Kala, "time") is shown to ride—is the origin of all other such allegories. He is the Indian phoenix, the emblem of cyclic and periodical time. . . . (*The Secret Doctrine*, II, p. 561).

The Bantu "dowry" system known as *Lobola* establishes the truth that the woman is loved and cherished by the African. In India the Mother Cult is well known, and I shall refer to it presently in another connection.

The rite of circumcision amongst the Bantus, known as the *Abakueta* or Male Initiation Ceremony, has elements of Hamitic and Semitic customs as well as those of the ancient Phallic religions known as the Nature Cults. But curiously enough a link with pre-Aryan India seems to be indicated in the *ubulungu*, a necklace made from the long hair of the cow's tail which is placed round the neck of each initiate. It is regarded as a charm against evil because it comes from the cow, the emblem of purity health and virility. As the cow is symbolic of motherhood also, the Bantu believes that the possession of this token will ensure his sexual potency when at this ceremony he reaches manhood. Need the writer mention in much detail what the cow means to the Hindu? All the world knows this. By many millions God is worshipped as the Mother and all these worshippers speak of God as She. Says Shankaracharya of her with whom Shiva seeks shelter:

It is She,  
Whose words are sweet,  
The Destructress of ills,  
Ever and in all places pervading,  
Tender creeper of intelligence and bliss.

The Mother exceedeth a thousand fathers in the right to reverence, and in the function of teacher. (*Manu*)

Whosoever has seen the feet of woman, let him worship them as those of his teacher. (*Kubjika Tantra*)

In both the Hindu-Indian and the Bantu-African cultures, then, women are regarded as worthy objects of respect and reverence.

I am quite unaware whether or not any other exposition of this theory has ever been put forward, but that Africa is as much linked to India as western Europe is is my conviction based on a study of ethnology, mythology and comparative religion for many years. I present it for what it is worth, dedicating it to my Indian and African friends.

# ANCIENT INDIAN CULTURE AND CIVILIZATION

by

PROF. K. C. CHAKRAVARTI, M.T.B. College, Surat.

Foreword by

Dr. M. R. Jayakar,

Vice-Chancellor, University of Poona

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## Mountainous India

C. Vishwa Nath writes in *Careers and Courses* :

The mountains in India can be classified into (1) mountains of Peninsular India, and (2) mountains of Extra Peninsular Region. The mode of origin in either case is different. Starting from the south let us go ahead in our survey.

### RANGES OF PENINSULAR INDIA

The mountain ranges of the Peninsula comprise the following :

- (1) The Western and the Eastern Ghats,
- (2) Aravalli mountains,
- (3) Vindhyan ranges,
- (4) The Satpuras.

The *Western Ghats* flank the western shores of India, and run in an unbroken range of hills to the south of Malabar, where they merge with the Nilgiris. Their mean elevation is 3,000 feet above sea level and are formed out of the Deccan lavas which poured forth over nearly half a million square miles towards the close of the middle ages, or about the beginning of the later ages of the earth's history or about the same time when the Himalayas were first uplifted from the bed of the sea. These hills present a "ghat-like" or landing-stair aspect and build flat-topped hills so generally seen in Madhya Pradesh and elsewhere.

They have a very important influence on the climate of the western shores of India. They help to precipitate most of the moisture present in the south-west monsoons blowing from the Arabian Sea during summer. Consequently, this coast has very heavy rainfall and its forests therefore are evergreen. The plateau of the Deccan, which is situated on the leeward receives much less rainfall, just enough in certain places to support grasslands.

*Eastern Ghats* : They flank the eastern coasts of India and are a much lower range of hills which are broken at places and are irregular. These, unlike their Western counterparts, have a broad coastal plain fringing the hills. The lowly region is, however, more than fertile, where groundnuts, rice, cotton, tobacco and other crops are grown creditably. In fact, on this plain depends the prosperity of the States of Madras and Orissa.

*Aravalli Mountains* : The Aravallis are three-fold mountains which were elevated to existence in the early ages of the earth's history. They stretch towards north-east for about 400 miles in Rajasthan. Their general altitude ranges from 1,000-3,000 feet above the sea, the highest peak being Mount Abu within an elevation of 5,650 feet lying in the south-west extremity. These hills are generally bare with scanty population. Large areas, that is, the intervening valleys are covered with sandy deposits. Rocky ridges are to be observed near Alwar, Jaipur, etc. Their northernmost extension is to be found in the low isolated quartzite hills seen in the environs of Delhi.

*Vindhyan Ranges* : The Vindhyas form an interrupted range of hills 2,500 to 4,500 ft., in height. They go to form the northern part of Madhya Pradesh and separate the gangetic basin from the plateau of the Deccan. On the west they rise in Gujarat and fringe the southern edge of the Malwa plateau. They extend further in the Kaimur range and terminate in the Ganga Valley near Banaras. They are composed mainly of sandstones of red and other hues, which are largely used in architectural structures of all dimensions in India. The beds are a little disturbed ; on some places they are almost horizontal.

*The Satpuras* : The Satpuras literally seven folds, form a range of hills between the Tapti and the Nerboda in Central India. The high plateau of Amarkantak is the starting point and the range continues in a westerly direction along with the West Coast. The average elevation is above 2,500 feet above sea, but the Amarkantak plateau is 3,500 feet high above sea. Some of the places however, are still higher. The rail from Bombay to Jabalpur runs through a break in the range just east of the famous hill fort of Asurgarh, the range here is as low as 1,218 feet above sea level. They are about 600 miles long and are composed partly of Deccan lavas and partly of granite etc.

### THE HIMALAYAS

Starting from the Naga and Lushai Hills in the east and ending in the Baluchistan range of hills on the west is indeed one mighty chain of mountain ranges.

They are not a mountain chain in the ordinary sense of the word. Immediately to the north of the plains of India, there rise the highest ranges of the world. The southern position of this mass is represented by the Himalayas, while Kailash represents its northernmost range. In between these mountains is enclosed the bleak plateau of Tibet, about 15,000 to 16,000 feet above sea.

The Himalayas proper are a mighty chain over 2,000 miles in length and 150 to 200 miles in breadth. It has already been remarked that this chain of mountains was first upheaved towards the beginning of the later ages of the earth's history. These mountains were raised by stresses acting from the Tibetan plateau in the north. The slopes of the mountains facing the plains are therefore steep, while those facing Tibet are gentle. These stresses in the form of waves were checked by the Deccan Plateau, the Aravallis and the Salt Range. These ranges actually have been responsible for the bending of the Himalayas. Our knowledge of these mountains is still quite imperfect though in recent years the various Everest and other expeditions have greatly helped in unravelling the geography and history of their evolution.

In general, the Himalayas are a series of parallel but converging ranges intersected by Valleys and big plateaux. It is noteworthy that the Eastern Himalayas rise abruptly from the plains and peaks like Mount Everest and Kinchinjunga are visible from there.



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The Western or the Panjab Himalayas rise gradually from the plains and the high peaks being so distant, are hidden from view.

The Himalayas are geographically classified into :

(1) *The Great Himalayas* :—This chain comprises the highest portion of the Himalayas with an average elevation of 20,000 feet. It is therefore, always snow-covered. The highest peaks in this region include the Mount Everest (29,040 feet,) ; Godwin Austen (K 2), Kinchinjunga, etc.

(2) *The Lesser Himalayas* :—The Lesser Himalayas or the middle ranges, which occur below the great Himalayas comprise the ranges whose elevation does not exceed 15,000 feet above the sea.

(3) *The Outer Himalayas* :—This range of hills, lying between the Lesser Himalayas and the plains, is also called the Siwalik hills which form low foot-hills of the Himalayas, 3,000 to 4,000 feet in elevation above the sea level.

It is very remarkable that the Himalaya possesses a great variety in climate, vegetation and natural products and its inhabitants include different, interesting and varied hill-tribes possessing customs, manners and cultures of their own.

4. *Trans-Himalaya* :—A fourth size still, that is the Trans-Himalaya, is recognised by some geographers. It was discovered by Sven Hedin in 1906 and its central part is 140 miles in width which lessens to about 20 miles at the eastern and western ends. Its length is 600 miles. S Hedin stated that the mountain ranges are ill-defined and confusing. This region forms the watershed draining into the Bay of Bengal and those flowing to the north into the enclosed drainage depression. It is crossed by a number of high Passes, their average altitude being 17,500 feet, although Ding La is higher than 19,000 above the sea.

#### WATERSHED

It may be noted that the highest peaks occur on the southern side of the watershed between India and Tibet and are about 100 miles from the plains. The average elevation of the watershed is more than 18,000 feet above sea, whilst the passes linking India with Tibet about 16,000 above sea level.

*Himalayan Valleys* :—The Himalayan chains are separated by longitudinal valleys, sometimes hardly 3,000 feet above sea. Thus from the valleys at about that altitudes almost with tropical heat to cross with perpetual snow exceeding 25,000 feet above sea level, is stretched a complete range of vegetation of the world from the tropics to the polar regions. From these valleys a panoramic view of some of the stupendous peaks of the Himalayas, about 25,000 feet or more in elevation and unexcelled in the whole world, is to be had. Two valleys, in this connection deserve special mention : (1) The beautiful vale of Kashmir, and (2) the valley of Kathmandu in Nepal. They are extensive fertile valleys both in length and breadth, and especially in the case of Kashmir it is surmised that it originally represented a lake, the waters of which have desiccated in recent times the shrunken remnants of which are represented by the Wular and the Dal Lakes.

#### REGIONS OF THE HIMALAYAS

Sir Sidney Burnard has sub-divided the Himalayan range into the following four regions :

(i) *The Assam Himalaya* :—from the Tista to the Brahmaputra river. This comprises the region between the peak of Namcha Barwa, 25,445 feet above sea in the Mishmi country, where the Brahmaputra forms a bend to cut across the Himalayas and the Tista river. It is 450 miles in length and includes the Kula Kangri

group of peaks 24,784 feet above sea and the Chano Lhari, 23,997 feet only. The geological and structural features indicate that the Himalayas extend beyond Namcha Barwa and take a sharp turn to continue southwards into Burma. It is noteworthy that the Assam Himalayas have a very rapid rise from the plains ; the foot hills are narrow and the Sub-Himalayan region is comparatively lower than in the west.

(ii) *The Nepal Himalaya* :—This region extends for a length of about 500 miles and represents the portion between the Tista on the east and the Kali on the west. It includes some of the notable peaks like Kinchinjunga (28,146 feet). Mount Everest (29,040 feet). Makabe (27,790 feet). Annapurna (26,492 feet). Gosainthan (26,291 feet) and Dhaulagiri (26,795 feet) above sea level. It is noteworthy that the Great Himalayan range has a southward curvature and Kinchinjunga makes the southern most point of the Nepal Himalaya trend to the WNW while to the east of it, the bend of the Assam Himalaya is E.N.E.. At the Brahmaputra, the trend almost becomes north-easterly. Near Dhaulagiri the range bends and bifurcates and a branch extends towards the north. Near Nampa there is another bifurcation of the ranges. It may be stated that in all the other Himalayan bifurcations, the more northerly extension has been considered as the continuation of the great range, but in this case, the southerly branch with the peaks of Nanda Devi and Badrinath has been regarded as the Great Himalaya, while the northerly branch with Kamet and Ruwa Pharyul has been called the Zaskar range.

(iii) *The Kumaun Himalaya* :—The region has a length of 200 miles and is bounded by the Sutlej on the west. The range bifurcates at Badrinath and at the Sutlej, and the highest peak is Nanda Devi, 25,645 feet in altitude. It includes the well-known districts of Naini Tal, Almora and Garhwal. It is said that once this region had about 360 lakes, some of which have completely or partially desiccated. There certainly seems to be some truth in the legend because even to-day, a number of well-known lakes like the Naini Tal and Bhim Tal occur. Some of the well-known peaks of this region comprise Nanda Devi 25,615 feet, Badrinath 23,190 feet, Kedarnath 22,770 feet, Trisol 23,360 feet, Mana 23,862 feet, and Gangotri 21,700 feet above sea level. The Dhauladhar range constitutes the southerly bifurcation of the Kumaun Himalayas. It is in this region that some of the noteworthy and sacred rivers of Northern India like the Bhagirathi, the Yamuna, etc., take their source.

(iv) *The Punjab Himalayas* :—This portion lies between the Sutlej and the Indus and is about 350 miles

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in length. Owing to curvature the Kumaun and the Punjab Himalayas do not follow the same trend. Towards the west of the Sutlej the altitude of the range diminishes. To its east there are peaks like Kedarnath and Badrinath, both 22,000 feet in altitude. The Sutlej cuts across the Himalaya at its southernly branch named the Pir Panjal bifurcation to follow its course in the plains. There are few peaks exceeding 20,000 feet in altitude in this portion and the Zojila Pass is only 11,300 feet above the sea. It is noteworthy that the northern slopes of this range are bare and rugged and enclose plateaux with lakes while the southern slopes are covered with forests and do not enclose any high plains. The Punjab Himalayas are comparatively much drier and consequently the snow-line is much higher. The Jhelum, after following through a very deep gorge, cuts across the Himalayas and follows a somewhat remarkable southerly course through the Potwar plateau. The Himalayas appear to end here in the Indus Valley, but recent researches have shown that they continue across the Indus into the ranges of Afghanistan and Baluchistan. The formation on either side of the bend, too, prove the same.

**The Snowline**—The snowline is a summer isother of 32° F and marks the lowest limit of perpetual snow. Its height depends on (i) temperature and (ii) amount of precipitation, i.e., the greater the snowfall, the lower the line. The study of the snowline is important because it is the snow which replenishes glaciers, and they are economically important to mankind.

The height of the snowline in different parts of the Himalayas facing South is given below: (A) The Nepal Himalaya 14,700 feet, (B) The Kumaun Himalaya 17,500 feet (C) The Punjab Himalayas 17,000 feet.

#### THE INFLUENCE OF THE HIMALAYAS

It is certainly true that if these mountains had not existed the Indo-Gangetic plains, which constitute some of the richest parts of India, would have been a desert. It is the Himalayas which intercept the moisture-laden winds coming from the sea and bring about the precipitation of moisture in the form of rain and snow. The latter gives rise to gigantic glaciers which constitute the source of some of the important rivers of Northern India and make them perennial. For the same reason the snowline on the southern slopes is much lower than on the northern slopes of the same mountains. Very little snow will be found in the summer even at an altitude of 20,000 feet on the northern slopes as the air is so dry that no snow can be precipitated, while on the southern slopes the altitude of snowline varies from 14,700 feet in the Eastern Himalayas to about 17,000 feet in the Western Himalayas. But for these mountains, the economic geography of Northern India would have been entirely different. In fact, it would not at all be inapt to remark that just as Egypt is styled the gift of the Nile, the Indo-gangetic plains may be called the gift of the Himalayas and its rivers.

Except on the north-west, the Himalayas form practically an impassable barrier between India and the rest of Asia. With the exception of the north-west, the Himalayas have offered protection to India along her lengthy frontage of about 2,000 miles. Without the Himalayas, the bitterly cold winds blowing from the plateau of Tibet and Central Asia in winter, which happens to be one of the coldest regions of the earth at this time of the year, would have swept over the plains of Northern India. Had it not been for the Himalayas, India would have experienced an extremely cold climate in winter.

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# FOREIGN PERIODICALS

## The Problem of Evil

Leo Hirsch gives the reader ample food for thought and reflection in the following article in *Unity*, January-February, 1955 :

Why should there be evil in the world? Why should there exist evil impulses in the human heart? Why should the world be the playground of good and evil forces? We know that there is kindness on this planet but there is also cruelty. The important question is: what can we do about it? Criminologists tell us that many a person commits evil and does it deliberately, knowing that it is evil; that the most wicked crimes are committed with a full realization of the horrible consequences to the victim.

Man, from the time he attained reason and conscience, was deeply concerned with the problem of evil. All the old scriptures have remarkable examples of how seriously man probed and studied this problem and tried not only to find an answer to that riddle but what humans could do about it.

The classic tragedy of Job is an outstanding portrayal of a man who suffered all the tortures of physical pain, loss of material treasures, and the pain of spiritual confusion and instability. He could not understand the loss of health, of his earthly goods, and the loss of children and friends. Job, as interpreted by orthodox thinkers, is a man who was tormented by Satan at God's behest, so that he would learn something about life and, in the end, be rewarded for his suffering. There are passages in the Book of Job that go deep into the soul because they express with magnificent finality thoughts about evil that have always harassed the mind. During his anguish he cursed the day of his birth and complained of life in general. It was not until he clearly realized the challenge of evil, accepted life with all its conditions and responsibilities in a spirit of humility and reverence that he was able to emerge into a state of wisdom and faith.

Christ gave us new insights in regard to evil in man's nature. Christ warns his disciples to be humble and harmless; to avoid offenses and not to despise little offenses. He taught them how to deal with offenders when they offend us and how to forgive them. To him, forgiveness was a supreme virtue.

There is nothing more despicable than the evil displayed by a person who deliberately and coldly betrays his country or a benefactor or a friend.

Much of evil in man's nature can be explained by a lack of development of his spiritual faculty. When man will be granted the fullest freedom of thought and expression and equal opportunity in his political and economic life, then much of that recalcitrant nature will be eliminated.

Euripides, the great Athenian dramatist, wrote tragedy because he saw the eternal conflict between good and evil in the lives of men. He expressed his faith in man by his belief that man in the very nature of his being had the ability to conquer the evil in his breast. In probably one of his greatest choruses he symbolized that faith by "the apple tree, the sunshine, and the gold."

In all periods of great crises, evil is brought to the surface and becomes more violent. We see cruel types of characters and situations, human and social relations, which appear abnormal and subhuman. These events and the men who dominate them generally end in catastrophe.

Men of genius and spiritual insight who lived in these soul-trying times invariably made some contribution to bolster the morale of mankind.

The finest minds in every period of man's life on this planet were concerned with the problem of evil and bore a kind of prophetic relation to the situation of the time. These spiritually minded men recognized as clearly as we do that at times evils multiply in our world and threaten from moment to moment to engulf us—the evils of violence, tyranny, persecution, hatred, bigotry, lust.

From this we may readily infer that the moral order, as we know it was not revealed to man as the myths of religion declare. Man found his way to the moral order haltingly, by the stern method of trial and error. He discovered through his experience that there are lines of conduct which are good insofar as they made for health, happiness, and life, and other lines of conduct which are evil insofar as they create disease, disintegration, despair, and death. It is through trial and error, through infinite painful experience, that we have learned the intrinsic importance of the individual, of human dignity, the conception of human freedom, the conception of spiritual and moral values. From these hard-won concepts, we have learned that evil in its ethical meaning is to offend against the worth attached to human beings. To deny this worth in man is to deny religion, democracy and the moral law.

The moral law in the spiritual world, like the law of gravitation in the physical world, is the law which reigns throughout the spiritual universe and is universal in its jurisdiction. Our duty as human beings is to apply more and more the universal spiritual law in our human relations and thus enlarge our destiny and our culture.

In the United States there have been many leaders who were deeply concerned with the problem of evil.

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Some attacked evil in the religious field and some attacked evil in the political and economic areas. Such men as Ralph Waldo Emerson, Theodore Parker, William Ellery Channing, Wendell Phillips, Lincoln Hawthorne, Henry George, Veblen, and others made valuable contributions to this perplexing problem. Phillips and Lincoln had a profound influence in destroying the institution of slavery. Henry George, through his *Progress and Poverty*, left an indelible impression on the American mind for the need to remove poverty from the democratic scene.

Then, too, we must not forget Herman Melville. In *Moby Dick*, Melville took the problem of evil and placed it within the environment of nature and within the framework of industry. He recognized that there were certain cruelties in nature that disregarded the worth in man and that there were certain dictatorial types of men in industry that made of human relations a hollow mockery.

As against these positive forces that have combated evil, America has produced a paradoxical religious movement which denies the very existence of evil. I refer to the Christian Science Movement whose central thesis is that sin does not exist, that there is no such thing really as moral evil, that moral evil, too, like bodily disease, is mere appearance, a mere illusion, and that it, too, can be expunged by stout negation. The same position which the mental healer takes with regard to sickness he likewise takes with regard to sin or moral evil.

If this faith were to spread, it would prevent the mitigation of moral evil in the world, just as their attitude toward disease would prevent the possible cure of physical ills. We ought to recognize that just as there is a medical science based on the assumption that physical disease has physical causes and that these causes may be known and understood, so there is a moral science based on the conviction that moral evil has causes and that by scientific investigation these causes may be ascertained and thus removed. The mental healing method would lead to the abandonment of the medical profession as well as of the social sciences, and to the ignoring of this causal side and it would hinder the most important efforts that can be made for the moral betterment of the world. It is not right to say that moral evil does not exist. Moral evil does exist; it is real, as matter is real and you cannot get rid of it by denying it.

The cure of the evils of the world, the evils of the slums and poverty, racial discrimination, the religious bigotries, the hatreds, the lies and cruelties cannot be achieved by denying their existence. The Christian Science Movement denies what to me is undeniable—that matter is real and that moral evil is real, and hence all such religious movements are socially

dangerous, unproductive, and sterile on the side of social reform and impede human progress.

We live today in a period which has much in common with the Dark Ages—with its chaos, ceaseless wars, its nightmarish fears, its unbelievable cruelties, its horrible bigotries, its homeless men, women, and children. In one respect we surpass the horrors of the Dark Ages because man has succeeded in creating the most fiendish weapon of destruction in the history of man. It is the therefore of the greatest importance to know and understand who generated the enmity, the hostility that poisons the atmosphere in which we live and is deliberately aimed to destroy the democratic way of life that has been won over a long period of time and at tremendous suffering and sacrifice.

The defiant, self-proclaimed enemy thus far has been the Soviet Communist party. Under Stalin's regime, he was the supreme, absolute ruler and the Politburo was the principal source and channel of the decisions which

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demanded and commanded the blind obedience of the hard core of loyal Communist Party members everywhere in the world. These Communists have absolute despotic political power in Russia and in other parts of the world through their fifth columns. Their method and technique thus far to achieve world domination have been fraud, terrorism, violence, the big lies, and any other diabolical means to promote their ends. Stalin's recent death brought a new dictator into power, viz., Malenkov. He and his advisors have decided on a new course and a new strategy. They have launched new peace gestures. Are they sincere? We have to take these peace gestures at their face value until we ascertain what they mean by them. To the writer they seem to be booby traps deliberately set so as to lull the democratic peoples into a sense of security and thus entice them to lower their guard, decrease their defense measures and their aid to the allies, and thus create a world-wide economic depression that will enable the Russians to deal a death blow. A leopard cannot change his spots and Communism will not overnight change its plans to destroy democracy. The Russians are the victims of their dogmatism, their cruelties, their crusading fanaticism, and these cannot shed easily. The habit of men's indoctrinated minds is not easily changed and overturned. Nothing short of a cataclysmic upheaval from within can bring about the drastic changes that will bring world peace.

Soviet Russia is our enemy without. Within our nation we have plenty of enemies who threaten to destroy our way of life by ignoring individual rights and concentrating their activities mainly on material privileges and profits.

In the recent steel strike, we have had evidence of the power of these disintegrating and disorganizing elements. They showed a complete indifference to our boys fighting in Korea, to the stability of our economic structure and to the welfare of our citizenry. From the very beginning, it was known that the major issue in the strike was the price of steel. Management for months pressured the government and its stabilization agencies to accede to industry's demands for higher prices, regardless of the fact that the increase they demanded would let loose another spiral of inflation. They cared little what effect such a strike would have on our economy and our defense program.

Management also created the false issue of the union shop. The union shop was the issue on which the steel magnates chose to hold ground until they had received the assurance of higher prices. Labor and government felt into this trap.

Labor, too, is not entirely guiltless; they, too, ignored the rights of millions of other workers by forcing them into unemployment. They, too, were indifferent to the survival of our economy or the welfare of our soldiers. They could have passed up their demand for the recognition of the union shop until a calmer and more favorable atmosphere prevailed. So the steel strike

was lost by labor, by the government, and by the consumers, and won by the superior power and shrewdness of the steel magnates.

As long as labor and management distrust one another, so long will collective bargaining fly out of the window. Labor through its economists realizes that management is opposed to labor organizations and is unwilling to have labor accountants or government accountants go over their books to reveal to stockholders, workers, and government the exact situation so as to be able to determine profits, prices, and wages. As long as all accountants are not placed under government license, so long will accountants fail to abide by ethical standards. Prices, wages, and profits must always be in equilibrium. When profits are made paramount at the expense of wages and prices, so long will you have strikes and discord. The same applies to labor when it demands a wage at the expense of fair profits and the additional cost to consumers. Human relations must be made the paramount issue.

A democratic labor organization must repudiate its right to paralyze a whole industry and the entire nation by coercive measures. The paralyzing power now exercised by the union should not be possessed by any minority group. That holds true with management as well. In a democracy, ownership and management must not be permitted to paralyze the entire industry because it is determined to force labor to accept its arbitrary decree. In the final judgment, the 160 million Americans ought to decide what is right or wrong in industrial relations.

The democratic idea demands that we distrust great power, whether of an overwhelming majority or an aggressive minority, or the power of an overwhelming concentration of wealth. The democratic idea demands that justice must be the basis of the good life. Enlightened Americans recognize that a new era in industry must replace the traditional conflicts of the past; that strikes and ceaseless warfare must be replaced by co-operation and teamwork.

Strength does not come from physical capacity or material power. It comes from an indomitable spiritual will to do the right. The spirit lies dormant in the brute, and he knows no law but that of physical might. The dignity of man requires obedience to a higher law—to the strength of the spirit. It is this permanent, spiritual element in human nature which counts no cost too great in order to find full ethical expression in our human relations. It is because Soviet Russia recognizes no such spiritual nature in man that it completely ignores moral law. To them the material world is primary. To them individuals have no inalienable rights, and the individual personality has no sacredness. Dictatorship in the modern world is a monstrous, hideous evil, whether it resides in the Politburo or industrial management or in undemocratic labor organizations. Dictatorship rests on a sea of blood, an ocean of tears, and a world of suffering. How can fear, force, lies, and misery



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make a better world? Morality consists, above all, in respect for means, man, and truth.

Another enemy within our borders is the racist, the isolationist, the hater of a foreign people. This enemy respects neither law nor life. He rejoices in seeing people of different color segregated and compelled to accept low standards of living. He fails to recognize the sacredness of human life and its interdependence. Such individuals cannot by any stretch of the imagination be Americans or internationalists or advocates of world government based on law.

To state these evils does not mean that we must become pessimistic or fatalistic or to assume that nothing can be done about them. In a world where "cold" war is exterminating human liberty and where "hot" war might be waged with atomic bombs, fatalism or complacency is criminal. The recognition of these evils should act as a challenge to urge us to the utmost effort to counter and control them.

To meet Soviet Russia's challenge, we must become and remain militarily strong and at the same time have faith in our spiritual resources and work with the utmost dedication to strengthen the United Nations.

At present, we are aiming at an intensive preparedness to meet the emergency and then hoping to relax that effort. It seems to me that it would be wiser to have a military program that could be maintained indefinitely without in any way undermining our economy or our basic freedoms. All this does not mean a third World War but it does mean convincing Soviet Russia that a third World War could not be won by anyone; that it is beyond the strength of any nation to conquer, subjugate, and annex the entire world; and that such an attempt would only mean the annihilation of the civilized world.

Russia's political rulers are deadly afraid of the spread of the democratic idea among her people, and they need the constant prodding of the U.N. to aid them to do away with totalitarianism; and we of the democratic West need to see ourselves in the false and exaggerated eyes of the Russians to keep us up to the mark of our democratic ideals.

So, in the final analysis, evil whether on the international or domestic scene, is the compelling force that challenges us to create finer human beings and thus build a nobler civilization. To the individual, evil is a foil that develops and sharpens his moral fibre, his spiritual nature. Good affirms itself through evil.

It has been said that man is born into trouble, as the sparks fly upward. Humans are so constructed that they cannot grow and develop without suffering, without sorrow and frustration, without the challenge of evil.

Man's effort to overcome evil with good is simply an effort to protect the infinite into the finite; an attempt to substitute the perfect for the imperfect; an attempt to fulfill the moral law and thus to carry out the spiritual relations in finite terms. The spiritual gains thus achieved are incalculable and make way for spiritual freedom.

### BBC Records Wild Life

Now that the recording of the voices of wild birds and animals has become almost a commonplace, peo-

ple can stay comfortably at home and listen to the sounds of other men's labours in the field. In Britain this job is ably done by the BBC's Natural History Recording Assistant, Eric Simms, and his accompanying engineer Bob Wade, and the two of them have lately experimented with a new method of recording.

Sound recording of the voices of birds and animals is comparatively new and really began for B.B.C. listeners when Ludwig Koch introduced them to his recordings. He used the wax disk method, far more laborious than the modern techniques now adopted, and took his heavy gear into a selected spot and waited there for his subject to turn up, cutting numerous disks, each lasting from four a half to five minutes, while he waited, sometimes for days. On some occasions the bird was obliging but often it failed to co-operate and Koch had to start work all over again somewhere else.

The next method was to use the magnetised tape which recorded every sound a bird or animal made over a period of thirty minutes, and if nothing of value had been 'said' the tape could be quickly demagnetised and used again. The tape recorder worked from batteries in the recording van which lasted for a maximum of two hours but when it was possible to link the van to a mains supply of electricity recording could go on indefinitely. A length of cable had to be run from the microphone to the van and four hundred yards was the maximum that could be safely used, a drawback which greatly limited the choice of site.

The newest method of all is to broadcast the bird's voice by means of a portable transmitter and record the broadcast in the B.B.C. van, either using the batteries or linking it to the mains. With a small portable transmitter strapped to his back Simms recently broadcast the sound of his own voice to Wade, who recorded it in the van at a distance of two hundred yards. The second test was made when he took the transmitter over several badly waterlogged fields to where wild geese were flying in to feed: a magnificent broadcast of their cries was recorded in the van nine hundred yards away. The third experiment was to broadcast the sound of a mixed flock of finches and huntings to the van lying more than a mile off. With three successful recordings made over progressively greater distances the time has now come for Simms to take his transmitter to many places that were previously unapproachable and the B.B.C.'s library of recorded sounds of wild creatures should be proportionately increased.—B.B.C. London Letter.

### Circulation of French Daily Newspapers

The circulation of the French daily newspapers is not as large as those in Great Britain or the United States, but it is still very large. The following figures indicate the average circulations between June, 1945 and June of 1954.

Aurore; 425,811; Le Croix; 152,153; Figaro; 476,641; France-Soir; 1,072,526; France-Tireur; 158,765; Humanite; 168,056; Liberation; 126,801; Le monde; 167,820; Parisien Libere; 652,042; Paris Presse; 158,597.

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